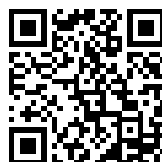


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**THE IRISH  
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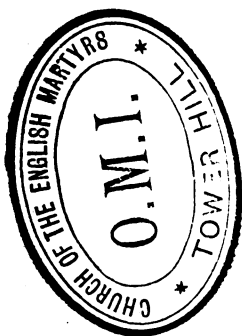


# THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD

*A Monthly Journal, under Episcopal Sanction*

VOLUME XIII.

JANUARY to JUNE, 1903



*Fourth Series*

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***Nihil Obstat.***

GIRALDUS MOLLOY, S.T.D.,  
CENSOR DEF.

***Imprimatur.***

✠ GULIELMUS,  
*Archiep. Dublin., Hiberniae Primas.*

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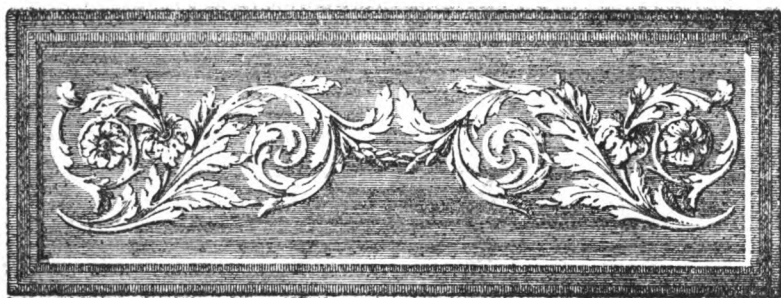
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ADDRESS OF THE CARDINAL ARCHBISHOP  
OF ARMAGH AND OF THE IRISH ARCH-  
BISHOPS AND BISHOPS TO HIS HOLINESS  
POPE LEO XIII. ON THE OCCASION OF HIS  
PONTIFICAL JUBLILEE

**B**EATISSIME PATER,—Orbis terrarum gaudet hodie et exultat in auspicatissimo isto eventu, et facto plane insolente, quod Divina Providentia Tibi, B.P. concedere dignatus est, ut ad quintum supra vigesimum annum Pontificatus Supremi feliciter attingere valueris.

Summas gratias Omnipotenti Deo Nos, Praesules Catholicae semperque fidelis Hiberniae, in annuo nostro conventu congregati, ex imo corde et incessanter effundimus; simulque cum Fratribus Nostris, per universam Ecclesiam dispersis, in gaudiis et gratulationibus Nos conjungere desideramus.

Et sane, quam justa haec tripudia et sensus grati animi! Te, etenim, Petri naviculam conscendente gubernatore, inter crebras undique insurgentes procellas, quis non miratus est, quo modo indefessim vigilasti, et omni ope destitutus humana cursum tenuisti felicem!

Sapientissime Regnum Christi in terris amplificasti et consolidasti. Custos unitatis fidelissimus fratres confirmasti. Vindex justitiae et libertatis cuique Ecclesiae, cuique populo procellis divexatis, opem tulisti, Pacis amantissimus totus in

eo fuisti ut concordia mutua inter diversos gradus, sive cleri sive populi, tuta atque illibata servaretur. Tot tantisque exantlatis laboribus, in aetate plusquam provecta subactis, magnam Deo gloriam, Christifidelibus salutem, Tibi ipsi fulgidiorē eamque immarcescibilem coronam comparasti.

Et quid de officio Doctoris dicendum est?

Constitutus Rex super Sion montem magnum, ab Illo qui est Lux Vera illuminans omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum, quam indeficienter et luculenter Ecclesiae Dei inservisisti, miserasque populorum qui ambulant in tenebris efficaciter sublevasti. Nullus error hodiernae societatis bono et pacem minuitans, perspicaciam et eruditionem Tuam evasit; nullaque veritas, hoc nostro tempore ad salutem animarum accommodata, quam pastoralī eloquio fidelibus non tradideris addiscendam.

Nec immemores esse possumus quam intime Tibi cordi fuit ut Divinum Cultum omni studio promoveres, et sacrorum ministrorum pietatem fovendo, fideliumque devotionem adaugendo, omnibus patefaceres efficacem Ecclesiae sanctitatem.

Paucis abhinc mensibus universae Ecclesiae Hibernicae ingens gaudium contulisti, quum summa benignitate, confirmasti cultum publicum ecclesiasticum ab immemorabili tempore praestitum illis Servis Dei qui Nobis sunt Patres in fide, et columnae veritatis et sanctitatis usque in hodiernam diem.

Pignora innumerabilia benevolentiae Tuae atque amoris Paterni erga Nos gregesque Nostros incessanter et peramanter praebeuisti; et conscius afflictionum et praevaricationum quae super dilectam Patriam Nostram a saeculis ingravescere solebant, et adhuc, magna ex parte, ingravescunt, verba paterna et consilia opportuna Nobis porrigere nunquam praetermisisti.

Dignetur igitur, Sanctitas Tua, filialis Nostrae pietatis altissimaeque venerationis significationem acceptam habere, quam pro Nobismetipsis, pro Clero Nostro universo et pro fidelissimo populo nunc declaramus.

Tuam Apostolicam Benedictionem efflagitantes, Divinam interim Majestatem adprecamur, ut Te sospitet, Te fortunet, Tuisque filiis in Petri annos et diutius ac diutius servet.

*[Signed by the Cardinal Primate and all the Irish Archbishops and Bishops.]*

LETTER OF HIS EMINENCE CARDINAL RAMPOLLA.

No. 73877.

E<sup>MO</sup>. ET REV<sup>MO</sup>. SIG. MIO OSS<sup>MO</sup>,—Ho l'honore di trasmettere all' Eminenza Vostra l'acclusa lettera Pontificia che in attestato del vivo gradimento onde Sua Sanctità accolse gli augurî che Le sono stati presentati di V. E. e dagli Arcivescovi e Vescovi di Irlanda per la fausta circostanza del Giubileo Pontificale, la Stessa Santità Sua si è degnata dirigere a lei e agli sullodati Pastori di cotesta regione.

E in questo incontro godo confermarle i sensi della profonda venerazione con cui Le bacio umillissimamente le mani.

Di Vostra Eminenza,

Umo., devmo. Servitor Vero,

M. Card. RAMPOLLA.

Sig. Card. MICHELE LOGUE,

*Arcivescovo di Armagh.*

REPLY OF HIS HOLINESS.

Dilecto Filio Nostro Michaeli Tit. S. Mariae de Pace, S. R. E.

Presb. Cardinal Logue, Archiepiscopo Armachanqrum, ceterisque venerabilibus Fratribus Archiepiscopis et Episcopis Hiberniae. Armacham.

LEO PP. XIII.

Dilecte Fili Noster ac Venerabiles Fratres, Salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Traditam a majoribus pietatem animosque in Apostolicam Sedem praeclare affectos placuit Hibernis pluries Nobis ac signis minime dubiis testari. Majorem autem in modum obsequii testimonium probavimus quo Personam Nostram faustis hisce Jubilaei Pontificalis solemnibus prosequi maturastis. Qua quidem in re utrumque vehementer gaudemus et idem vos cum Beato Patricio Hiberniae Apostolo sentire adhuc et velle et addictissimae venerationis sensus quos ille in Petri Cathedram docuit fideliter vos vestro in grege fovere. Profecto manere apud vos spiritus magni Patris videtur, itemque luculenter apparet esse unde **spem**

percipiendae in posterum segetis amplae ac laetae. Quapropter dum meritam vobis laudem de sollertia vestra tribuimus gratiasque de patefactis voluntatibus habemus, hortari unumquemque vestrum non praetermittimus ut partam a patribus gloriam, quemadmodum quaesita Catholico nomine fuit, ita Catholicis etiam sensibus operibusque servare ne desistatis. Hisce autem bonis assequendis adjumento erit Apostolica Benedictio quam testem benevolentiae Nostrae divinarumque gratiarum auspicem vobis ac populis vestris peramanter in Domino impertimur.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die XXVI. Novembris, MCMII, Pontificatus Nostri anno vicesimo quinto.

LEO PP. XIII.

[ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF THE ADDRESS.]

**MOST HOLY FATHER,**—To-day the whole world rejoices and gives expression to its delight at that most auspicious event, at that altogether uncommon occurrence—that Divine Providence should have enabled you, Most Holy Father, to reach the twenty-fifth year of your Supreme Pontificate.

We, the Prelates of Catholic and ever-faithful Ireland, assembled at our annual meeting, give thanks for this great blessing from our inmost hearts to Almighty God, and desire to join with our brethren dispersed throughout the Universal Church in joy and congratulations.

And how fully justified are these rejoicings and expressions of gratitude! For who does not admire the unwearied vigilance with which, since you took charge of the bark of Peter, you steered its happy course through so many threatening storms, deprived as you were of all human assistance.

With supreme wisdom you have extended and strengthened the Kingdom of Christ throughout the world. The ever-faithful guardian of unity, you have confirmed your brethren. The defender of justice and liberty, you have lent your aid to every Church and to every people harassed by persecution. A devoted lover of peace, you directed all your

energy to preserve, safe and inviolate, a good understanding between all ranks of the clergy and people. Having borne the burden of so many labours, of such great undertakings, at an age which is more than advanced, you have secured glory to God, salvation for the faithful of Christ, and a bright and incorruptible crown for yourself.

But what is to be said of the office of teacher which you have discharged? Appointed as a king on the great mountain of Sion by Him who is the True Light 'which enlighteneth every man that cometh into this world'; how unfailingly and how happily you have served the Church of God! How effectively you have come to the assistance of the people who were walking miserably in darkness! No error threatening the welfare and peace of modern society has escaped your keen scrutiny and your profound knowledge. No truth adapted to the needs of our time or required for the salvation of souls has failed to be expounded in your pastoral pronouncements to the faithful.

Nor should we forget how earnestly you have desired to promote the divine worship, to foster piety amongst the ministers of the altar, to kindle devotion amongst the faithful, and make clear to all men the living sanctity of the Church.

A few years ago you gave joy to the whole Church of Ireland, when, with supreme benignity, you confirmed the public ecclesiastical cult which from immemorial time has been given to those servants of God who are our fathers in the faith and are regarded by us as pillars of strength and sanctity to the present day.

Unceasingly and with the greatest affection you have shown innumerable marks of paternal benevolence and love to us and to our flocks. Aware of the miseries and oppressive laws that weighed down upon our beloved country in the past, and still in a great measure, continue to afflict her, you have never failed to assist us with paternal words and opportune counsel.

May your Holiness, therefore, deign to accept the assurance of filial love and of profound veneration to which, for ourselves, for all our clergy, and for our most faithful people we now give expression.

Humbly asking the Apostolic Benediction, we pray the Divine Majesty that He may keep you, that He may favour you, and preserve you for your children to the years of Peter, and longer and longer still.

*[Here follow the signatures.]*

[TRANSLATION OF CARDINAL RAMPOLLA'S LETTER.]

No. 73877.

MOST EMINENT AND MOST REV. LORD,—I have the honour of transmitting to your Eminence the enclosed Pontifical Letter which His Holiness has been pleased to address to you and to the other pastors of your country as a testimony of the sincere pleasure with which He has received the congratulations addressed to Him by your Eminence and by the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland. I take advantage of the occasion to renew to your Eminence the sentiments of profound veneration with which I most humbly kiss your hands.

Your Eminence's most humble and truly devoted Servant,  
M. Card. RAMPOLLA.

[ENGLISH VERSION OF THE REPLY OF HIS HOLINESS POPE LEO XIII. TO THE ADDRESS OF THE IRISH HIERARCHY.]

To Our Beloved Son, Michael Logue, Cardinal Priest of the Holy Roman Church, Titular of S. Maria della Pace, Archbishop of Armagh, and to Our other Venerable Brethren the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland.

Beloved Son and Venerable Brethren, Health and Apostolic Benediction!

It has pleased the Irish on many occasions and by no doubtful tokens, to give proof to Us of that piety which has been handed down to them by their forefathers, and of their renowned devotion to the Apostolic See.

We have experienced, however, greater pleasure than usual at the testimony of regard which you hastened to send Us on the occasion of this happy solemnity of Our Pontifical Jubilee. In this message there are two things that cause Us the greatest joy, viz., that you are stimulated by the same feelings



and desires as the Blessed Patrick, Apostle of Ireland, and that you faithfully foster amongst your flocks the sentiments which he taught of veneration and love for the Chair of Peter. It is clear, indeed, that the spirit of your great father still lives amongst you, and it is also happily manifest that the future of your country promises an abundant and joyful harvest.

Whilst, therefore, We give to your zeal the tribute of praise that is due to it, and thank you for the expression of your devotion to Us, We must not fail to exhort each one of you to spare no pains in your efforts to maintain the glory handed down to you by your fathers as the honour of the Catholic name demanded. Seeking to obtain these favours, you will be assisted by the Apostolic Benediction, which as a pledge of Our Good Will and of all divine favours We lovingly in the Lord impart to you.

Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, on this 26th day of November, 1902, in the Twenty-fifth year of our Pontificate.

LEO PP. XIII.

## OUR IRISH MARTYRS : THEIR CANONISATION

THE list printed at the end of this paper is published in compliance with a suggestion made to me by his Eminence Cardinal Moran during his recent visit to Ireland. The names contained in it are those of a number of Irish bishops and priests, and of members of the Irish laity, men and women, who were put to death in Ireland in the days of persecution under Henry VIII., Elizabeth and Cromwell.

There were, no doubt, hundreds of others who suffered death for the faith in Ireland in those days of trial. But the historical records of the time are sadly incomplete. The list now published gives the names of those in respect of whom a definite claim has been put forward as capable of being made good by historical evidence, first, that they were put to death for the faith, and, secondly, that in their deaths were fulfilled the conditions recognised by the Church as entitling those who have so died to a place upon the roll of canonised martyrs. Cardinal Moran, when made aware that such a claim had been definitely formulated, suggested to me that the names of those in respect of whom it has been made should be published in the I. E. RECORD, with a statement explanatory of the steps that are being taken in furtherance of it.

It is a pleasure to be in a position to give effect to any such suggestion from his Eminence. From the earliest years of his priesthood,—probably even from the time when he was still a student in Rome,—he has looked forward with confidence to a day when the belief which has been traditional in the Irish Church for centuries, as to the

---

<sup>1</sup> It is of course to be understood that words such as 'martyr' and 'martyrdom,' when used in reference to the death of any person not authoritatively recognised by the Church as a martyr, are used in the popular, as distinct from the technical, or official, sense of the words. Such words must not be used so as to anticipate in any way the judgment of the Holy See.

martyrdom of numbers of those who suffered death in the days of persecution in Ireland, will be ratified by the solemn definitive judgment of the Holy See.

Dr. Moran's personal efforts towards the realisation of this confident hope date back to a time long previous to his coming from Rome to take up the work of an Irish priest at home in Ireland. In 1861, whilst Vice-Rector of the Irish College in Rome, he published the first edition of his *Life of Oliver Plunkett*.<sup>2</sup> That work, as even the most cursory reader of it cannot fail to see, was the fruit of years of laborious research in the archives of the Vatican and of Propaganda, and in many other storehouses of historical information in Rome. The one object for which the labour without which no such work could have been produced was gladly undertaken, is clearly indicated by not a few passages in the work itself. I need make but one quotation. In the interesting thirtieth chapter, on the 'Veneration shown to Dr. Plunkett after his Death,' Dr. Moran refers to a suggestion which was made as early as 1684, that steps should be taken for the canonisation of the martyred Primate. Of this he says :—

The Holy See did not, as yet, deem it opportune—such were the then existing circumstances of the English nation—to declare our holy prelate 'a martyr.' We may, however, fondly hope that the day is not now far distant when our long-afflicted Church will be consoled with the solemn declaration of the Vicar of Christ, that he who in the hour of trial was the Pillar of the House of God in our country, and who so nobly sealed with his blood the doctrines of our faith, may be ranked among the martyrs of our holy Church.<sup>3</sup>

Prefixed to the *Life of Oliver Plunkett* was a commendous, but at the same time comprehensive, historical essay, 'On the Persecution of the Irish Catholics by the Puritan Parliament and Cromwell, from 1641 to 1658.'<sup>4</sup> In

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<sup>2</sup> *Memoirs of the Most Rev. Oliver Plunkett, Archbishop of Armagh, and Primate of All Ireland, who suffered death for the Catholic Faith in the year 1681.* Compiled from Original Documents, by the Rev. Patrick Francis Moran, D.D., Vice-Rector of the Irish College, Rome (Dublin, 1861). A second edition of this important work was published in Dublin in 1895.

<sup>3</sup> *Memoirs of Oliver Plunkett.* (Dublin, 1861), pages 369, 370.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Introduction, pages vii.—lxviii.

the following year, 1862, this Essay, very notably expanded, was published as a separate volume,<sup>5</sup> the Preface of which plainly shows what Dr. Moran's object was in compiling a general account of the persecution of the Catholics of Ireland in the Cromwellian time. Catholic Ireland was confronted with the prospect of a great and irreparable loss. From the lack of any careful examination of the mass of unpublished contemporary records, and of a number also of printed works that had become so rare as to be very difficult of access, even the names of many of our Irish martyrs were in danger of being forgotten. Unless some practical effort was made to avert the danger, one lamentable result could easily be foreseen. If a claim should ever be made to have those martyrs canonised,—as a number of the Japanese martyrs of the seventeenth century were in that very year being canonised in Rome,—the claim would inevitably fail from want of historical evidence to sustain it. Dr. Moran meant to do his part towards averting that danger and the reproach which the existence of it implied.<sup>6</sup>

Again, three years afterwards, whilst still Vice-Rector of the Irish College in Rome, Dr. Moran published the first volume of another, and not less learned, work, the *History of the Catholic Archbishops of Dublin*.<sup>7</sup> To this he prefixed an Introduction containing a detailed account of the sufferings

<sup>5</sup> *Historical Sketch of the Persecutions suffered by the Catholics of Ireland under the rule of Cromwell and the Puritans*. By the Rev. Patrick Francis Moran, Vice-Rector of the Irish College, Rome. (Dublin, 1862-1865.) This *Historical Sketch* was republished, with further additions, in a volume of nearly 500 pages, in 1884.

<sup>6</sup> I quote, as pointing to a case remarkably similar to our own, the following passage from an interesting article on 'The English Martyrs,' in *The Month* for January, 1887, by the late Fr. John Morris, S.J. :—

'If we may judge a matter so supernatural by human appearances, we should say that it is by a special mercy of Almighty God that our English Martyrs have not been forgotten altogether. In their own time the affection borne to them by English Catholics was of the very keenest. Their relics were sought after and treasured. The narratives of their martyrdoms were carefully preserved. Their names were held in the liveliest veneration.

'That age passed away, and for the edification of those that were to follow, by a particular favour of God's Providence, Bishop Challoner wrote their Memoirs with a painstaking care and an accuracy for which we cannot be too grateful. Challoner's *Missionary Priests* saved the Martyrs from oblivion.' (*The Month*, vol. 59, n. 271, page 2.)

<sup>7</sup> *History of the Catholic Archbishops of Dublin*. By the Rev. Dr. Moran, Vice-Rector of the Irish College, Rome. Vol. i. (Dublin, 1864.)

of the Catholics of Ireland in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth,—a further most valuable contribution to the store of historical information,<sup>8</sup> the bringing together of which was a necessary preliminary to the taking of any formal proceedings for the canonisation of those who had suffered death for the faith in Ireland.<sup>9</sup>

The zealous labours of the Vice-Rector of the Irish College in furtherance of the work to which he had so earnestly applied himself in Rome were not interrupted by his coming to Ireland in 1866. Of that work, indeed, Dr. Moran never allowed himself to lose sight. It occupied no small share of his attention even when he was engaged, as he was for years, in the discharge of the multiplied and varied duties imposed upon him by his twofold office of secretary to Cardinal Cullen, and of professor of Sacred Scripture and of Hebrew in our Diocesan College, Clonliffe. And the canonisation of the Irish martyrs was prominent amongst the works of national as well as of Catholic interest for which he laboured, and towards the accomplishment of which he notably contributed, after he had been transferred to a position of wider influence in the See of Ossory.

Whilst Bishop of Ossory, Dr. Moran republished, in 1884, the *Analecta* of David Rothe, his predecessor in that See in the memorable days of the Confederation of Kilkenny.<sup>10</sup> By the re-issue of this historical work, Dr. Moran rendered a most signal service to those who were afterwards to be charged with the responsibility of carrying to a successful issue the preliminary proceedings for the canonisation of our Irish martyrs, when, in the judgment of the

<sup>8</sup> See especially the fourth chapter of the Introduction (pages 97-171), under the title, 'Persecution of the Irish Catholics under Elizabeth.'

<sup>9</sup> Two historical works, published since the time referred to above—each of them a storehouse of information of the very first importance in reference to our Irish Martyrs—should be mentioned here:—

*Memorials of those who suffered for the Catholic Faith in Ireland in the Sixteenth, Seventeenth, and Eighteenth Centuries.* Collected and edited by M. O'R. [Myles O'Reilly], London, 1868. (This valuable work was republished in New York, with important additions, in 1880.)

*Our Martyrs.* By the late Rev. Denis Murphy, S.J., LL.D., M.R.I.A. (Dublin, 1896.)

<sup>10</sup> *The Anallecta of David Rothe, Bishop of Ossory.* Edited, with Introduction, by Patrick F. Moran, Bishop of Ossory. (Dublin, 1884.)

Bishops of Ireland, the time had come for that work to be taken in hand.

Rothe was Bishop of Ossory from 1618 to 1650. He was the author of a number of works, of which, unfortunately, only one has come down to us. This is the work commonly spoken of as the *Analecta*. Its full title is a rather cumbersome one:—*Analecta sacra, nova, et mira, de rebus Catholicorum in Hibernia pro Fide et Religione gestis*. The importance of this work, in view of the proceedings necessary to be taken for the canonisation of those who died for the faith in Ireland, is shown by the following account of it, which I transcribe from an interesting paper by the late Rev. Denis Murphy, S.J., published in the I. E. RECORD in August, 1892. Of the *Analecta*, Fr. Murphy says:—

It is divided into three parts. The first was published at Cologne in 1618. It was reprinted in the following year, considerably enlarged, with a second part added. The third part was published in 1619. . . .

The first part treats chiefly of the laws made against Catholics during the reign of James I. The second part opens with an *Epistola Paraenetica*, addressed to Cornelius O'Devany (Bishop of Down and Connor) and to others of the clergy and laity lately imprisoned for professing the faith. . . . The third part, styled *De Processu Martyriali quorundam Fidei Pugilum in Hibernia*, contains a list of the bishops, priests, both secular and regular, and of the laity, who up to that time had suffered martyrdom, imprisonment, and exile. . . . The lives of some are given at considerable length, and contain many details concerning them not to be found elsewhere.<sup>11</sup>

As Fr. Murphy tells us, this important work, before it was reprinted by Dr. Moran, had become very rare. Dr. Moran himself mentions that it had become so rare that Mr. Myles O'Reilly, when publishing his *Memorials of those who suffered for the Catholic Faith in Ireland in the 16th, 17th, and 18th Centuries*,<sup>12</sup> was unable to discover a complete copy in any public or private library throughout Ireland or Great Britain.<sup>13</sup>

But Dr. Moran was not content with a mere reprinting of David Rothe's work. With untiring industry he prepared for

<sup>11</sup> I. E. RECORD (Third Series), vol. xiii. (August, 1902), page 721.

<sup>12</sup> See page 11, footnote 9.

<sup>13</sup> See the *Analecta*, Dr. Moran's Introduction, page xi.

it a historical Introduction of singular value. The contents of this Introduction are described as follows by Dr. Moran himself :—

In this Introduction I propose to select a few instances of those whose imprisonment and sufferings are described in particular detail in the following work [the *Analecta*], to test by the witness of contemporary records and official documents which, for the most part, have come to light in our own days, the accuracy of the history which the *Analecta* presents.

I have chosen for this purpose the sufferings of Dermot O'Hurley, Archbishop of Cashel, Richard Creagh, Archbishop of Armagh, and Cornelius O'Devany, Bishop of Down and Connor. They were bright ornaments of the Irish Church in their days, and by the martyrdom which they endured, and the heroism they displayed, shed lustre on the Irish Episcopate.<sup>14</sup>

The value and importance of the further contribution thus made by Dr. Moran to the history of a troubled but glorious time in the history of the Church of Ireland, is sufficiently indicated by the fact that this Introduction—a minutely detailed narrative, copiously illustrated by quotations from original documents and from the works of historians of repute,—extends to over 115 pages. Of these, 33 pages are devoted to the life of Dermot O'Hurley of Cashel, 47 to that of Richard Creagh of Armagh, and 35 to that of Cornelius O'Devany of Down and Connor.

And here, once more, Dr. Moran gives expression to the idea that inspired the compilation of these valuable records :—

There is a special reason why the publication of this work may not be regarded as inopportune at the present time. . . .

Enjoying, as we now do, a period of comparative calm, many friends of Ireland have begun at home and abroad, to give expression to the wish, that, although our whole people might justly be regarded as a nation of martyrs, yet some few names, at least, among the most remarkable for constancy and heroism, would be laid before the Sacred Congregation of Rites, and, if found worthy, be enrolled among the privileged martyrs of Holy Church.

While such a matter is being discussed, and such a project is being matured, it cannot but be advisable to place this authentic narrative within the reach of everyone who may have at heart the cause of religion, and Ireland's best interests.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>14</sup> *Analecta*, Introduction, page xi.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, page xii.

Close upon twenty years have gone by since Dr. Moran, shortly after the publication of his edition of the *Analecta*, was called away from his Irish diocese to take up the missionary work of an Australian bishop. But neither the many years of his absence from amongst us, nor the thousands of miles that separate Australia from Ireland, have in the least degree diminished the ardour of his zeal for the canonisation of those amongst our Irish martyrs as to whose sufferings and death for the faith sufficient historical evidence may be found to exist.

Of this we had abundant proof during his Eminence's recent visit to Ireland. It would be difficult indeed to say in what particular the steadfastness or the freshness of Cardinal Moran's zeal for the advancement of every interest of our country, whether in the spiritual or in the material order, was made most manifest to those who had the opportunity of frequent intercourse with him during the few months of his stay amongst us last year. As to his Eminence's public addresses, there was hardly a topic of interest to Irishmen of the present day upon which he did not contribute to a stirring up of the public mind to a renewed and profitable activity. It is to be hoped that those addresses will be published in some permanent form. Never surely has there been put forward a more outspoken statement of the claims of the people of Ireland as a whole, and of the Catholics of Ireland in particular, to the introduction of a thorough-going reform both in the existing laws, and in the system both of legislation and of government, in this country. And never has there been put forward a more emphatic fore-warning of the certain failure that is in store for any statesman who may be unwise enough to attempt to meet those claims upon lines of procrastination, of compromise, or of experiment,—in a word, upon any line other than that upon which alone any plan or system that is meant to be permanent, or even stable, in Ireland, can be constructed with any prospect of success, the line of unfaltering even-handed justice.

All this is well known to every reader of the newspapers of the day. Not so well known to the public, probably indeed



known only to a very few amongst us, was the untiring perseverance with which his Eminence laboured during his recent visit to Europe—and not less assiduously in Rome than in Ireland—for the hastening of the time to which he has never ceased to look forward, when some at least of the heroic men and women who for centuries have been believed by their fellow-countrymen to have died for the faith in Ireland, shall be pronounced by the infallible authority of the Holy See to be worthy to receive from the faithful throughout the world the veneration due to those who have won the crown of martyrdom.

In the case of our Irish Martyrs, until about ten years ago, matters were not sufficiently forward to make it possible even to take in hand the work of direct preparation for the holding of the judicial inquiry before a local ecclesiastical tribunal, which is the first formal step in the long process of canonisation.<sup>16</sup>

As a general rule, in the case of martyrs, this local inquiry is held by the bishop of the diocese in which the person whose martyrdom it is sought to establish was put to death. If a number of cases are to be inquired into that have many incidents or circumstances in common, the bishops concerned may arrange to have the inquiry held by one of their number. In the case of the Irish Martyrs, the holding of the preliminary judicial inquiry has been entrusted by the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland to the Archbishop of Dublin.

The case of Oliver Plunkett, however, stands apart, and it stands, fortunately, in a position of advantage, already fully secured. Our martyred Primate suffered death at Tyburn, which is within the present district of Marylebone, in London.<sup>17</sup> His case, then,—along with those of between five and six hundred others, who were English by nationality, as well as English martyrs by reason of

<sup>16</sup> See Benedict XIV., Lib. 2, cap. ii., n. 1. In all cases of reference to Benedict XIV. throughout this paper, it is to be understood that the reference is to his work on the Beatification and Canonisation of Saints.

<sup>17</sup> A clear account of the position of Tyburn, and of the place of execution there, will be found in the article 'London' in *Chambers's Encyclopædia*. The reference (vol. 6, page 105) is given under the word 'Tyburn.'

the place of their martyrdom,—had come nearly thirty years ago, into the hands of the diocesan tribunal of Westminster, and had consequently made considerable progress some years before any definite step was taken for the canonisation of those who had suffered for the faith in Ireland.

This may be the most convenient place to state the precise point upon which evidence has to be brought before the diocesan tribunal. It is not, at least directly the fact of martyrdom, but the *fama*, or sufficient repute, of martyrdom, that the local tribunal has to deal with.

The Holy See will not even allow a petition for canonisation to go for investigation before a special tribunal to be constituted under its authority, until it has first been satisfied that the case to be submitted to that tribunal is one that has not been put forward merely by some few devout persons, inspired, possibly, by an exaggerated sentiment of piety. There must be, to begin with, in the judgment of a local diocesan tribunal,<sup>18</sup> something in the nature of a general belief, resting upon tangible facts, that the person whose case the Holy See is called upon to investigate, lived the life of a saint, or died the death of a martyr, and consequently has a claim to be enrolled amongst the canonised saints of the Church.

‘It may be asked,’ says Fr. Denis Murphy, ‘how can witnesses [such, for instance, as those who gave testimony before the diocesan tribunal of Westminster in the case of the English Martyrs] depose to facts that happened long before they were born? The answer is, the Church has in view,—in the preliminary local inquiry,—‘to establish the *public repute* of martyrdom . . .

‘Witnesses can speak as to the traditions of a locality, of a family, of a religious order. To this oral testimony is added the knowledge that is derived from books written at different times and by different persons. Indeed, some of the most valuable testimonies on behalf of our martyrs are found in the works of Protestant writers.’<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> See Benedict XIV., Lib. I., cap. i.

<sup>19</sup> I. E. RECORD (Third Series), vol. xiii. (February, 1892), pages 129, 130.

The grounds upon which the diocesan tribunal is to be asked to decide that the repute of martyrdom is sufficiently established, are set out in a number of definite statements put before the tribunal by the Postulator, an official who is appointed to prepare the case for it in this way.<sup>20</sup> The *Postulator* is usually selected from amongst the secular or regular clergy of the diocese in which the inquiry is held. The statements thus prepared are technically called 'articles,' *articuli*.<sup>21</sup> In the later stages of a case, its progress is notably facilitated if not merely the existence of a general repute of martyrdom, but also the various facts and circumstances upon which that repute is based, have been proved at the first local inquiry. The *Postulator*, then, usually frames the 'articles' in such a way as to bring the case as fully as possible before the diocesan tribunal.<sup>22</sup>

Another important official concerned in the proceedings before the local tribunal is the *Promotor Fidei*—an official popularly known as the Devil's Advocate. The *Promotor Fidei* is sworn to raise every point that occurs to him as tending to weaken in any way the force of the evidence brought forward in support of the case made by the *Postulator*.

<sup>20</sup> See Lauri, *Codex pro Postulatoribus*, vol. i., p. 4.

<sup>21</sup> As to these, see Lauri, vol. i., pages 4-17.

<sup>22</sup> See the 'articuli' in the case of the Venerable Oliver Plunkett, in the I. E. RECORD for last November (I. E. RECORD, Fourth Series, vol. xii., pages 390-415).

Those 'articuli,' it will be observed, have been prepared in connection, not with the preliminary local inquiry, but with the *Processus Apostolicus*, or inquiry to be conducted by direction of the Holy See, after the case has been 'introduced' in the technical sense which will be explained in the course of this paper.

The case of the Ven. Oliver Plunkett, as we shall see, was one of those that were successfully carried through the initial stage by the diocesan tribunal of Westminster, and it was consequently 'introduced' in December, 1886. Some years afterwards, it was detached from the other Westminster cases with the view of having it brought more expeditiously through the intervening stages to the solemn ceremony of Beatification.

The 'articuli' are invariably presented in the name of the *Postulator*, the *Postulator* in the case of the Ven. Oliver Plunkett, for the purposes of the *Processus Apostolicus*, being the Right Rev. Mgr. Murphy, Rector of the Irish College, Rome. In the case of the *Processus Apostolicus*, the articles to be presented by the *Postulator*, are drawn up, as a rule, not by the *Postulator* himself, but by the 'advocate,' usually a layman, to whom is entrusted the conducting of the case generally. (See the reference to 'the advocate Achille Martini,' in Cardinal Moran's letter published in the November number of the I. E. RECORD, page 386.)

The Westminster tribunal having had charge of the case of Oliver Plunkett in its initial stage, it is necessary here to devote some consideration to the course of the proceedings in that tribunal, down to the point at which they ceased to have any special reference to this particular case.

The necessary steps for the formation of the Westminster tribunal were taken in 1873.

It was not from any lack of devotion to the memory of those who had died for the faith in England that the taking of any formal action for their canonisation was delayed until then. A singularly interesting account of what had been done in reference to this matter from the year 1628 onward, will be found in an article in *The Month*<sup>23</sup> for January, 1887. The article is from the pen of a writer who has been truly described by his biographer<sup>24</sup> as the apostle of the cause of the English Martyrs, the late Fr. John Morris, S.J.

At one time, in the seventeenth century, when the taking of active steps for the canonisation of the martyrs was in contemplation, Parliament itself interfered. A Father Francis Bell, of the Order of St. Francis, had been selected to aid in the preliminary local investigation of the case, and it has been conjectured, not without reason, that it was in consequence of this that Fr. Bell was himself put to death in London.<sup>25</sup> Later on, when the policy of bare and almost contemptuous toleration had taken the place of that of open persecution,—down indeed to the passing of the measure known as the Catholic Emancipation Act, in 1829,—the Bishops of England were naturally deterred by considerations of prudence from raising questions such as those upon which judgment would have to be pronounced by ecclesiastical authority, if men and women who had been put to death

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<sup>23</sup> 'The English Martyrs.' See *The Month*, vol. 59, n. 271 (Jan., 1887), pages 1-17.

<sup>24</sup> See *Life and Letters of Father John Morris, S.J.* By Father J. H. Pollen, S.J. (London, 1896.)

<sup>25</sup> See *The Month*, January, 1887, pages 3, 4.

in England by the State as guilty of treason, were to be glorified by the Church as martyrs.

About sixty years ago, some of the English Bishops, Fr. Denis Murphy tells us,<sup>26</sup> brought the question of the canonisation of the English Martyrs under the notice of the Holy See, asking whether it would not be well that the matter should then be taken in hand. They were advised, in reply, to defer it to a time, perhaps not far off, when it could be taken up with less risk of danger to Catholic interests in the country.

Of this application I find no mention, either in the article in *The Month*, or in the *Life of Fr. John Morris, S.J.*, already referred to. It may be that the incidents mentioned by Fr. Murphy were those that occurred, as we shall see, in 1871.

At the Third Provincial Synod of Westminster, held in 1859, attention was again directed to the matter. In view of the difficulties by which the carrying through of the complicated Ordinary Process of canonisation is beset, it was at that time assumed by the Bishops of England that if the English Martyrs were to be canonised, it could only be by means of some simpler form of procedure, the adoption of which might be allowed by special privilege. The ground for hoping for the concession of such a privilege was the honour in which, according to tradition, the victims of the persecution in England in the days of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth were held at the time by the Holy See itself.

Pope Paul V., for instance, had permitted the Colleges from which the missionaries had gone forth, to sing a Mass of Thanksgiving when the news of a martyrdom was received, with the grant of a Plenary Indulgence to all who should assist at it. But then, 'the Pope expressly ordered that the word *martyr* or *martyrdom* should not be used; and the concession, cheering as it must have been to those whose hearts exulted at the thought that their College had one martyr more, was in itself no help whatever to obtaining for that martyr the honours of the altars.'<sup>27</sup>

<sup>26</sup> See I. E. RECORD (Third Series), vol. xiii. (January, 1892), page 42.

<sup>27</sup> Fr. Morris, S.J., in *The Month*, January, 1887, page 7.

Again, there was credible testimony that Gregory XIII. had granted permission, in 1582, that, in the consecration of altars, if the relics of ancient martyrs could not be had, relics of those who had been put to death for the faith under Henry VIII. and Elizabeth might be used for the purpose. But there was no evidence as to who the martyrs individually were that were thus honoured by the Holy See.<sup>28</sup> Now there is no such proceeding known to ecclesiastical law as the consecration of a *turba martyrum*, in contradistinction to the canonisation of a number of martyrs individually. However numerous the cases may be, each individual case must be dealt with on its own merits. It was plain, then, that no progress could be made on the ground of this permission alone.

Another point, the significance of which, we are told by Fr. Morris, was not at all appreciated in England when the matter was under consideration there, was that certain frescoes—which had long perished—representing the English Martyrs and the sufferings they had endured for the faith, had at one time been painted on the walls of the Church of the English College in Rome.<sup>29</sup> This point, which was subsequently found to be of the utmost importance in the case, will be noticed in detail further on.

At the Westminster Provincial Synod of 1859, all these matters were considered, but the only action then taken was the forwarding of a petition by Cardinal Wiseman and the other Bishops of England to the Holy See, for the establishment of a feast of All the Martyrs of England—*Omnium Angliae Martyrum*—with a special Mass and Office. The feast, with its 'proper' Mass and Office, was to be in honour, not of the martyrs of any special period, but of all the martyrs of the English Church, beginning with the Protomartyr of England, St. Alban. In the proposed Lessons of the Second Nocturn, after a reference by name to several of the martyrs already canonised, there was a general statement,—which was undoubtedly capable of being understood as referring to the uncanonised martyrs of the

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<sup>28</sup> See *The Month*, Jan., 1887, page 7.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, pages 7, 8.

Tudor times,—‘nec defuere alii utriusque sexus et omnis coetus qui pro Sanctae Sedis honore sanguinem suum fundere non dubitarunt.’ This petition was unsuccessful.<sup>30</sup>

But the English Bishops, to their credit, were not easily put off. In 1871, they presented another petition. In the case of the Corean Martyrs, shortly before, the Holy See had accepted letters of the local Vicars Apostolic, as supplying the place of the formal inquiry prescribed by the Pontifical Decrees on the subject as the first step in the Ordinary Process of canonisation. The English Bishops, then, sought for a similar concession. They asked that, in the case also of the English Martyrs, the ordinary procedure—the adoption of which seemed at that time to be regarded in England as something lying quite out of the range of possibility—might be dispensed with. In reference to the English Martyrs, as was mentioned in the petition, two documents of great authority, carefully compiled by English Vicars Apostolic, were forthcoming:—a Catalogue of Martyrs, drawn up in 1628, by Bishop Richard Smith, Bishop of Chalcedon, and Vicar Apostolic of England; and the well-known *Memoirs*<sup>31</sup> compiled by Bishop Challoner, Vicar Apostolic of the London District, which were published by him in 1741, and were reprinted in 1803 and again in subsequent years.

After some correspondence,<sup>32</sup> the official answer was given in June, 1872: *Non expedire*. And in the April of the following year, Cardinal Manning was recommended to take up the case in the exercise of his ordinary jurisdiction, and proceed to the holding of the local judicial inquiry which is the first step in the Ordinary Process of canonisation. The matter was then at once taken in hand. The necessary initial formalities were promptly complied with. The tribunal constituted by his Eminence held its first sitting on the 19th of June, 1874. And it completed its work in the September of the same year.

<sup>30</sup> See *The Month*, Jan., 1887, page 6.

<sup>31</sup> *Memoirs of Missionary Priests and other Catholics of both Sexes who suffered Death or Imprisonment in England on account of their Religion, from the year 1577 till the end of the reign of Charles II.*

<sup>32</sup> See *The Month*, Jan., 1887, page 9.

The number of those for whom it was at first sought to secure the honours of martyrdom was between five and six hundred. As the proceedings, however, before the Westminster tribunal went on, about 200 names were, for one reason or another, put aside. There remained 353; and to these, on grounds of a singularly interesting character, six others were afterwards added in Rome.

Of the 359, no fewer than 94, headed by Sir Thomas More, once Lord Chancellor of England, were of the laity; three of these were Knights of Malta. Cardinal Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, and Oliver Plunkett, Archbishop of Armagh, represented the episcopate; with these, there were 39 Jesuits, 19 Benedictines, 18 Carthusians, 14 Franciscans, an Augustinian, a Bridgettine, and the striking number of 173 secular priests.

By the time that the first official document in reference to the case was published by the Holy See, on the 29th of December—the Feast of St. Thomas of Canterbury—1886, the 359 cases that had been submitted to the Holy See had become separated into three distinct groups. In the first of these there were placed 48 of the cases, making, with the six that were added in Rome, 54 in all; in the second group there were 261; and in the third, 44.

As the name of Oliver Plunkett was placed in the second of these three groups, it is of importance to explain what the difference of the groups represents, and upon what principles the different cases were placed in each.

The 44 cases forming the third group may be briefly disposed of. These cases were put back by the Sacred Congregation on<sup>83</sup> the ground that the evidence collected by the local tribunal was not sufficient to warrant their being put before the Holy Father for what is technically designated the signing of the Commission for the 'Introduction' of the case,—*Signatura Introductionis Commissionis*.

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<sup>83</sup> As a matter of convenience, I speak throughout of the Sacred Congregation of Rites itself. The matter, however, as is usual in all such cases was dealt with by a Special Commission, composed partly of Cardinals, taken from amongst the members of the Sacred Congregation of Rites, and partly of leading officials of the Congregation.



Of the Commission as thus signed, Benedict XIV. says: 'nihil aliud est quam supplicatio . . . Summo Pontifici exhibita, et ab eodem admissa atque subscripta, per quam impertitur facultatem Congregationi Sacrorum Rituum procedendi in causa Beatificationis et Canonizationis alicujus Servi Dei.'<sup>34</sup>

This formal 'Introduction' of the case is a step of great importance in the proceedings. It is preceded by a discussion in the Sacred Congregation, of a *Dubium* the terms of which are: 'An sit signanda Commissio Introductionis causae in casu, et ad effectum, de quo agitur?'

One of the standing rules of the Congregation is that the petition for the discussion of this *Dubium* shall not be presented for ten years after all the documents in the case have been forwarded to Rome from the local tribunal by which the preliminary inquiry has been held, and have been duly deposited with the Official of the Sacred Congregation appointed to have custody of them. As to this, however, on sufficient reason being shown, dispensations are frequently granted by the Holy See.

Amongst the papers submitted to the Sacred Congregation for its guidance in the discussion of the *Dubium* as to the Introduction of a case, is an elaborate printed Report from the *Promotor Fidei*—the official of the Sacred Congregation, popularly known as the Devil's Advocate, whose duty it is to raise every adverse point that is suggested to him by his wide knowledge of canonical procedure, or by the nature of the evidence in the case.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Lib. 2, cap. xxxv., n. 1.

<sup>35</sup> The office of *Promotor Fidei*, attached to the Sacred Congregation of Rites, is an office of great dignity and importance. It is one of the positions known as Cardinalitial, the holder of it,—except in the event of his being cut off by death,—being invariably raised to the Cardinalate.

Benedict XIV. at one time held this important post. In the Preface to his work on the Beatification and Canonisation of Saints, he speaks of himself as 'ab anno 1708, ex singulari memorati Pontificis [Clementis XI.] beneficio ad spectabile Fidei Promotoris officium evecti, eodemque perfuncti usque ad annum 1728.' In the discharge of his duty in this office, he opposed, on various grounds, the canonisation of many Saints. And not the least interesting passages in his treatise are those in which he mentions the objections which he pressed upon the Sacred Congregation, sometimes with, sometimes without, effect.

Of the 359 cases of the English Martyrs, the Promoter of the Faith, Mgr. Caprara, objected to the signing of the Commission in 76 instances. In the course of the discussion, however, he yielded to some extent to the further arguments of the lawyers by whom the signing of the Commission was advocated, and consequently withdrew his objections in 32 of the cases. There remained 44, as to which he continued to oppose the '*Introductio Causae*,'—or rather 43, there being one case as to which he held himself neutral.

The decision of the Congregation was in accordance with Mgr. Caprara's view. The 44 cases were put back; the decision as to these being: *Dilata, et coadjuventur probationes*. The evidence collected by the diocesan tribunal at Westminster was, then, to this extent, insufficient: as to those 44 cases, unless stronger proofs could be put forward, no further progress could be made.

We may now take the second group of cases. These, as we have seen, numbered 261. In these 261 cases,—one of them being that of Oliver Plunkett,—the Sacred Congregation recommended the signing of the Commission.

As a rule, but not altogether as a matter of course, the recommendation of the Sacred Congregation ensures the signing of the Commission by the Holy Father. The recommendation is in the form: *Signandum esse Commissionem si Sanctissimo placuerit*. It may be of interest to notice the peculiar form in which his Holiness affixes his signature to this particular document. He writes *Placet*, adding the initial letter of his baptismal name.<sup>36</sup> Thus, for instance, the present Holy Father, signs, in this case, not as Leo, but as Joachim. He writes<sup>37</sup> *Placet, J.*

By the 'Signing of the Commission' the Sovereign Pontiff authoritatively recognises that, in the case which he thus empowers the Sacred Congregation of Rites to investigate,

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<sup>36</sup> 'Addita prima littera sui nominis, quod habebat ante Pontificatum.' Ben. XIV., Lib. 2, cap. xxxv., n. 10.

<sup>37</sup> See Lauri, vol. i, page 30.

there is—in the case of the proposed canonisation of a martyr—sufficient evidence of the *fama martyrii*, and that the petition for canonisation is worthy of investigation by the Holy See.

In the cases of this second group, the favourable decision of the Sacred Congregation was given on the 4th of December, 1886, and the Commission was signed by the Holy Father on the 9th of the same month.

As one of the 261 champions of the faith, in respect of whom this point in the long process was now reached, our martyred Primate received the title of Venerable, or Venerable Servant of God. Of this title, Benedict XIV. says :—

Servus Dei . . . dicitur ille, qui moritur cum fama sanctitatis. *Venerabilis* autem *Dei Servus* ille vocatur cujus sanctitatis fama *judiciali jure probata* est, . . . et ita quidem, stricte loquendo, Venerabiles Dei Servi sunt illi, secundum consuetudinem Congregationis Sacrorum Rituum, in quorum Beatificationis et Canonizationis causis Commissio signata est.<sup>38</sup>

The title Venerable is, in fact, officially used in the published Decree of the Sacred Congregation, by which it is made known that the Commission has been signed.

It was at one time discussed as a practical question whether the signing of the Commission did not imply that the Venerable Servant of God in whose case the Commission had been signed might not be honoured with a public religious cultus. Here, once more, we may refer to Benedict XIV. He says :—

Licet olim disputaretur an a signatura Commissionis aliquod publici cultus aut observationis argumentum desumi posset, hodie nihilominus quaelibet cessat controversia ; cum ex decreto edito die 19 Februarii anno 1658 colligitur *signaturam Commissionis nullum cultus initium importare*.<sup>39</sup>

In illustration of the extent of the prohibition to give public religious veneration to one not yet beatified, I

<sup>38</sup> Lib. 1, cap. xxxvii., n. 4.

<sup>39</sup> Lib. 2, cap. xxxv., n. 11.

may transcribe the following passage from another chapter of Benedict XIV.'s classic treatise :—

Non solum Sedes Apostolica cultum publicum prohibuit erga Dei Servos non beatificatos neque canonizatos, verum etiam exclusa voluit ea omnia quae ad publicum ipsum cultum referri possunt, et quae populum ad eum inducere valent, ante iudicium a se proferendum. Quamobrem . . . videmus tabulas votivas, et horum Servorum Dei imagines, non posse in ecclesiis retineri, nec eas pingi posse cum laureolis et diademate.<sup>40</sup>

Hence, one of the intervening steps between the Signing of the Commission and the subsequent Beatification of the Saint, is the holding of a special judicial inquiry, technically designated *de Non cultu*, the object of which is to ascertain whether this prohibition has been obeyed.<sup>41</sup>

It can hardly be necessary to add that, in numerous instances, after the formal signing of the Commission and the consequent 'Introduction' of the case at Rome, no further progress was made. In the case of the English Martyrs, Mgr. Caprara, whilst withdrawing, as he did in several instances, his objection to the Introduction of a case, intimated that he did so only for the particular purpose then under consideration. The *fama martyrii* was sufficiently established to allow those cases to proceed as worthy of being inquired into by the Holy See. But he made it known that there were certain objections which would have to be pressed when the fact of martyrdom eventually came to be proved with a view to Beatification.<sup>42</sup>

So far, then, for the second of the three groups into which the cases sent forward by the tribunal at Westminster were divided by the subsequent proceedings in Rome.

We come now to the first group. This, as I have said, comprised 54 cases. In those 54 cases there was neither a *Signatura Commissionis Introductionis*, nor a reference back to the diocesan tribunal for further evidence. The first decree issued in reference to them was a Decree which was equivalently a Decree of Beatification.

<sup>40</sup> Lib. 2, cap. i., n. 9.

<sup>41</sup> As to this, see Benedict XIV., Lib. 1, cap. ii., n. 3; and Lauri, vol. i., pages 37-42.

<sup>42</sup> See *The Month*, Jan., 1887, page 15.

It will probably be asked how it was that our Venerable Primate, Oliver Plunkett, was not included in this group. Was he not as clearly entitled to Beatification as any of those comprised in it? To answer this question it is necessary only to state the peculiar circumstances in which it became possible in these 54 cases to arrive so promptly at a definite result.

I assume it to be generally known that Beatification, as distinct from Canonisation, is an official act by which—to quote the commonly received definition, from which Benedict XIV. sets out in his exposition of the subject,—

Romanus Pontifex *indulgento permittit* aliquem Dei servum coli posse *in aliqua provincia, dioecesi, civitate, aut religiosa Familia*, cultu quodam determinato . . . usquequo ad solemnem ejus Canonizationem deveniatur.<sup>43</sup>

On the other hand, as Benedict XIV. says :—

Canonizationem dicunt esse Summi Pontificis sententiam definitivam qua *decernit* aliquem, antea inter Beatos recensitum, in Sanctorum catalogum esse referendum, et *coli debere in toto orbe Catholico*.<sup>44</sup>

The ecclesiastical cultus in question usually consists in the assigning of a special feast day, with a Mass and Office of the saint, or with at least a commemoration of the saint in the Mass and Office of the day. It is important, then, to note in what sense those words of the definition of Canonisation—‘coli debere in toto orbe Catholico’—are to be understood. As a modern writer, in his exposition of this matter, puts it :—

Praeceptum non intelligitur quo universa ecclesia obligatur ad officium et missam de Sancto dicendam, quia non omnes Sancti canonizati habent officium praescriptum pro universa ecclesia ; sed praeceptum in eo est, quod *omnes fideles obligantur ad illum indubitanter pro Sancto habendum*, id est, pro tali qui publico [totius ecclesiae] cultu dignus sit.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>43</sup> Benedict XIV. (Lib. I, cap. xxxvii., nn. 8-14), whilst accepting the commonly received definitions of Beatification and Canonisation as applicable in the great majority of cases, criticises those definitions in detail, sustaining his criticisms by many illustrations drawn from the inexhaustible stores of his knowledge both of the law and of the practice of the Church in this matter. For the purposes of this paper, however, the definitions as given in the text above may be taken as sufficiently correct.

<sup>44</sup> Lib. I, cap. xxxix., n. 5.

<sup>45</sup> Pesch. *Praelectiones Theologicae* (Friburgi Brisgoviae, 1894), vol. I, p. 329.

Incidentally I may here point out that the distinction between those two acts of Pontifical authority, only one of which—that of Canonisation—is obligatory upon the Church throughout the world, sufficiently explains the general teaching of theologians, that whilst Canonisation comes within the sphere of the infallible *magisterium* of the Holy See, Beatification does not.<sup>46</sup>

For many centuries, it was left free to Bishops—to each, of course, for his own diocese only,—to decide as to whether a person who had died with the repute of sanctity might be publicly honoured as a saint. Such action on the part of a bishop was, from the nature of the case, of merely local application. The so-called Canonisation, then, of those days differed but little from Beatification, as the term is now understood.

Gradually it became evident that a system in which the giving of religious cultus to persons who had died with the repute of sanctity could be sanctioned by merely local authority was open to abuse, and that the only real safeguard lay in a reservation of the matter to the Holy See. The decretal *Audivimus*,<sup>47</sup> issued by Alexander III. in 1170, is generally regarded as the first formal act of Pontifical reservation in this matter. The reservation, however, was not, all at once, very stringently enforced,—not at least to the extent of excluding action taken by Bishops with what might be regarded as a presumed sanction from the Holy See. The present practice of the Church in the matter of canonisation was not, indeed, finally settled until the Pontificate of Urban VIII. It was Urban VIII. who, in a series of Decrees, issued in 1625, and confirmed in 1634, formulated

<sup>46</sup> See, for instance, Benedict XIV., Lib. I, capp. xlii.—xlv.; and Murray, *De Ecclesia Christi*, Disp. xvii., nn. 194-202.

<sup>47</sup> The Decretal *Audivimus* will be found in the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, in the 1st chapter of the 45th title in the 3rd book of the Decretals of Gregory IX.

The occasion of its being issued by Alexander III. was that Adalbert, Bishop of Luxeuil, reported to the Holy See that in a district of his diocese a former Procurator of a monastery, who had met with his death in circumstances not easy to be reconciled with a title to sanctity of any kind, was being publicly honoured as a martyr.

The story of this strange 'martyrdom' is briefly narrated by Bishop Adalbert as follows:—'Is, quem [Abbas, iter quoddam suscepturus] Procuratorem reliquerat, ebrius in refectorio super coenam duos de fratribus cultello percussit, atque ab eis incontinenti pertica, quam casus obtulit, interfectus est.' (See Benedict XIV., Lib. I, cap. x., n. 3.)

the procedure which, with some few trifling modifications in matters of detail, is followed to the present day.

The bearing of all this upon the process for the canonisation of the English Martyrs, and, amongst them, of the Venerable Oliver Plunkett, may not perhaps, at first sight, be apparent. But these references to the nature of Beatification as distinct from Canonisation, and to the former discipline of the Church in this matter bear directly on the matter in hand. For they make it easy to explain why it was that a certain number of those whose names were sent forward by the Westminster tribunal were beatified,—or, to speak with strictly technical accuracy, were ‘equivalently’ beatified, *æquipollenter beatificati*,—by the Decree of the 29th of December, 1886, whilst, on the other hand, hundreds of others, including our martyred Primate, Oliver Plunkett,—whose names had been similarly sent forward by the tribunal in Westminster,—were recognised, at Rome, only as having a claim worthy of being inquired into by the Holy See.

The explanation of the matter is this. When Urban VIII. fixed the rigorous procedure to be followed in the beatification and canonisation of saints, he abstained from interfering with any cases of public cultus, whether of martyrs or of other saints, that had been sufficiently established before his time. Hence, in prohibiting the giving of public religious cultus to any but those who were canonised, or at least beatified, under the form of procedure which he prescribed, Urban VIII. expressly excepted all those cases in which the giving of such cultus was, at that time, sanctioned in any of the four following ways :—

1. Per communem Ecclesiae consensum ;
2. Per immemorabilem temporis cursum ;
3. Per Patrum virorumque sanctorum scripta ; vel,
4. Longissimi temporis scientia ac tolerantia Sedis Apostolicæ vel Ordinarii.<sup>48</sup>

The nature of these four exceptions is explained by Benedict XIV., in great fulness of detail, and with abundant

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<sup>48</sup> See Benedict XIV., Lib. 2, cap. xvii., n. 1.

wealth of illustration, throughout eight chapters of his monumental work.<sup>49</sup>

A case coming under any of those heads was to be exceptionally treated: it was to stand, in fact,—as regards the giving of public religious cultus,—as if a Decree of Beatification had already been issued. In such a case, then, the only proceedings that remain to be taken at Rome are those that in ordinary cases lead on from Beatification to Canonisation.

The exceptional cases thus marked off by Urban VIII. being cases in which public religious cultus had been given under certain conditions recognised as authorising it, all other cases,—that is to say, all those cases that are not to proceed *per viam casus excepti*, in other words, all ordinary cases,—are technically said to proceed *per viam Non cultus*.<sup>50</sup>

In such cases, under the procedure established by Urban VIII. a special judicial inquiry is to be held with a view of ascertaining whether the prohibition imposed by that Pontiff against the giving of public religious cultus to any one not canonised, or at least beatified, has been obeyed. This special proceeding is called the Process *de Non cultu*, or *super Non cultu*.<sup>51</sup> In the more recent practice of the Holy See, this special inquiry need not be held until after the case has been 'introduced' at Rome.<sup>52</sup>

In a case proceeding *per viam casus excepti*, as in all other cases, the proceedings must begin with a judicial inquiry before a local tribunal. But in such a case, the point to be established before that tribunal is, that the condition which is relied upon as bringing the case within one or another class of excepted cases is really verified. If there is question, for instance, of the establishment of a *casus exceptus* on the ground that a religious cultus had been publicly given *per immemorabilem temporis cursum*,—

<sup>49</sup> Lib. 2, cap. xvii.-xxiv.

<sup>50</sup> See Lauri, vol. i., page 1.

<sup>51</sup> As to this, see Lauri, vol. ii., pages 37-42.

<sup>52</sup> See Lauri, *ibid.*



which, as is declared by Urban VIII. himself, is to be understood of a period of at least a hundred years<sup>53</sup> before the issuing of his final Decree on the subject, in 1634,—there must be, in the first instance, a judicial finding of the local tribunal that cultus was so given.

In the subsequent proceedings at the Holy See, there is, in 'excepted' cases, no such stage as the '*Signatura Introductionis Commissionis*,' and the first *Dubium* to be discussed by the Sacred Congregation is:—

An sententia lata a iudice . . . super cultu ab immemorabili tempore praestito Venerabili Servo Dei N., seu super casu excepto a Decretis Urbani VIII., sit confirmanda in casu, et ad effectum, de quo agitur? <sup>54</sup>

If the decision is in the affirmative, a Decree to this effect is published, and thereupon, without even the celebration of the usual solemn ceremonial of Beatification,—which is never held in a case that proceeds *per viam casus excepti*<sup>55</sup>—the Beatification is complete.

All this is explained by Benedict XIV. with characteristic lucidity:—

Si sententia Ordinarii . . . faveat casui excepto a decretis Urbani VIII., eademque confirmationis robur obtineat a sacra Congregatione, et sacrae Congregationis responsum a Pontifice approbatur, Dei Servus in cuius causa haec fuerunt obtenta dicitur *aequipollenter* Beatificatus. Cum enim Beatificatio nihil aliud sit, quam *permissio cultus* pro *aliquibus determinatis locis*, de cultus autem permissione dubitandum non sit quotiescumque casus exceptus a decretis Urbani approbatur, de *aequipollenti* idcirco Beatificatione minime dubitandum esse videtur.<sup>56</sup>

The Decree issued in such cases is technically designated *Decretum Confirmationis cultus*. It may be noted here that this was the procedure under which the case of the Blessed Thaddeus Machar,<sup>57</sup> Bishop of Cork, was dealt with in 1895.

<sup>53</sup> See Benedict XIV., Lib. 2, capp. xxii., xxiii.

<sup>54</sup> Lauri, vol. i., page 70.

<sup>55</sup> 'In hac Beatificatione *aequipollenti* nulla fiunt solemnia . . . : unde coetus illi quorum interest casum exceptum a decretis Urbani VIII. fuisse approbatum, gratiarum tantum actionem Domino Deo deferre possunt illis modis et formis quibus gratias agere possent pro quocumque alio spirituali recepto beneficio.'—Benedict XIV., Lib. 1, cap. xxxi., n. 5.

<sup>56</sup> Lib. 1, cap. xxxi., n. 4.

<sup>57</sup> As to the family name of this holy man, see an interesting discussion in the I. E. RECORD, vol. i., nn. 8, 9, (May and June, 1865), pp. 375-382 and 401-408.

The *Decretum Confirmationis cultus* in that case may be seen in the *Acta Sanctae Sedis*<sup>58</sup> for October, 1895.

Now the case of the 54 English Martyrs who were declared *Beati* by the Decree of the 29th of December, 1886, was dealt with by the Holy See as a *casus exceptus*. The ground, however, of the exception in those cases was not that public cultus had been given for the 'tempus immemorabile' specified by Urban VIII. For the purpose of that particular ground of exception, the cultus should<sup>59</sup> have been begun, at latest, in the year 1534—a hundred years before the issuing of the Decree of Urban VIII. in 1634. But the date of the execution at Tyburn of the three Carthusian Abbots,<sup>60</sup> who were the Protomartyrs of the persecution under Henry VIII., was the 4th of May, 1535.

As we have already seen, one of the grounds of exception recognised in the Decree of Urban VIII. is the acquiescence of the Holy See, after the Sovereign Pontiff has undoubtedly become aware that a reputed saint is being publicly honoured with a cultus such as may lawfully be given only to those who have been at least beatified.<sup>61</sup> Now this was the ground of exception established in the case of those English Martyrs who were declared *Beati* by the Decree *Confirmationis cultus*, of the 29th December, 1886.

<sup>58</sup> *Acta Sanctae Sedis*, vol. xxviii., page 186.

<sup>59</sup> See *ante*, page 31.

<sup>60</sup> See the narrative of the execution in Lingard (vol. 5, chapter 2), and in Froude (vol. ii., pages 375-382.)

Of the Carthusian Protomartyrs in the persecution, Froude, in his chapter on 'The Catholic Martyrs,' after recounting the address of the Prior of the London Charterhouse, John Houghton, to his community, exhorting them to prepare for death as the summons to take the Oath of Supremacy was at hand, says:—

'Thus, with unobtrusive nobleness, did those poor men prepare themselves for their end; not less beautiful in their resolution, not less deserving the everlasting remembrance of mankind, than those three hundred who in the summer morning sat combing their golden hair in the passes of Thermopylæ. . . .

'The influence of the Carthusians, with that of the two great men [Fisher and More] who were following the same road to the same goal, determined multitudes in the attitude they would assume, and in the duty they would choose. . . . They fell gloriously, and not unprofitably. They were not allowed to stay the course of the Reformation, but their sufferings, nobly borne, sufficed to recover the sympathy of after ages for the faith which they professed.' (Froude, *History of England*, vol. ii., pages 371-375)

<sup>61</sup> As to this particular *casus exceptus*, see the exhaustive chapter in Benedict XIV. (Lib. 2, cap. xx.)

The case was not, indeed, one of mere acquiescence on the part of the Sovereign Pontiff. The acts in question, by which an ecclesiastical cultus of the most distinct kind had been given to a number of the English Martyrs, were acts of the Sovereign Pontiff himself.

The Decree of 1886 recites the permission granted by Gregory XIII., that, failing the relics of ancient martyrs for the consecration of altars, relics of the English Martyrs might be used for the purpose. This, however, as we have seen, would not of itself have sufficed,<sup>62</sup> for there was no distinct evidence as to the individual English martyrs to whose relics this permission had reference. But there was in it, undoubtedly, a recognition by Gregory XIII.—which was but an expression of the recognition by the whole Catholic world at the time—of the martyrdom, in the fullest sense of the word, of those who had been put to death in England for their refusal to take the Oath of Supremacy. And, through a strange combination of circumstances, the application of this to a number of the martyrs individually was so clearly established, that not even a technical difficulty in the way of the recognition of the case as a *casus exceptus* remained.

Gregory XIII. was Pope from 1572 to 1585. It was during his Pontificate, and indeed by his directions, that the famous frescoes representing the Christian martyrs and the tortures undergone by them, from the earliest ages of the Church, were painted by Nicholas Circiniani on the walls of the well-known Church of the Protomartyr, Santo Stefano Rotondo, on the Cælian Hill at Rome. These pictures suggested to a wealthy Englishman, George Gilbert, a personal friend of the Jesuit martyr, Father Edmond Campion, that it would be a specially appropriate commemoration of the constancy of those who had died for the faith in England, to have a similar series of paintings, representing the sufferings and martyrdom of at least the more prominent and best known amongst them, painted by Circiniani in fresco on the walls of the Church of the English College in Rome. The project

<sup>62</sup> See *ante*, page 20.

was inspired by the desire of honouring those who had died for the faith in the persecution of the time. But the frescoes were to represent the series of English Martyrs from the beginning.

There could, of course, be no more distinct act of public ecclesiastical cultus than that offered to a martyr by the representation of his sufferings and death, for the veneration of the faithful, in a public church. But the frescoes in the Church of the English College were not merely to represent the deaths of the recent English Martyrs. They were to represent them in a continuous series with those of St. Alban, the Protomartyr of England, St. Thomas of Canterbury, and the other canonised English martyrs of former ages.

Permission to have the project carried out had, of course, to be obtained from the Sovereign Pontiff. As it happened, Gregory XIII., then Pope, was himself the founder of the English College. He had founded it only four years before, with the object of securing the training of a number of missionary priests, who might, to some extent, fill the places left vacant in the ranks of the priesthood of England by the imprisonment, and, in not a few cases, the martyrdom, of those who had refused to take the Oath of Supremacy.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> The Apostolic Brief, dated 24th April, 1579, by which the English College was founded by Gregory XIII., is printed in the *Propaganda Bullarium*, edited in 1840 by Cardinal Cullen, then Rector of the Irish College, Rome. (See the *Bullarium*, vol. ii., pages 302-309.)

The Brief recites the need that had arisen for making special provision for the education in Rome of priests for the English mission. Referring to the fidelity and constancy with which the faith established in England by the preaching of the missionaries sent from Rome by St. Gregory the Great had been preserved, the Brief goes on to say, '*quae etiam in tanta nostrorum temporum caligine, in aliquibus insignibus illis quidem et illustribus viris refulsere qui pro hujus Sedis dignitate et Orthodoxae fidei veritate vitas suas cum sanguine ponere non dubitarunt; versanturque quotidie ante oculos nostros juvenes ex illo miserrimo Regno huc profugientes, qui divino spiritu ducti, patria, parentibus, et bonis relictis, sese Nobis ad Catholicæ Religionis, in qua nati sunt, institutionem suscipiendam miserabiliter offerunt, eo animo ut salutem sibi primum comparent, deinde vero ut post adeptam divinarum rerum scientiam in Angliam ad alios qui a via veritatis declinarunt, erudiendos revertantur.*'

A munificent provision is made in the Brief for the endowment of the College for the maintenance of fifty students, and the Pope afterwards increased the number to seventy-five.

These were the future missionaries whom St. Philip, then living close to their College, when they passed him on their daily walk through the streets of Rome, used to salute with the greeting, '*Salvete, flores martyrum.*'

Fully informed as he was of every detail of the fierce conflict then being waged in England, the Pope had no difficulty in granting the permission sought for, and thus a series of frescoes, representing the sufferings of the Martyrs of England from the earliest times, including a number of those who had then recently suffered under Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, found a place upon the walls of a Roman church, under the personal sanction of the Sovereign Pontiff himself.

Fr. Morris, S.J., in the article to which I have more than once referred, remarks that the importance of the fact that those pictures had been erected in a Church in Rome was not appreciated in England when the preliminary inquiry was being carried on in the Diocesan Court of Westminster. He mentions at the same time the significant fact that in answer to a question put by one of the Vicars Apostolic in Scotland, in reference to stained glass windows in a church within his jurisdiction, upon which were represented a number of the English Martyrs, the Congregation of Rites

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It needed no prophet to see that no greeting could be more appropriate. When Gregory XIII., the founder of the College, died, only six years after its foundation, six martyrs were already numbered amongst its former students. There are forty of its students amongst the priests declared Blessed or Venerable by the Decrees of the 9th and 29th December, 1888.

The story of the personal relations between St. Philip and the future missionaries then being 'trained for confessorship and martyrdom,' has been told, once for all, by Dr. Newman in his sermon, 'The Second Spring :—

'Who was it that saluted the fair Saxon youths as they passed him in the streets of the great city, with the salutation, "Salvete, flores martyrum"? And when the time came for each in turn to leave that peaceful home, and to go forth to the conflict, to whom did they betake themselves before leaving Rome, to receive a blessing which might nerve them for their work?

'They went for a saint's blessing; they went to a calm old man who had never seen blood, except in penance; who had longed indeed to die for Christ, what time the great St. Francis opened the way to the far East, but who had been fixed as if a sentinel in the holy city, and walked up and down for fifty years on one beat, while his brethren were in the battle. Oh! the fire of that heart, too great for its frail tenement, which tormented him to be kept at home, when the whole Church was at war! and therefore came those bright-haired strangers to him, ere they set out for the scene of their passion, that the full zeal and love pent up in that burning breast might find a vent, and flow over, from him who was kept at home, upon those who were to face the foe.

'Therefore, one by one, each in his turn, those youthful soldiers came to the old man; and one by one they persevered and gained the crown and the palm,—all but one, who had not gone, and would not go, for the salutary blessing.'

had replied that this was not lawful, as it was a mark of religious cultus.<sup>64</sup>

The decision thus referred to was given<sup>65</sup> in 1860. It is not republished in the collection of *Decreta Authentica*. But there is published in that collection a Decree dealing with the subject generally. This Decree, dated 27th of August, 1894,<sup>66</sup> makes plain the grounds of the ecclesiastical prohibition, which applies to all cases in which the pictures, 'aliquod cultus vel sanctitatis indicium praeseferunt,' as was manifestly the case in the paintings representing the sufferings of the English Martyrs, of modern as well as of ancient times, in the Church of the English College at Rome.

There was but one link wanting to complete the chain of evidence. In the frescoes as painted, the names of the martyrs represented—Cardinal Fisher, Sir Thomas More, and the others—were painted upon the picture in each case. But the frescoes had been destroyed nearly a century before.<sup>67</sup> And, as a matter of course, the *Promotor Fidei*<sup>68</sup> insisted that unless trustworthy historical evidence were forthcoming as to the identification of the individual martyrs represented in the frescoes, the claim for the procedure *per viam casus excepti* could not be sustained in any of the cases that were before the Sacred Congregation.

Fortunately, however, the missing link was supplied. In 1584, on the completion of the frescoes in the church, a Roman engraver, Cavalieri, had published a set of engravings

<sup>64</sup> See *The Month*, January 1887, page 8.

<sup>65</sup> See Gardellini, Appendix III. (5305).

<sup>66</sup> See the interesting *Supplicium* of a Consultor, upon which this Decree is clearly based. *Decr. Authentica*, vol. v., page 401.

<sup>67</sup> In the words of the Decree of the 29th of December, 1886, 'nefariorum hominum injuria sub finem elapsi saeculi perierunt.' It was the old story,—they were destroyed by the French.

Whilst in possession of Rome in 1798, the invaders used the College as a storehouse and a hospital. The College Church, not being required for any special purpose of theirs, was allowed to go to ruin.

In the first chapter of his *Last Four Popes*, Cardinal Wiseman describes the condition in which the Church was found when the College was re-opened in 1818—the roof fallen in, the altars removed, and 'the wreckage of the recent storm' piled on one side,—'the skulls and bones of, perhaps, Cardinal Allen, Fr. Parsons, and others, whose coffins had been dragged up from the vaults below, and converted into munitions of war.' Naturally, the frescoes had not survived.

<sup>68</sup> See page 23.

of them, *cum privilegio Gregorii XIII. Pont. Max.*; and a copy of the engravings had been preserved in the library of the English College. The names were there, and thus the martyrs who had been represented in the original frescoes were identified, the *casus exceptus* was fully established, and the Decree *Confirmationis Cultus* was issued.

Of the 54 champions of the faith thus honoured as *Beati*, there were six whose names had not been sent forward from Westminster. These were Margaret Plantagenet, Countess of Salisbury, the mother of Cardinal Pole; three secular priests, John Haile, Thomas Woodhouse, and Thomas Plumtree; and two laymen, John Storey and Thomas Sherwood. The 48 others, whose cases had been sent forward by the tribunal at Westminster, comprised, in addition to Cardinal Fisher and Sir Thomas More, two laymen, 20 secular priests, 18 Carthusians, three Jesuits, an Augustinian, a Franciscan, and a Bridgettine.

Of the entire list, the Decree speaks in terms of splendid, but surely not exaggerated, eulogy:—

Huic praeclarissimae catervae nihil penitus deest quod eam tum compleat, tum ornet : non purpuræ romanae majestas, non venerabilis Episcoporum honor, non Cleri utriusque fortitudo, non sexus infirmioris inexpugnabilis firmitas. Hos inter eminet Ioannes Fisher Episcopus Roffensis et S.R.E. Cardinalis, quem in suis Litteris Paulus III. appellat *sanctitate conspicuum, doctrina celebrem, aetate venerabilem, illius regni ac totius ubique Cleri decus et ornamentum*. A quo sejungi nequit vir saecularis Thomas More, Angliae Cancellarius, quem idem Pontifex meritis extollit laudibus, utpote *doctrina litterarum sacrarum excellentem, et veritatem adserere ausum*.<sup>69</sup>

The *casus exceptus*, of course, was strictly limited in its application, to those who were represented in the pictures.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>69</sup> See the Decree in the I. E. RECORD for February, 1887 (Third Series) vol. viii., page 182, or in the *Acta Sanctae Sedis* for February, 1887 (vol. xix, page 347).

<sup>70</sup> It was, in fact, limited, not merely to those represented in the pictures, but to those named in them.

Amongst the martyrs of Henry VIII.'s time whose cases were before the Westminster tribunal, were three Benedictine Abbots, Richard Whiting, Abbot of Glastonbury, Hugh Cook, Abbot of Reading, and Thomas Beche, Abbot of Colchester, with John Thorne and Roger James, monks of Glastonbury, and John Eynon and John Rugg, monks of Reading. There could be but little doubt that these seven Benedictines were amongst those

Thus the case of our martyred Primate and those of the 260 others whose deaths were of later date than 1583,—or who had suffered death in 1583 or in any earlier year, but were not represented in the frescoes,—could be dealt with only by the ordinary procedure *per viam Non cultus*.<sup>71</sup>

In the case of our Irish Martyrs, none of the four grounds recognised as establishing a claim to the procedure *per viam casus excepti* would seem to be at all applicable. The case, then, has to follow the ordinary course, which, of necessity, is a slow one.

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represented in the frescoes as martyrs. For, one of the frescoes, representing some monks hanging from a gibbet, has beneath it the inscription: 'Three Reverend Abbots of the Order of St. Benedict are slain, and some of their monks are suffocated by the halter' (I quote from an article 'The Blessed Richard of Glastonbury and his Companions,' by Dom Bede Camm, O.S.B., in *The Month* for July, 1895.)

Hence, the three Abbots and their four companions were, it is said, named in the list of *Beati* in the Decree of the 29th December, 1886, as originally drawn up. At the last moment, however, the *Promotor Fidei* objected that the evidence of identification was not satisfactory. His objection prevailed, and the names were struck out. In the article from which I have just quoted, it is stated that 'so late in the day was it, that some copies of the decree had already been issued and sent off,' and that 'they were recalled, and a new decree brought out, omitting the Benedictines altogether.' (*The Month*, July, 1895, page 365).

It took eight years to surmount this difficulty, even in part. In 1894, as a result of the labours of Dom Gasquet and of some other learned and pains-taking members of the Benedictine Order, evidence was brought together which the *Promotor Fidei* recognised as conclusive in respect of the three Abbots. He still demurred as to their fellow-martyrs, the four monks. Eventually this remaining difficulty also was overcome, and in May, 1895, the Congregation of Rites approved a new Decree, by which the seven Benedictines were beatified, as the 54 already mentioned had been by the Decree of December, 1886.

By the same Decree of May, 1893, two other *Beati* were added to the list,—Sir Adrian Fortescue, a Knight of Malta, and Thomas Percy, Earl of Northumberland. (See the Decree in the *Acta Sanctae Sedis*, for July, 1895, vol. xxvii., page 746; and Fr. Pollen's *Life of Fr. John Morris*, page 216.)

I have throughout this paper dealt with the proceedings that were begun before the Westminster tribunal, only in so far as they had some bearing, direct or indirect, upon the case of the Ven. Oliver Plunkett. But it may not be out of place to add to this footnote the brief statement that, in 1888, a new process was begun at Westminster, dealing with those whose cases had been put aside during the proceedings in 1874,—the *praetermissi*, as they have come to be called,—and also with the 44 *dilati*, whose cases were put back by the Sacred Congregation in 1886. The proceedings before the local tribunal in this second set of cases were completed, and the documents forwarded to Rome, in 1889.

In the cases dealt with in this second process, no Decree has yet been issued by the Holy See.

<sup>71</sup> See page 30.



It has also to be borne in mind that, as compared with the case of the English Martyrs, our Irish case is hampered by a drawback that adds enormously to the labour involved in bringing together the requisite historical evidence. In the case of numbers of the English Martyrs, the judicial proceedings by which they were condemned to death are on official record. In some instances an almost verbatim report of the trial is to the present day at hand for reference: and the official evidence thus preserved makes it obvious that the 'treason' in punishment for which the sentence of death was inflicted<sup>72</sup> consisted simply in a refusal to deny the Catholic faith by recognising that the headship of the Church in England was vested, not in the Chair of Peter, but in the English Crown.

In mentioning the special difficulty that exists in this respect in the case of our Irish Martyrs, I do not, of course, refer to the case of the Venerable Oliver Plunkett, who, as we know, was tried in England. But, speaking of our Irish Martyrs generally, who were put to death in Ireland,—even of those who were put to death after some form of judicial procedure,—it cannot but be a matter involving much prolonged and painstaking labour to bring together such evidence of the grounds upon which they were put to death as will satisfy the inexorable requirements of the Holy See.

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<sup>72</sup> There is a remarkable footnote in reference to this point in Hallam's *Constitutional History* (Chapter 3). It begins by a quotation—

'Though no Papists were in this reign [the reign of Elizabeth] put to death purely on account of their religion, as numberless Protestants had been in the woful days of Queen Mary, yet many were executed for treason.' (Churton's *Life of Nowell*, p. 147.)

Hallam's pungent comment on this is as follows:—

'Thus it is, when the impulses of very strong partiality operate on a naturally obtuse understanding. . . .

'Treason, by the law of England, and according to the common use of language, is the crime of rebellion or conspiracy against the government. If a statute is made, by which the celebration of certain religious rites is subjected to the same penalties as rebellion or conspiracy, would any man, free from prejudice, and not designing to impose upon the uninformed, speak of persons convicted on such a statute as guilty of treason, without expressing in what sense he uses the words, or deny that they were as truly punished for their religion as if they had been convicted of heresy? A man is punished for religion when he incurs a penalty for its profession or exercise, to which he was not liable on any other account. . . .

'This is applicable to the great majority of capital convictions on this score under Elizabeth. The persons convicted could not be traitors in any fair sense of the word, because they were not chargeable with anything properly denominated treason.'

One single fact, which is attested by the best possible evidence, the evidence of the Venerable Oliver Plunkett himself as to a personal act of his own, is sufficient to illustrate the extent to which documents of historical importance have perished in Ireland. Speaking of the many letters that he had received from time to time from Rome, especially from the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda, he says, in a letter written to the Cardinal Prefect in October, 1670:—‘How many letters I have written to your Excellency and to the Sacred Congregation, and how many letters I have received! You have my letters, but, in a certain emergency, when an outburst of persecution was feared in Armagh, *I had to burn all my foreign letters, even the Brief of my Consecration.* This happened last June twelvemonths, on the Vigil of S. John’s, when it was circulated by the Presbyterians that the Catholics had conspired to murder on that night all the Protestants. The Viceroy was then in London.’<sup>73</sup>

The proceedings that are in progress for the canonisation of our Irish Martyrs cannot but be viewed with sympathetic interest, especially by every Irish Catholic. They have now reached a stage at which it is possible to anticipate that before very many months have passed, the local tribunal charged with the judicial investigation of the evidence brought before it, will have finished its work.

The time, then, has come to make an appeal to all those, in Ireland or elsewhere, who may be aware of the existence of trustworthy historical information that can be of help in the investigation of any of the cases enumerated in the appended list, or that may point to the advisability of adding to that list any name not at present found in it.

Close upon 200 of the cases submitted for investigation to the Westminster tribunal were held by that tribunal to be insufficiently sustained by evidence, and consequently were not sent forward to Rome.<sup>74</sup> In the nature of things, it

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<sup>73</sup> See the letter in Cardinal Moran’s *Memoirs of Oliver Plunkett*, pages 119, 120.

<sup>74</sup> See page 22.

would not be at all surprising if a number, and even a considerable number, of the names in our Irish list, now published, have similarly to be struck out. Each individual case must be separately dealt with, in view solely of the evidence brought forward in respect of it. And it has to be remembered that—save as regards the mere publication of the list of cases submitted for investigation,—the proceedings in such an inquiry are, according to ecclesiastical law, conducted under the most stringent obligation of secrecy, an obligation which all who take part in the inquiry, including the Bishop, or other ecclesiastical judge by whom it is conducted, are sworn to observe. Thus whilst the proceedings are in progress, no indication can be given as to whether the evidence in any individual case has been found sufficient or not, or even as to whether, in some individual case, the *Postulator* may not have found it impossible to bring forward any trustworthy evidence at all.

The present, then, is the time for our *cultores martyrum* to give practical proof of their zeal in the cause, by making available for the purposes of the inquiry any information they may happen to be in possession of, or may know to be in the possession of others less practically zealous than themselves. To do this they have only to put themselves into communication on the subject with the Jesuit Father who has been placed in the responsible position of *Postulator* in the case—Fr. Conmee, the present Rector of St. Francis Xavier's, Upper Gardiner-street, Dublin.

✠ WILLIAM J. WALSH.

*Archbishop of Dublin.*

LIST OF IRISH MARTYRS<sup>1</sup>

CATALOGUS SERVORUM DEI IN HIBERNIA AB ANNO 1540 USQUE AD  
ANNUM 1707 PRO CATHOLICA FIDE INTERFECTORUM<sup>2</sup>

1540.

Guardianus et Socii, o.s.f., Conventus Monaghensis

1541.

Robertus et Socii, Ord. Cist., Conventus Dublin.

1565.

Conatius Macuarta (MacVarra), Rogerius Congall (MacCongall), o.s.f.

1569.

Daniel O'Neilan (O'Duillian), o.s.f.

1575.

Joannes O'Lorcan, o.s.f. Edmundus Fitzsimon, o.s.f.,  
Donatus O'Ruarch, o.s.f. Fergallus Ward, o.s.f.

1577.

Thomas Coursy, Sacerdos, v.g. Gulielmus Walsh, Ord. Cist.,  
diœc. Corcag. Episc. Midensis.

1578.

Patritius O'Hely, Episc. Maiorenensis, o.s.f. Thomas Moeran, Sacerdos,  
Cornelius O'Ruarke, o.s.f. Decanus Corcag.  
Daniel O'Hurley, Sacerdos, Phelim O'Hara, o.s.f.  
Decanus Imelac. Henricus Delahoyd, o.s.f.

1579.

Thaddæus Daly et Socii, o.s.f. Joannes O'Dowd, o.s.f.  
Edmundus Tanner, Ep. Corcag. Thomas O'Herlahy, Ep.  
Rossen.

1580

Edmundus MacDonough Daniel O'Nielan, o.s.f.  
(M'Donnell, Donatus, Dunallus), s.j. Daniel (Donatus) Hanrichan,  
o.s.f.  
Laurentius O'Moore, Sacerdos, Mauritius O'Schanlan, o.s.f.  
diœc. Kerrien. Philippus O'Lee (Lews), o.s.f.  
Oliverus Plunkett, laicus. Prior et Socii, Ord. Cist.,  
Gulielmus Walsh, (de Wallis), Monasterii Graeg.  
laicus.

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, page 8, footnote 1.

<sup>2</sup> It will be observed that in this List of the martyrs whose claims to canonisation are now the subject of inquiry, the forms of the names are, in many instances, peculiar. In all such cases, the form or forms in the List are those that occur in one or more documents of historical importance.

## 1581.

Nicolaus Nugent, laicus.  
 David Sutton, laicus.  
 Joannes Sutton, laicus.  
 Gualterus Layrmus, laicus.  
 Thomas Eustace (Aylworth),  
 laicus.  
 Joannes Eustace, laicus.  
 Gulielmus Organ (Wogan)  
 laicus.  
 Robertus Scurlock (Sherlock),  
 laicus.  
 Joannes Clinch, laicus.  
 Thomas Netherfield (Netter-  
 ville), laicus.

Robertus Giraldinus (Fitz-  
 gerald), laicus.  
 Matthæus Lamport, Parochus  
 Diœc. Dublin.  
 Ricardus Frinch, Sacerdos  
 diœc. Fernen.  
 Robertus Meiler (Miller), laicus.  
 Eduardus Chevers, laicus.  
 Joannes O'Lahy, laicus.  
 Nicolaus Giraldinus (Fitz-  
 gerald), Ord. Cist.  
 Patritius Hayes, laicus.  
 Patritius Canavanus, laicus.

## 1582.

Thaddæus O'Meran, o.s.f.  
 Phelim O'Corra, o.s.f.  
 Aeneas Penny, Sacerdos Prov.  
 Tuamen.  
 Rogerius Donnellan, o.s.f.  
 Carolus Goran, o.s.f.  
 Petrus O'Chillan (Goillanus),  
 o.s.f.  
 Patritius Kenna, o.s.f.  
 Jacobus Pillenus (Pilanus),  
 o.s.f.

Rogerius O'Hanlon (Henlâ),  
 o.s.f.  
 Thaddæus O'Morochu, o.s.f.  
 Henricus O'Fremlamhaid,  
 o.s.f.  
 Joannes Wallis, Sacerdos  
 Prov. Dublin.  
 Donatus O'Reddy, Parochus  
 diœc. Connor.

## 1584.

Dermitius O'Hurley, Archi-  
 episcopus Casseliensis.  
 Gelasius O'Cullenan, Ord.  
 Cist., Abbas.  
 Hugo (Joannes) Mulcheran  
 (Kieran), Ord. Praemonstr.

Eugenius Cronius (Cronin),  
 Sacerdos Prov. Tuam.  
 Joannes O'Dalaigh, o.s.f.  
 Eleonora Birmingham, Vidua.  
 Thaddæus Clancy, laicus.

## 1585.

Ricardus Creagh, Archiep.  
 Armacanus.  
 Mauritius Kenraghty (Kin-  
 rechtin), Sacerdos diœc.  
 Limeric.

Patritius O'Connor, Ord. Cist.  
 Malachias O'Kelly, Ord. Cist.

## 1586.

Moriarthus (Mauritius) O'Brien,  
 Episc. Imelac.

Donatus O'Hurley (O'Mur-  
 heely), o.s.f., et Socius.

## 1587.

Joannes Cornelius (Cornuelis),  
 o.s.f.

Gualterus Farrell (Ferrall),  
 o.s.f.

1588.

Dermitius O'Mulruony (Mulchonry), o.s.f., Frater Thomas et Socius.	Patritius Plunkett, laicus, Eques Petrus Miller (Meyler), Sacerdos diœc. Fernen.
Mauritius Eustace, laicus.	Patritius Meiler, laicus.
Joannes O'Molloy, o.s.f.	Patritius O'Brady, o.s.f.
Cornelius O'Dogherty, o.s.f.	Thaddæus (Teigh) O'Boyle, o.s.f.
Godefridus Farrell, o.s.f.	

1590.

Matthæus O'Leyn, o.s.f.	Christophorus Roche, laicus.
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1591.

Terentius Magennis, o.s.f.	Loglain Oge Mac O'Cadha, o.s.f.
Magnus O'Fredliney (O'Todhry), o.s.f.	

1594.

Andreas Strich, Sacerdos diœc. Limeric.

1597.

Joannes Stephens, Sacerdos Prov. Dublin.	Gualterus Ternanus, o.s.f.
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1599.

Georgius Power, Sacerdos, V.G. diœc. Ossor.

1600.

Joannes Valesius, Sacerdos. V.G. diœc. Dublin.	Jacobus Dudal, laicus.
Patritius O'Hea, laicus.	Nicolaus Young, Sacerdos diœc. Miden.

1601.

Redmundus Gallagher, Epis. Derrien. et tres Socii.	Donchus O'Croninus, Clericus Bernardus Moriarty, Sacerdos, Vic. Gen. diœc. Dublin.
Daniel O'Mollony, Sacerdos, Vic. Gen. diœc. Laon.	
Joannes O'Kelly, Sacerdos Prov. Tuam.	

1602.

Dominicus Collins (O'Colinus, O'Calan), s.J.

1606.

Bernardus O'Charnel (O'Carolan) Sacerdos Prov. Dublin.	Eugenius (Hugo) O'Gallagher, Ord. Cist.
Eugenius MacEgan, Episcopus Ross. desig.	Bernardus O'Trevir, Ord. Cist.

1607.

Dermitius Bruodinus, o.s.f.	Joannes Olvinus, o.p.
Nigellus O'Boyle (O'Buighill), o.s.f.	Patritius O'Derry, o.s.f.
Donatus (Gulielmus) Olvinus (O'Luin), o.p.	Franciscus Helam, o.s.f.

1610.

Joannes Luneus (Lune), Sacer- dos diœc. Fernen.	Joannes de Burgo, laicus, Eques.
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1612.

Cornelius O'Deveny (Devanius) Episc. Dun. et Connor.	Patritius O'Locheran, Sacerdos diœc. Corcag.
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1614.

Gulielmus MacGillacheni (Gillachoine), (MacGollen), o.p.

1617.

Thomas Giraldinus (Fitz- gerald), o.s.f.	Joannes Honan, o.s.f.
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1621.

Franciscus Tailler, laicus, Decurio (Alderman) Dublin.	Jacobus Eustace, Ord. Cist.
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1628.

Edmundus Dungan, Ep. Dun. et Connor.

1641.

Petrus O'Higgin, o.p.

1642.

Philippus Clery, Sacerdos.	Robertus (Malachias) Shiel, Ord. Cist.
Hilarius Conerius (Conræus), o.s.f.	Edmundus Hore, Sacerdos diœc. Waterford.
Fergallus Ward, o.s.f.	Joannes Clancy, Sacerdos diœc. Waterford.
Cornelius O'Brien, laicus.	Raymundus Keoghy, o.p.
Franciscus Matthew (O'Mahony), o.s.f.	Connallus MacEgan, o.p.
Thomas Aquinas à Jesu, o.d.c.	
Angelus à S. Josepho, o.d.c.	

1643.

Petrus a Matre Dei, o.d.c.

1644.

Cornelius O'Connor, o.ss.t.	Giraldus Giraldinus (Fitz- gerald), o.p.; alias Gibbon.
Eugenius Daly, o.ss.t.	Christopher Ultanus (Dunlevy), o.s.f.
Hugo MacMahon, laicus.	David Fox, o.p.
Cornelius Maguire, laicus.	

1645.

Henricus White, Sacerdos	Malachias Queely, Archiepis-
diœc. Miden.	copus Tuamensis.
Edmundus Mulligan, Ord.	Thaddæus O'Connell, o.s.a.
Cist.	

1647.

Ricardus Barry, o.p.	Theobaldus Stapleton, Sacerdos
Gulielmus Boyton, s.j.	diœc. Cassel.
Ricardus Butler, o.s.f.	Eduardus Stapleton, Sacerdos
Jacobus Saul, o.s.f.	diœc. Cassel.
Elisabeth Carneus.	Thomas Morrisæus, Sacerdos
	et duo Socii diœc. Cassel.

1648.

Donaldus O'Neaghten, o.p.	Andreas Hicquæus, o.s.f.
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1649.

Stephanus Petit, o.p.	Petrus Costello, o.p.
Robertus Netterville, s.j.	Raymundus Stafford, o.s.f.
Joannes Bath, s.j.	Paulus Synnot, o.s.f.
Thomas Bath, Sacerdos Prov.	Joannes Esmond, o.s.f.
Armac.	Petrus Stafford, o.s.f.
Dominicus Dillon, o.p.	Didacus Chevers, o.s.f.
Ricardus Oveton, o.p.	Josephus Rochford, o.s.f.
Petrus Taaffe, o.s.a.	Gulielmus Lynch, o.p.
Bernardus Horumlæus, o.s.f.	Gulielmus O'Connor, o.p.
Ricardus Synnot, o.s.f.	

1650.

Boetius Egan, Episc. Ross.	Jacobus O'Reilly, o.p.
Mylerus Magrath, o.p.	Thomas O'Higgin, o.p.
Franciscus Giralдинus (Fitz-	Æneas Cahill, o.p.
gerald), o.s.f.	Thomas Plunkett et alii duo-
Gualterus de Wallis, o.s.f.	decim, o.s.f.
Antonius Musæus, o.s.f.	Bernardus O'Ferrall, o.p.
Joannes Dormer, o.s.f.	Eugenius O'Teman, o.s.f.
Nicolaus Uganus (Ulagan),	
o.s.f.	

1651.

Dionysius Nielan, o.s.f.	Laurentius O'Farrall, o.p.
Thaddæus O'Carighy, o.s.f.	Ludovicus O'Farrell, o.p.
Hugo MacKeon, o.s.f.	Franciscus Sullivan, o.s.f.
Roger de Mara (O'Mara), o.s.f.	Gulielmus Hicquæus, o.s.f.
Daniel Clanchy, o.s.f.	Philippus Flaberry, o.s.f.
Jeremias O'Nerehiny, o.s.f.	Jacobus O'Moraen, o.p.
Edmundus O'Bern, o.p.	Carolus O'Dowd, laicus.
Bernardus O'Farrell, o.p.	Donatus O'Brien, laicus.



Jacobus O'Brien, laicus.	Daniel O'Higgin, laicus.
Bernardus O'Brien, laicus.	Donatus Niger, o.p.
Daniel O'Brien, laicus.	Daniel Clanchy, laicus,
Joannes O'Kennedy, laicus.	Henricus O'Neill, laicus.
Jacobus O'Kennedy, laicus.	Theobaldus de Burgo, laicus.
Patritius Purcell, laicus, Eques.	Gulielmus O'Conor, o.p.
Galfridus Galwey, laicus.	Vincentius Giraldu Dillon, o.p.
Thomas Stritch, laicus, Praefectus civit. Limer.	Gulielmus Lynch, o.p.
Dominicus Fanning, laicus.	Thomas O'Higgin, o.p.

1652.

Rogerus Ormilus, Parochus Prov. Tuam.	Cornelius MacCarthy, Sacerdos diœc. Ardfert.
Hugo Carrigi, Sacerdos Prov. Tuam.	Jacobus Wolf, o.p.
Eugenius O'Cahan, o.s.f.	Eduardus Butler, laicus.
Bernardinus Bruadinus (McBriody), laicus.	Joannes O'Conor Kerry, laicus.
Antonius Broder, o.s.f.	Antonius O'Ferrall, o.s.f.
Bonaventura de Burgo, o.s.f.	Joannes Ferrall, o.s.f.
Thaddæus O'Conor, laicus.	Thaddæus O'Conor Sligo, laicus.
Joannes O'Cullen (Collins), o.p.	Constantinus O'Rorke, laicus.
Nielanus Lochran, o.s.f.	Bernardus Fitzpatrick, Sacerdos diœc. Ossor.
Terentius Albertus O'Brien Episcopus Imelac.	Brigida Darcy (Fitzpatrick).

1653.

Joannes Karneus, o.s.f.	Bernardus O'Kelly, o.p.
Thaddæus Moriarti, o.p.	David Roche, o.p.
Raymundus MacEagha (Keaghy), o.p.	Daniel Delany, Parochus diœc. Dublin.

1654.

Bernardus Connæus, o.s.f.	Domina (Lady) Roche.
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1655.

Lucas Bergin, Ord. Cist.	Daniel O'Brien, Decanus Fernen.
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1679.

Felix O'Conor, o.p.

1691

Stephanus Kochelius, o.s.f.

1700.

Dominicus Egan, o.p.

1704.

Clemens O'Callaghan, o.p., alias O'Colgan.

1707.

Felix Mac Dowell, o.p.

*Annis incertis.*

Quadraginta Fratres Ord.Cist., Monasterii de Magio.	Michael Fitzsimon, laicus.
Daniel O'Hanan, laicus.	Conacius O'Keananus (Okiennanus), Sacerdos.
Donatus O'Kennedy, o.s.a.	Daniel O'Boyle, o.s.f.
Donatus Serenan, o.s.a.	Dermitius MacCarrha, Sacerdos.
Fulgentius Jordan, o.s.a.	Donchus O'Falvius, Sacerdos.
Raymundus O'Maly, o.s.a.	Joannes Maeconnanus (Makon- anus), Sacerdos.
Thomas Tullis, o.s.a.	Joannes O'Gradius, Sacerdos.
Thomas Deir, o.s.a.	Thomas Fleming, laicus.
Jacobus Chevers, o.s.f.	Ludovicus O'Lavertagius, Sacerdos.
Jacobus Roche, o.s.f.	Margarita de Cassel, o.s.dom.
Joannes Mocleus, o.s.f.	
Joannes O'Loughlin, o.p.	
Joanne O'Moroghue, o.p.	
Duo Patres, o.p., Conventus Killoensis.	

## ‘A SHORT CATECHISM ON RELIGIOUS LIFE’

WE have received from his Eminence Cardinal Svampa, Archbishop of Bologna, a communication in reference to the notice that appeared in our November issue of the English version of the *Little Catechism on Religious Life* for nuns, novices, and postulants, of which his Eminence is the author.<sup>1</sup> It may be remembered that our reviewer praised this little work very highly for the accuracy of its doctrine and the conciseness of its style. He also laid stress on the weight that should be attached to anything coming from so experienced and eminent an author. He expressed, however, some doubt as to whether the Catechism would prove suitable to the convents of this country. The reviewer, whilst considering the little work decidedly very useful, could not see his way to recommend it indiscriminately to all aspirants to convent life in Ireland. He feared that it might in certain cases frighten away from the cloister persons who might otherwise become excellent nuns. He suggested, accordingly, that confessors and superiors should secure it for their own guidance, and for the use of others when they thought it judicious, but that it need not be placed in the hands of all aspirants to religious life.

It seemed to our reviewer that the minute analysis of the motives of the vocation and of the virtues of the religious state might easily shake the resolution of timid postulants, and that both the aim of the vocation and the knowledge of the virtues it demands are more surely and safely inculcated under the experienced training of a superior than they could be by the bare words of any book. This was an opinion which, when conscientiously held, we think our reviewer was quite entitled to express. There was here no question of difference as to doctrine, as to what the motives of a vocation should be, nor as to the necessity of the virtues of the religious state. It was merely regarded as a matter of temperament, of character, of difference of manners and customs—that in the method of developing the vocation and inculcating the

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<sup>1</sup> See I. E. RECORD, November, 1902, p. 480.

virtues what was suitable in Italy might not be suitable in Ireland. Even the Catechism of the Christian Doctrine used in other countries is not the same in all respects as that in use in Rome. It is right to note, however, that the reviewer did not commit himself very definitely on the subject. He was merely doubtful, and his reserve was expressed with perfect deference to the eminent author of the Catechism.

We think it due, however, both to his Eminence and to ourselves to explain that the great weight of authority seems to indicate that no such reservations as those made by our reviewer are necessary. His Eminence assures us that in preparing his little book for publication he consulted all the works, both ancient and modern, that treated of the subject, that he condensed into a few pages and presented in the most elementary form the bare essentials.

Before publishing his work he submitted it to the revision of canonists, theologians, and consultors of the 'Congregation of Bishops and Regulars.' Whilst preparing the second edition he got the advice and assistance of the most learned and experienced bishops and ecclesiastics in the Church. He got, moreover, the approval and encouragement of a great number of Cardinals. His Eminence then proceeds to deal *seriatim* with the observations of our reviewer; and lest we should do his Eminence any injustice we think it better to quote his own words:—

Now I proceed to answer the observations:—

1. It is said that the temperament and climate of different countries necessitate a different method of instructing young ladies called to religious life. I reply: That is true of the application of principles and of the regulations of discipline; but the juridical and moral conceptions of the vocation, the religious state, the novitiate, profession, vows, are the same everywhere. I have simply laid down and explained these fundamental conceptions.

2. It is said that in my catechism there is too minute an analysis of the motives of the vocation and of the virtues of the religious state.<sup>2</sup> I answer: As regards the vocation, I confine the matter within the limits of eleven questions and answers. Having given the idea of the vocation, I point out the marks of

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<sup>2</sup> This explanation of our reviewer was given to his Eminence by us in a private letter.

it and speak of the duty of following it. Could I be more discreet?

On the question of the religious state I declare the nature of the holy vows, and as experience has taught me that in this matter the doctrine has to be clearly set forth in order not to fall into laxism on the one hand or rigorism on the other, I thought well to develop the argument in the parts most necessary to be kept in mind. The matters that I have expounded correspond to what every well-ordered institution has in its rules or constitutions or manuals of piety.

On the subject of poverty, I have only six questions, six on chastity, about twenty on the vow of obedience, which in practice gives rise to greater difficulties. And yet it appears that I have gone too far!

3. It is said that such details frighten away many, divert them from the cloister, and are a cause of trouble of conscience. I reply: Before embracing the religious state one should know the obligations it imposes. It would be a serious error to conceal the gravity of the duties of religious life in order the better to attract people to become nuns. Moreover, those who withdraw from convent life as a result of a knowledge of its obligations, show either that they are not called by God, or that they have little strength of purpose or of judgment, and are therefore unsuited for the life of perfection. As far as the scrupulous ones are concerned the rule which they have in their hands also disturbs them. If, then, they are capable of being cured, it is better they should be set right by an explanation of the fundamental conceptions and realities of virtue than to be left in the confusion of their incomplete ideas.<sup>3</sup>

We are thankful to his Eminence for having thus taken

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<sup>3</sup> 'Ora rispondo alle osservazioni: 1° Si dice che i temperamenti e i climi diversi esigono diversa maniera d'istruire le donzelle chiamate alla vita religiosa. Rispondo. Ciò è vero riguardo alle applicazioni dei principii, ed alle forme disciplinari. Ma i concetti giuridici e morali che riguardano la vocazione, lo stato religioso, i noviziati, la professione, i voti, sono gli stessi in qualsiasi luogo. Io ho semplicemente dichiarato e dilucidato tali concetti fondamentali.

'2°. Si dice che nel mio catechismo si fa un'analisi troppo minuziosa dei motivi della vocazione e delle virtù dello stato religioso. Rispondo. Quanto alla vocazione io restringo la materia in undici domande e risposte. Dato il concetto della vocazione ne indago i segni, e parlo del dovere di seguirla. Potrei esser più discreta? Riguardo alle virtù dello stato religioso io dichiaro la natura dei santi voti, e siccome l'esperienza mi ha insegnato che in questa materia bisogna chiarir bene il dottrinale per non cadere o nel lassismo o nel rigorismo ho creduto bene di svolgere l'argomento delle più necessarie a conoscersi. Le cose che ho esposto corrispondono a ciò che ogni istituto bene ordinato ha nelle sue regole, costituzioni, o manuali spirituali. Sulla povertà ho dettato 6 sole domande, 6 sul voto di castità, circa 20 sul voto di obbedienza che in pratica da luogo a maggiori dubbii. Tutto questo è forse un' esposizione eccessiva?

'3° Si dice che tanti dettagli spaventano molte e le distolgono dal

the trouble to correct any doubtful impression that may have been conveyed in our notice of the Catechism. If our reviewer was mistaken he could scarcely be set right, apart from the Holy See, by a more competent authority. We also note the fact that the Catechism has been welcomed and highly recommended by several bishops both in Ireland and England. Finally, we are informed by the translator that the proceeds of the sale of the English version will be applied to the building of a church of the Sacred Heart in Bologna, so that those who purchase the little Catechism will have the satisfaction of knowing that they are at the same time contributing to a good work.

J. F. HOGAN, D.D.

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chiostro, e son causa di agitazione di coscienza. Rispondo. Prima di abbracciare lo stato religioso convien conoscere gli obblighi che si vanno ad assumere. Sarebbe grande errore dissimulare la gravità dei doveri per allettare meglio le giovani a farsi religiose. Del resto quelle che si ritirano dalla vita monastica, in seguito alla conoscenza delle obbligazioni di essa, mostrano di non esser da Dio chiamate, ovvero di aver poca forza di giudizio o di volontà, e di essere per ciò inette alla vita di perfezione. Per le scrupolose poi, anche la regola che hanno in mano le mette in agitazione. Se poi sono suscettibili di cura meglio si guariscono collo spiegare i concetti e fatti della virtù che col lasciarle nella confusione delle loro idee incomplete.'

## LORD RUSSELL OF KILLOWEN

LORD BOWEN, who was his predecessor as Lord of Appeal, and himself a great judge, with Irish blood in his veins, and a man of the highest literary culture, once described the late Lord Russell of Killowen in those apt terms:—

Some of us may know more law ; some of us may have what is called more culture ; but Russell differs from us all at the Bar or on the Bench in this—he has genius.

And genius he undoubtedly had. The story of the life of Lord Russell<sup>1</sup>—a life so full of energy and so filled with great performance—told, with unaffected simplicity and sympathy, by his friend and biographer, Mr. Barry O'Brien, reveals him in many amiable aspects no doubt but it shows more conspicuously all through a strong man and a powerful personality. To the outside world—that which derives its knowledge of men and their characters from the reported records of their doings in newspapers—Charles Russell was an assertive and strong personality, with an imperious manner somewhat, one with very much of the *fortiter* and little of the *suaviter in modo*, with little of the manner that savours and softens social intercourse. To those who read of him in the Courts he was represented as a commanding and over-bearing man at the Bar, one who carried all before him in a case and broke down all duplicity and fraud by his skill as a cross examiner, reaching to a degree of almost dramatic perfection in his last great case where he appeared as an advocate in the *Times* and *Parnell* controversy, when under his fire the unfortunate Pigott confessed to the crime of forgery. For over twenty years Charles Russell was the leading lawyer in every great case at *Nisi Prius* tried in the English Courts, and he won for himself the reputation of being the greatest advocate of his day. During that period of activity and energy he always was the same vigorous and able lawyer,

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<sup>1</sup> *The Life of Lord Russell of Killowen.* By R. Barry O'Brien of the Middle Temple, Author of the *Life of Charles Stewart Parnell.*

one with a thorough grasp of the facts of his case, full of the passion of enthusiasm in his cause, an 'elemental force,' as Lord Bowen once described him. His was a great career; one of the most successful, judged by any standard, of the many successful careers won by sheer merit at the English Bar. And, though but six short years a judge, it is certain he would have left behind him a reputation as such at least the equal to any of his great predecessors in the exalted and responsible office of Chief Justice of England.

He showed in the administration of the law the same strength of purpose and power of will which he displayed in advocacy, and from the first possessed qualities that gave great promise of eminence and usefulness. His judicial action in the famous case of the *Queen v. Jameson and Others*—a prosecution in June, 1896, for acts that arose out of the misguided and unfortunate Rhodes-inspired Raid into the Transvaal—was adversely criticised as showing too plainly perhaps, a desire for conviction; yet his charge lucidly explained the law and necessarily, in the circumstances, was not open to any doubt or misconception that might have led to a failure of justice in the hands of a weak judge. His conduct of the case was never impugned as other than that of a high-minded and strong judge. He was even criticised for the lenity of his sentence by other critics.

His creditable actions and utterances on and off the Bench in the desirable direction of enforcing commercial morality and a higher code of public morals in the conduct of business stands, by universal testimony, as the most creditable and beneficent acts of a man in high judicial position, and who as such used such influence upon public opinion as to ultimately induce the passing of a special law to deal with the abuses he exposed so fearlessly. This action would alone serve to make the memory of any man memorable, and it is to be regretted that Lord Russell was not longer spared to more largely influence for good in this respect legislation and the administration of the law.

Throughout his life he was pre-eminently a fighter, a man who rejoiced in conflict, who enjoyed more than many the *gaudia certaminis*, whether in a case at Bar or a legal



controversy. He loved to take sides and fight strongly for his side. This was peculiarly and conspicuously his *metier*. It was truly said of him when he died that 'he had noble instincts; he maintained the traditions of English justice; he loved the best in public and private life, and while ever a fighter, ever passing from struggle to struggle, there was in him a fund of tenderness, a remarkable capacity for winning and keeping affection.'

The story of his eventful life shows it to have been, in many senses, a remarkable one. Charles Russell was born in Newry in 1832, and died on the 10th of August, 1900, sixty-eight years of age. He practically died 'with the harness on his back,' for only a fortnight before his death he was a presiding judge at Assizes, and returned from his uncompleted circuit to his home at Taunton for medical advice, going a few days afterwards to London for an operation which was considered necessary from the seriousness of his complaint. He was descended from an old and respected Catholic family in the North of Ireland. A brother of his (who survives him) the Rev. Matthew Russell is a distinguished Jesuit priest, an author, and a poet whose sweet sonnets are inimitable; three of his sisters became nuns, one (Mother Mary Emmanuel) but recently died at Newry Convent, while his father's brother, Dr. Russell, was the distinguished President of Maynooth College, and as such we read of him in the *Apologia* as the friend and adviser of Cardinal Newman. His father was Mr. Arthur Russell, of Seafield House, Killowen, from which latter place the illustrious son took his title, in 1894, when he was raised to the Peerage, as Lord Russell of Killowen. During his early years Charles Russell was an ardent and advanced Nationalist and was once near being arrested in Newry for illegal drilling during the troubled times of 1848.

He was the only one of his family who did not embrace a religious life—his only brother being a Jesuit, his three sisters nuns. He was educated first at a day school in Newry, Harkins', and afterwards at St. Malachy's College there, and in May, 1845, went to another day school, Nolan's, in the same town, going next year to St. Vincent's College, Castleknock,

where he remained until 1847, when he left. One of his companions there, Monsignor Molloy, writes of him thus:—

Charles Russell, Colonel Irwin, and I were in the same class. Colonel Irwin was then considered the cleverest boy in the school, and far more gifted than Charles Russell, who was rather regarded as plodding than pushful. At the same time those who knew him well had no doubt that he would achieve success in life if he got the chance.

Colonel Irwin himself described Russell as 'one who had great confidence in his powers without any trace of presumption or self-sufficiency, but with a very resolute determination to make the most of his undoubted abilities. Though full of courage and spirit he was not quarrelsome.'

Such was the boy, and so the man grew—an assertive, strong, pushful personality.

In 1849 he was articled to Mr. Cornelius Denver as a solicitor, and then, like all young men in his country of that time, fell under the influence of the brilliant men who formed the Young Ireland Party. He read Davis, drew inspiration from his writings, and ever repeated that imperishable sentence of that gifted genius: 'In a climate soft as a mother's smile, on a soil fruitful as God's love, the Irish peasant mourns.' In 1851 the Newry Institute offered a prize for the best essay 'On the age we live in and its tendencies and exigencies.' Charles Russell competed, won the prize, and on a memorable occasion read his essay in public.

In 1852 Charles Russell was transferred as apprentice to finish his time to Mr. Alexander O'Rourke, solicitor, of Belfast, his former principal having died, and there he finished his apprenticeship career. During this time he made the acquaintance of the Mulholland family—that gifted group afterwards to become so well known in literature and one of them to have such a sweet influence over his life. Ellen, the eldest daughter of Dr. Mulholland, later on became his wife. Rosa, so well known for her writings, became the wife and now the widow of Sir John Gilbert, and William is now County Court Judge for Staffordshire.

In 1854 Charles Russell entered upon the practice of his profession as a solicitor in Belfast, with characteristic courage choosing the most daring and difficult post. The Police and

County Court of Belfast was then the arena where two legal gladiators every day contested for supremacy, and these were the notorious John Rea and Alexander O'Rourke. Russell boldly entered the lists with those experienced and able men, no small proof of his courage, and his struggle was well sustained and creditable. He defended Catholic interests with chivalrous tenacity and success, and in certain celebrated prosecutions arising out of the Cushendall riots, acquitted himself so well as to win a certain amount of provincial renown.

In 1856 his career as a solicitor, however, practically ended. He never liked the work, and had a longing for the Bar wherein he felt he would have more scope for his particular qualities as an advocate, and the result showed that he had not overrated those peculiar abilities which better fitted him for the forum than for the drudgery of the solicitor's office. Two Protestant friends who heard him in a case advised the course, and the strongest coercion from outside his own inclinations came from the future partner of his life, who, throwing aside all considerations of the folly of surrendering a certainty for an uncertainty boldly told him 'that if he did not go to the Bar she would never speak to him again.' That settled all doubt. Russell left Belfast, burned his boats professionally, and coming up to Dublin entered Trinity College as a student under John Kells Ingram the author of the immortal ballad 'Who fears to speak of Ninety-eight.' He did so to prepare for admission to the Bar. His tutor says of him at this period: 'I was not struck by his ability at the time. What did strike me about him was his submission to superiors and his readiness to listen to any one who could give him information.' In October, 1856, Russell entered Lincoln's Inn as a student, and in 1858 he passed his final examination for admission to the English Bar, and that same year in August he married Miss Ellen Mulholland. The marriage took place in Belfast, Dr. Russell, his distinguished uncle, performing the ceremony. The honeymoon was spent in the romantic and picturesque island of Boffin off Clifden, in the County of Galway, and staying a short time *en route* at Liverpool, the newly-married couple came to London in September,

and took up their residence in a small house at Earl's Court. In January, 1859, Charles Russell was called to the English Bar, taking up his quarters at Pump Court Temple.

Thus Charles Russell, after a few years' experience of the solicitor's profession, like Lord Truro in England, abandoned the calling for the Bar. The choice was undoubtedly a happy one. He won place and preferment honourably and fairly amid the rivalry of the best brains at the Bar—such men as Holker, Aspinall, and Herschell were on the same circuit with him—and a fame which was not possible for him at home, and he gained emoluments from that practice which were unattainable in Ireland. He gained a great name as an advocate, and left a memory of a career of brilliant forensic distinction. In taking this step and launching upon the then unknown and perilous sea of practice in England, Charles Russell showed great courage of conviction and a consciousness of capacity that were remarkable and singular. He never regretted or had cause to regret the act. Fortune favoured him as it rarely favours. Had he remained in Ireland and entered upon the inevitable politico-professional career of the Irish Bar with all its uncertainties, its intrigues and peculiar accidents, it is difficult to say what would have been his future. It was not given him to wait long for recognition and the substantial reward that follows recognition at the English Bar. The weary waiting that rendereth the heart sick, and which some great men had known and felt, so much so as to embitter their after-lives, was not his lot. From the first he acquired a competence, and in a few years made money beyond the dreams of many struggling juniors. But the story circulated at his death in the gossip columns of newspapers that in those early years he had to struggle hard, to toil in comparative poverty and 'eat the bread of idleness and indigence' as graphically put, was a myth. He never was in such straitened circumstances. When he came to England he came with a modest but a sufficient competency, and from almost the first, briefs poured in upon him, particularly in the Liverpool courts, where he was a constant practitioner from the first, and where for nearly twenty years he was the best-known lawyer there. The other story told of him that

he took to Journalism as a means of livelihood and sought that *refugium* of the briefless barrister for a living, and, that he even reported in the House of Commons is also imaginative.

He had not, as too many of his profession, to lean upon the Press for a living, and divide his time between the courts in the Strand in the day-time and some back office in Fleet Street at night. He wrote for the Press, but it was not a necessary occupation with him—only a diversion, more perhaps to let off his surpassing intellectual energy than otherwise. His weekly letters as a correspondent to a Dublin journal were far different work from the drudgery of a writer forced by that most imperious of all masters—the *res angustae a'omi*—to write whether he liked it or not. Russell wrote when and as it pleased him, never except upon a subject he liked, and to the length he liked. He was a fluent and forcible pensman, and twice attempted authorship, one of his publications being a treatise on practice in the Court of Passage at Liverpool, and the other the reprint of a series of letters that first appeared as contributions in the *Daily Telegraph* upon the condition of the Lansdowne Estates in Ireland and the Land Question generally. His writings had none of the culture of a Bowen, whose prose translation of Virgil is so beautiful, nor its classic turn. As he was not a scholar, or even a great reader, his style was necessarily bare, but it possessed a nervous vigour. It was not like the writing of his own brother—‘the sweetest singer of song’—but what it lacked in imagery it made up in pellucid vigour, clearness and lucidity.

Charles Russell did not, as was said, first settle in Liverpool as a provincial practitioner. He lived in London, but practised largely in the Liverpool courts. His first important case in which he was engaged was what appears in the Reports as *Ex parte Chavasse Re Glazebrook*, wherein it was laid down that a contract made with the owner of a blockade runner was not necessarily an unlawful contract. Lord Westbury, who was the judge who tried the case, was so impressed by the able and ingenious argument of young Russell, that, when Chancellor, he subsequently offered him a County

Court judgeship, which, with characteristic courage and self-reliance, Charles Russell refused, as later on in 1884 he refused a puisne judgeship offered him as successor to Mr. Justice Bowen, then promoted to the Court of Appeal. It is a curious coincidence that he should have been Lord Bowen's successor as Lord of Appeal later on. However, in those early years with what he felt himself able to do, Russell was determined to 'go ahead' and not find himself cribbed, cabined, or confined within the narrow circuit of a County Court or even a puisne judgeship.

For over a quarter of a century he was engaged in nearly every great *Nisi Prius* case tried in London. Hardly any libel action was heard in the courts in which he did not hold a brief, usually for the defendant paper. He held a standing retainer for the *Times*, which to the credit of its proprietors they generously relieved him of, and did not insist upon in the Parnell case, for, without withdrawing it, they permitted him to appear against them upon the other side. Among the famous cases in which he appeared may be mentioned the *Saurin v. Starr* case, a now forgotten prosecution arising out of a convent dispute. During the cross examination of one of the nuns by Mr. Coleridge, she was asked to explain some breach of discipline. Miss Saurin was reprimanded for eating strawberries which she was forbidden to eat. The learned counsel tried to minimise the act, and asked the witness what great crime it was to eat strawberries. Quick as lightning the nun answered that it was an act of disobedience to a superior, and that he well knew what trouble under similar circumstances of disobedience the eating of one apple once caused. Sir Charles was also engaged in a case which lasted thirty days before Vice-Chancellor Bacon (the *London Financial Association v. Kelk*), and the *Mogul Steamship Co. v. M'Gregor, Gow and Co.*, which ran on for nearly six years. He appeared in the *Bank of England v. Vagliano* case; the *Aylesbury Peerage case*; the *Nuttall v. Wildes* breach of promise case, making a speech in mitigation of damages, which some thought one of the best he ever made; and *Wilberforce v. Philp*, in which Lord Russell himself thought his cross-examination was the most skilful he ever conducted. He also

appeared in the following *cause celebres* of their day: *Scott v. Sampson*; *Belt and Lawes*, the libel on the sculptor which created intense public interest. In the *Parnell v. Times* case he made a speech at the conclusion which was admitted to be the best effort of forensic oratory he ever made or probably that was ever made in our time. As the President of the Court said of it in a memorable note sent down to 'Sir Charles,' on the conclusion, 'It was a great speech, worthy of a great occasion.' It was, indeed, an historic pronouncement, a vindication of the agrarian movement, showing by facts and figures the justice of the agitation, accompanied though it might be by those excesses incidental to popular uprisings.

In criminal cases he did not often appear, and the two most famous of trials of this character in which he was engaged were the defence of O'Donnell for the murder of the notorious informer Carey—the Cataline of the Phoenix Park conspiracy—and the Maybrick case, in which that lady was found guilty of the murder by poison of her husband. He took the greatest interest in the subsequent fate of the condemned woman and did his best to get her liberated. In criminal cases he can hardly be said to have distinguished himself, certainly not so much so as in some great *Nisi Prius* issue such as a libel action, a breach of promise, or an election petition, in all of which he was *facile princeps* at the Bar.

As Attorney-General for the Liberal Government he represented his Government in a great arbitration—an internationally important issue, arising out of the Berhing Sea question, settling the right to the seals captured in certain waters. In May, 1894, he succeeded Lord Bowen as Lord of Appeal and obtained upon that occasion a life peerage, taking the title of Russell of Killowen, it being his native place, 'a charming spot on Carlingford Lough close to Rostrevor, and commanding a glorious view of the mountains and the sea.'

In 1895, upon the death of Lord Coleridge, he was elevated by Mr. Gladstone to the Bench as Lord Chief Justice of England, and was the first Catholic to fill that position since the Reformation. Great men have been in that high and honoured position—the highest permanent judicial post in the land—the greatest lawyers in England have occupied

that seat and it can truthfully and without exaggeration be said of Lord Russell that he was worthy of his predecessors in office, eminent as they were. He was an ideal judge. At the Bar he was rather impulsive, and sometimes, perhaps, irritable, with the irritability of intellect common to quick-thinking men who have to deal with dull intellects. His manner was imperious and assertive, and it was thought his elevation might bring into greater relief those particular qualities. But, by universal testimony, it was not so. He was the personification of calm, judicial and dignified bearing. Although, unfortunately, but a short time on the Bench, he made his mark upon the administration of English law. He conducted the cases before him very ably, and in his exposition of the law made the guilt or innocence of the act—the clear law—plain to the mind of the jury. He took up a very strong position on the question of illicit commissions and secret payments in commercial transactions, and to his utterances and action is largely due an Act of Parliament to check the evil, which did not see its way on the Statute Book until after his death. But his merciless exposure of the evil had its effect in creating a better and healthier state of public morality than prevailed. He went to America in 1896 and delivered the Annual Address before the American Bar Association at Saratoga Springs, choosing as his subject, 'International Law and Arbitration.' It was an able and remarkable pronouncement, and greatly impressed his American audience and the wider public who read it in the papers.

In 1897 the Arbitration Treaty between England and America upon the Venezuelan question was signed, and in pursuance thereto Lord Russell attended at Paris as one of the commissioners for this country, in the place of Lord Herschell who died while discharging the duties. The award was duly made in the October of that year, and it was an eminently satisfactory termination of a dispute which at one time threatened to become serious and a source of trouble between America and England. Lord Salisbury, on the conclusion of the proceedings, conveyed to Lord Russell the late Queen's appreciation of his 'eminent services as one of the British arbitrators.' His colleague, Lord Justice Henn Collins,



bore testimony to the services of Lord Russell in this intricate and delicate matter. Speaking of them he said :—

I do not believe that the public have sufficiently realised the great debt they owe to Lord Russell of Killowen for the influence he exercised in bringing about the happy result of that award. I do not believe that there was any other man in this kingdom who was capable of bringing a weight, a gravity, an indisputable supremacy in discussion and in argument such as he brought to bear on the solution of that question.

Probably his action in the Venezuelan arbitration, when he went to represent this country, was the most remarkable in his great career of advocacy. He certainly produced a most favourable and lasting impression upon not only the men with whom he came in direct contact, but upon the American Bar and American public opinion generally. In the *Law Magazine* for May, 1902, Mr. Burton Smith, Vice-President of the Georgia State Bar Association pays this tribute to Lord Russell in this matter :—

What was the impression made by Lord Russell on the American Bar, and, through them, upon the people? What manner of man did they meet in this Chief Justice from across the sea? They saw a calm, strong face, a bearing, a diction, an intonation in nowise suggesting a different race or nation from themselves. He might have been a distinguished American judge or a great leader of the American Bar for all that his governmental views, his words, his appearance, or his bearing showed. They heard a deep and powerful plea for peace, fellowship, and friendship. They realised that the speaker was a true lover of liberty : that the nation producing him must deal justly with all its peoples, even though they were brought beneath its banners by the conquests of its arms : and underlying it all they recognised that sterling manliness of national character, the real basis of the English character. They saw a willingness to endure much to maintain peace, but with an unalterable resolution fearlessly to face all foes and all dangers, a readiness to meet national destruction itself rather than national dishonour. 'But further, friend as I am of peace, I would yet affirm that there may be even greater calamities than war—the dishonour of a nation, the triumph of an unrighteous cause, the perpetuation of hopeless and debasing tyranny.'

This is a notable testimony to the effect of personal character. Further on the same eminent lawyer says :—

The careful student of recent affairs will attribute to Lord

Russell, more than to any other individual, the development of this good feeling between the two Powers. When, shortly after his visit, Great Britain, by her bold and friendly course, probably prevented the intervention of other Powers in the Spanish-American war, the bond of union was sealed.

The writer of the obituary notice in the *Times*, who evidently knew Lord Russell well, said of him what was undoubtedly true that—

Not by training or temperament a scholar, too restless to linger long over the solution of any problem, Lord Russell gained his knowledge, which was great, not so much from books, as by appropriating swiftly and quickly and accurately all that reading men or scholars could tell him. What his powerful memory once acquired it retained, and few experts could have passed an examination in Shakespeare so successfully as the Lord Chief Justice. Gifted with an unsurpassed quickness of apprehension he relied far more than men greatly his inferiors on sheer hard work and indefatigable study of details. The pains which he took to prepare himself to sit as an arbitrator on the Venezuelan Arbitration, the study of documents, maps, and books which threw side lights on the controversy, were prodigious. His address on Arbitration delivered before the Bar Association of the United States was founded on preparations varied and continuous of which ordinary workers have no conception.

In those two great international cases—the Berhing and Venezulan arbitrations—he appeared to greatest advantage, and gained for himself a judicial reputation that was world-wide. There he showed his great powers, his well poised and fine intellect, his genius as a lawyer. A few days only before his death, M. Saleilles, writing in the name of the Congress of Comparative Law, asked him to become a patron of the Congress—a great compliment to his renown as a jurist. Speaking on behalf of the English Bar, Sir Edward Clarke described his death as a national loss, and Mr. Justice Kennedy remarked of him that he was ‘one of the greatest on a great roll of Chief Justices, and one who, alike as a man and a judge, deserves higher praise than any words of mine can convey.’

RICHARD J. KELLY.

# Notes and Queries

## THEOLOGY

### VIATICUM WHEN THE DYING PERSON HAS COMMUNICATED ON THE SAME DAY

REV. DEAR SIR,—Kindly give your opinion on the following case. A man who received Communion on a certain day met with a fatal accident that same day. The parish priest who was called to attend the dying man was doubtful whether, in the circumstances, the Viaticum might be administered. What should the priest have done?

A. M.

Our correspondent seems to convey that the man died on the same day on which he received the Holy Eucharist. In that hypothesis, should the Viaticum have been administered? There are two opinions. Some theologians hold that the administration of the Viaticum in such a case is neither obligatory nor lawful: they will not admit that such a case furnishes an exception to the general law forbidding the reception of the Eucharist more than once on the same day. Others maintain that the precept of receiving the Viaticum should prevail against that forbidding a second Communion on the same day: these theologians would say, therefore, that the administration of the Viaticum, in the case proposed, was not merely lawful but obligatory. In face of these two opinions—both probable—the Viaticum could certainly have been lawfully administered.

Moreover, with a probable opinion in his favour, the dying man had a strict right to demand the administration of the Viaticum, and the parish priest should have administered it—no matter what his own opinion may be on the controverted question. But, even though the dying man does not insist on his right and even though the parish priest may speculatively agree with those who think that in such a case the Viaticum should not be administered, we think that, in

practice, the better course would certainly be to give the dying person the benefit of the doubt and to administer the Sacrament.

If the man did not die on the day in which he received the Holy Eucharist, there was no room for doubt about the lawfulness of administering the Viaticum on the following or any subsequent day.

#### ABSOLUTION IN ARTICULO MORTIS BY AN UNAPPROVED PRIEST

REV. DEAR SIR,—Has there been any recent decision regarding the validity of absolution given to a person *in articulo mortis* by a priest who has neither jurisdiction nor approbation? Some doubt used to be thrown on this matter. But, in a case that recently came under my notice a young priest without approbation seemed to assume that he could validly absolve a dying person, and that there was no shadow of doubt about his power. If an opportunity occurred would it be the duty of an approved priest to get a penitent so absolved to repeat his confession and to give another absolution?

APPROBATUS.

For all practical purposes, the opinion of those who held that even a priest without approbation or jurisdiction can validly absolve a person *in articulo mortis* has been confirmed by reply of the Holy Office, 29th July, 1891. The reply will be found in almost any manual of Moral Theology published within the last ten years. It runs thus :—

Non sunt inquietandi qui tenent validam esse absolutionem in articulo mortis a sacerdote non approbato, etiam quando facile advocari seu adesse potuisset sacerdos approbatus.

This response removes all doubt about the power of an unapproved priest, *in the absence* of an approved confessor, to absolve a penitent *in articulo mortis*. Even though an approved confessor could be called in, without the slightest inconvenience, the Church will certainly supply jurisdiction to the unapproved priest if he proceeds to absolve. Otherwise the Sacred Congregation could not have given the response above quoted.

What, however, if an approved confessor is *actually present*? Can an unapproved priest validly absolve even then? According to the opinion long commonly received, he can. After the decision of 29th July, 1891, there can scarcely be room for even the shadow of a doubt. For there seems to be no sufficient reason to distinguish between the case in which an approved confessor is actually present and the case in which he can be easily summoned—*facile advocari potest*. If the unapproved priest can absolve in the one case, it seems to us manifest that he can absolve in the other. However, the point has not been expressly decided; and, therefore, in a case where we cannot afford to take any risks, it will be advisable for the approved confessor to give another absolution. It should be observed, however, that it is not necessary for the penitent in such a case to repeat his whole confession. It will suffice, if he confesses, with due dispositions, even one venial sin to the approved confessor, and receives absolution from him. This absolution will indirectly blot out his other sins if the previous absolution was invalid.

D. MANNIX.

## LITURGY

### CONDITIONS NECESSARY FOR RECEPTION INTO CONFRATERNITY OF MOUNT CARMEL

REV. DEAR SIR,—Would you kindly inform me through your 'Notes and Queries' column if it is true that a recent decree from Rome has made it now no longer necessary (for validity) to send the names of those hereafter to be enrolled in the Brown Scapular to any centre or place where a register of such names is kept, and oblige, respectfully yours,

NEMO.

We have not heard of the existence of any such Decree, and we believe that none exists. For valid reception into any confraternity in the strict sense an essential condition is the inscription of the names of members in a register usually kept at one of the centres of the association.<sup>1</sup> But by a

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<sup>1</sup> Dec. Auth. Cong. Ind., 16 July, 1887.

special Indult, dated 30th April, 1838, Gregory XVI. dispensed with this formality in favour of the Confraternity of the Scapular of Mount Carmel. The Gregorian Indult continued in operation till the year 1887, when it was revoked by the reigning Pontiff, so that at present things have drifted back into their normal condition, and the formal enrollment of members is once more a necessary and essential condition, not only for the full participation in the suffrages of the associates, but also for the gaining of the indulgences. It is well to notice that books on indulgences issued while the Gregorian Privilege was enjoyed, do not insist on the inscription of the names as an essential for the gaining of the indulgences, though they recognise its necessity for the gaining of the other spiritual advantages to be reaped from membership.

**SINGING OF 'DIES IRAE' AND OFFERTORY IN 'MISSIS CANTATIS DEFUNCTORUM'**

REV. DEAR SIR,—In some churches it is a practice with the priests in choir to cease chanting the *Dies Irae* at whatever part of it they may have arrived, as soon as the celebrant has finished reading it at the altar, to enable him to begin at once to sing the Gospel; also to omit altogether the singing of the Offertory when the chanters are not singers of some eminence. Is this practice justified by this being a missionary country, notwithstanding the Decree of the Sacred Congregation of Rites?

'Vel non celebrandas Missas Defunctorum, vel cananda esse omnia quae precationem suffragii respiciant, scil. cantus Introitus, Sequentiae, Offertorii et Communions, S.R.C.'

*Quatenus Negative.* Does a preceptive Decree S.C.R. authoritatively explaining a Rubric *intra Missam* bind *sub gravi ex genere suo*?

SACERDOS.

It will help in forming a correct appreciation of the points at issue and in arriving at a satisfactory solution of them if the decrees of the Sacred Congregation of Rites bearing on the subject are given in their completeness. The following question was proposed:—'An tolerandus sit usus quod in Missis cum cantu praetermittatur cantus Introitus, Offertorii, Communions, et, quando post Epistolam occurrit, etiam

Sequentiae? Item quod in Missis Defunctorum praetermittatur cantus saltem integrae Sequentia Dies Irae et Offertorii?' And the answer was returned:—Vel non celebrandas Missas Defunctorum, vel canenda esse omnia quae precationem respiciunt.<sup>2</sup> A subsequent inquiry was made:—Num in responso . . . quod respicit Missas Defunctorum cantandas, verba illa 'precatio suffragii' includant sequentiam *Dies Irae*, quae vix precatio vocari potest? Item num<sup>2</sup> in dictis Missis cantari debet necessario Offertorium? To which the reply was:—Affirmative ad utrumque.<sup>3</sup> In the face of these very clear decisions it is difficult to see how the custom alluded to by our respected correspondent can have any shadow of justification. The fact that this is a missionary country has nothing to do with the lawfulness of the practice. For the mind of the Congregation of Rites manifestly is that where these Masses cannot be fittingly celebrated they ought to be omitted altogether. In the recent edition of the *Officium Def. et Ordo Exsequiarum*, etc.,<sup>4</sup> by his Grace the Archbishop of Dublin, frequent reference is made to the Decrees just quoted as though to emphasise their importance and impress upon all the necessity of paying due attention to their requirements.

A Decree of the Congregation of Rites, issued in explanation of a Rubric, has the same binding force as the Rubric it interprets. It will, therefore, be directive if the Rubric is directive, and preceptive if the Rubric is preceptive. In the latter case, then, it binds in grave matters *sub gravi*, and in light matters *sub levi*.<sup>5</sup> All authorities agree that the Rubrics of the Missal are preceptive in so far at least as they regard the actual celebration of Mass.<sup>6</sup> But it must be borne in mind that the directions we are concerned with regard not the celebrant, but the choir, and that an omission which would amount to a *materia gravis* in one case would not have the same gravity in the other. In other words, the choir ought not be judged by the same strict standard as the celebrant;

<sup>2</sup> Dec. Sac. Rit. Cong., 11 Sept., 1847 (Nov. Ed.)

<sup>3</sup> Dec. Sac. Rit. Cong., 9 May, 1857 (Nov. Ed.)

<sup>4</sup> *Vide Officium Def. et Ordo Exseq.* (M. H. Gill & Son, 1900.)

<sup>5</sup> *Vide O'Kane, Notes on the Rubrics*, pp. 20-30.

<sup>6</sup> St. Liguori. Lib. vi., 399. Quarta Tent.

and it is not so easy to say when negligence in regard to choral matters becomes gravely culpable.

That there is an obligation on the choir and those responsible for the due exercise of its functions is certain, and the main point is that those concerned should endeavour to discharge their duties in accordance with the expressed wishes of the Church and out of an earnest spirit of deference to the claims of her Liturgy and Ceremonial.

P. MORRISROE.



## CORRESPONDENCE

## 'PRIESTS AND TEMPERANCE REFORM'

REV. DEAR SIR,—The priests of Ireland must feel, and, I am sure do feel, deeply grateful to Father Fenelon for his timely article on Temperance Propaganda in the December number of the I. E. RECORD. All who have read the article must have been impressed by its great practical usefulness. It has done the very thing just now most needed. It has placed at our disposal the literature of the drink question, and the critical information which will enable us to use that literature to the best advantage. The work of compiling and examining such a list of books necessarily involves much reading and enquiry; and work of that sort must be, and will be, productive of fruitful results. From that magazine the priests of Ireland can arm themselves—and the sooner the better—if they intend to strike a blow in the holy crusade that *has already begun* to be waged throughout the land against the demon of drink.

The voice of the reformer has at long last caught the public ear. The country is aroused on the drink question. It is willing to listen, it is even seeking for light, for information. *Public Opinion*, that all-powerful factor for good or for evil in every social movement, has been at length stirred up to examine its conscience. But it will not remain long on the alert or in suspense—it never does on any public question. Very soon it will relapse into a deeper and deadlier slumber than before if the priests of Ireland are not quick enough to arrest, to enlighten, and to convert it while it is willing to hear their voice and to heed it. The present is an opportunity which may never return. How much depends on the use we make of it! The time is ripe for a renewed effort, a more earnest effort than ever before, a more hopeful effort, too, if we discern aright the signs that are around us. I believe that by taking advantage of present opportunities the priests of Ireland can make the people strictly temperate in one generation. 'Where there's a will there's a way.' The ways and means are with us, in our hands, clamouring to us to make use of them. *Have we the will?* Words won't answer that question for us any longer. *Deeds* will—or the absence of them.

We would *begin* well by starting St. Patrick's Anti-Treating League in our parishes *for all* ; with its Total Abstinence section for the children pledged at Confirmation, for the youth under twenty-one (or preferably under twenty-five), and for all others who may wish to become total abstainers. To *continue* the good work successfully will of course involve constant watchfulness, especially over the youth. It will involve the continued labour of preaching, instructing, educating, on the drink question. It will be promoted very much by attending to the young, to temperance *instruction in the schools*. It will be aided also by the dissemination of temperance literature through the branches of the Catholic Truth Society which are, or ought to be, in every parish in the country. My reverend friends will say that all this spells labour. It does, hard, and if you like, troublesome labour. But it spells short labour and fruitful labour, too—how very fruitful! It spells *victory in a generation*. Yes, let the adult population give up the treating custom, and the dread temptation to which the youth have hitherto succumbed will be thereupon removed. And so, the rising generation will safely and easily reach the years of manhood and womanhood in sobriety. That day will see the dawn of a temperate Ireland.

That outline of work looks simple. It will be found to be fairly far-reaching even in the letter. Still I recognise that it will need a very generous interpretation as to ways and means if it is to be taken as an adequate solution of a social problem that is so exceedingly complex and many-sided as the temperance question is. Hence, knowing and feeling that to grapple with this problem means labour and self-sacrifice, I am induced to write these lines only by the hope that they may be read not unfavourably by the hundreds of younger clergy who have passed from Maynooth to the mission in recent years, either as members or as sincere friends of *St. Patrick's Total Abstinence League*. Some of these, no doubt, have extended their five years' pledge indefinitely. Many have not. But most, let us hope, are earnest workers in the holy war against intemperance.

Speaking for the younger priests who heard Father Cullen in their college days, I fear I must say that *we* cannot plead the excuse of inculpable ignorance if we have been remiss in the temperance cause. Father Fenelon tries to excuse us by saying that we 'do not fully realise the extent of the ravages produced by intemperance.' Well, if we do not, we must have wilfully shunned the light. Lectures and sermons, able and convincing,

in retreat and outside retreat, there were plenty for us—too many according to some. If we are not temperance reformers, then, we must seek elsewhere for the reason why. Does Father Fenelon's analogy of the turf and the sporting paper serve a double purpose in the context? Or could he have got other analogies also equally suggestive? These questions flashed across my mind at the time of reading his article. And I hoped in my heart that 'Father Cullen's student teetotallers,' and 'Father Cullen's student pioneers' of these later days, may be all still true to their youthful promise.

There is in Father Fenelon's paper a paragraph which I think calls for comment—Total Abstinence *v* Temperance. The priest's or the reformer's work for Temperance will be immensely more successful than otherwise if he be himself a total abstainer. From that opinion few indeed will dissent. On the other hand, it seems to me not only inopportune but absurd to aim at making the Irish people all total abstainers, and to be satisfied with nothing less; inopportune because it turns away sensible people by proposing to them an ideal that is impracticable, however desirable; absurd because it tries to achieve the impossible. It is another thing, however, to aim at Total Abstinence as an ideal not to be attained in its fulness, and only with a view to realising it *as far as possible*. Many people are frightened or offended because they think that Total Abstinence advocates seriously propose and intend to abolish absolutely all drinking from the land. They may allay their fears. We do aim at making as many total abstainers as possible. That we recognise to be an absolutely necessary means to stem the torrent of intemperance in which the country is plunged. In other circumstances, under normal conditions, the drunkard alone would need the Total Abstinence pledge. But, taking things as they are, in view of the dangers that surround our people on all sides, we see the necessity of enrolling all we possibly can under the banner of Total Abstinence; and that either (1) for their own personal safety, or (2) for the sake of good example, in order to suppress the vice of intemperance, or for all reasons together. While, however, we unanimously insist on its absolute necessity as a safeguard for the young, we by no means wish to preach it as the exclusive and only fruitful means of reform for all. It is, of course, the surest and best way, but not the easiest; and amongst the adult population there are thousands most willing to work in the cause of

Temperance with some self-sacrifice not so exacting as the practice of Total Abstinence. If a means could be devised of utilizing their assistance in the cause, why reject it? Hitherto, it must be confessed, mere Temperance Associations have not succeeded in making much practical use of that vast majority of our people who may be described as 'temperate Temperance reformers.' But the question seems to have been at last satisfactorily solved by the establishment of St. Patrick's Anti-Treating League. The idea of such a league was a most happy inspiration. It is a veritable God-send to the 'temperate' ones. Now, at last, these have got something tangible and practical to do. They are banded together to wage war on one of the chief centres of intemperance.

But will the Anti-Treating League succeed?—the laity ask the priests and the priests ask one another. Well, it is unquestionably a success for so far. Then, it contains in itself, in its very constitution, all the intrinsic elements of success. And finally, its advent is most opportune so far as the conditions of the country, the feelings of the laity, are concerned. For the people are just now considerably awakened by the play of new social forces; by the taste of local government; by the changes in education, primary, technical, agricultural, industrial; most of all by the Language Revival, the all pervading influence of the Irish Ireland Movement. Thought has gone abroad. The spirit of introspection, self-examination, self-improvement, is everywhere. The people were seldom if ever more anxious than at present to take up and follow out every good movement. If, then, the Anti-Treating League do not succeed it will not be difficult to tell the reason why.

It will not succeed wherever the priests on whom it relies imagine that it is a royal road to success, an 'open sesame,' a magic key of some sort that will open up a sober Ireland to a wondering world in the space of a year or less. It is no such thing. When the priest has opened up a branch in his parish, his work, so far from being over, is only begun. But, if his heart be in it, it will succeed, and that even though it grow and develop in complexity and in difficulty under his very hands. And it will grow as sure as he touches it. When he tries to *educate* his people, when, at the very outset, he tries to change their opinions, to root out old and false notions, to implant new and true ones; when he endeavours to awaken in them a sense of shame at intemperance, when he appeals to their manliness,

their self-respect, their nobility and independence of character as men and as Christians ; and when he finds naught but an unresponsive lethargy, a half-slavish and broken-spirited indifference to his appeals ; it is then he will begin to realise how serious is the problem of temperance reform, how poor the material he has to work upon, how deep-seated the flaws and defects in our people's character, what need there is for a very radical and revolutionary change in their thoughts, ideals, tastes and aspirations, and for a very sweeping and fundamental teaching to bring that change about.

'Ireland sober is Ireland free.' I once heard a temperance advocate and non-Gaelic-Leaguer make that answer to the annoying objections of one who was a Gaelic Leaguer before all. 'I don't believe a word of it,' the latter retorted, 'a sober Ireland to-morrow could be, and would be still an Anglicised slave.' I think, however, he would have done better to admit the *dictum* as a truism, but as a sophism in the context, to contend that Ireland *will not* be made sober, that temperance propaganda *will not* ultimately succeed *independently* of the fundamental and far-reaching change which the Language Movement will effect in the thought and character of the people. Thank God, both movements are forging ahead, rendering mutual assistance ; and the thought occurs to me here that while that is so, there is no apparent necessity for superimposing an official connexion upon the very close and very wholesome natural relations that already obtain between those movements.

Just one word in conclusion about a universal organisation of total abstaining Irish priests. I think there can be no second opinion as to the great utility, if not necessity, of such a Union. The zeal of individuals may spend itself and be spent doing great things within the parish of each. But it would be far more fruitful, even within the parish, if organised. The painful spectacle of the decay and death of a flourishing parochial society, consequent on a mere change of clergy, would not be then so frequently witnessed. Besides, there is beyond the parish of the individual worker the wider sphere of public opinion which must be got at and influenced if the temperance cause is to succeed. Needless to say, the power of the Press, the public lecture, and other such ordinary agencies for social reform, can be utilized only by concerted action, by combined, well-directed co-operation. Is it not time that the total abstaining priests of Ireland took serious thought and banded themselves together

to multiply the fruit of their heroic work? Why should the various diocesan societies still remain so many disconnected units as heretofore? An attempt has already been made to unite them. The Father Mathew Union holds the field. Therefore, let those who desire such a Union, in every diocese in Ireland, take up *its* rules and constitutions and see *if* it can be made, and *how* it can be made a practical scheme for uniting in one working army all the total abstaining priests of Ireland.

P. COFFEY.

## DOCUMENTS

ENCYCLICAL LETTER OF HIS HOLINESS POPE LEO XIII. TO  
THE BISHOPS OF ITALY <sup>1</sup>

VENERABLE BRETHREN, Health and Apostolic Benediction.

Having turned Our thoughts from the beginning of Our Pontificate to the conditions of society We were not slow to recognise that one of the most urgent duties of Our Apostolic office was to devote special care and attention to the education of the clergy. We saw that all Our efforts to renew the spirit of Christian life amongst the people would turn out vain and fruitless if the sacerdotal spirit was not kept strong and sound in the ecclesiastical body. We did not cease, therefore, as far as lay in Our power, to provide for that all-important object, either by the erection of suitable institutions or by the documentary instructions which we issued for the guidance of the Church. But on the present occasion we are moved, Venerable Brethren, through particular concern for the clergy of Italy, to deal once again with a question of such grave importance.

Beautiful and constant indeed are the testimonies of piety and zeal which that clergy gives Us, and We are pleased to single out for special recognition and praise the eagerness with which its members, following the direction of the Episcopate, have co-operated in the Catholic movement in which We are supremely interested. We cannot, however, conceal Our anxiety at witnessing for some time past the devious courses into which the desire of innovation has been leading in regard to the education and the social activity of our sacred ministers. Now, it is easy to foresee the serious consequences which would have to be deplored were not a prompt remedy applied wherever these innovating tendencies have appeared. In order, therefore, to secure the Italian clergy against the pernicious influences of the time, We think it opportune, Venerable Brethren, to recall in this letter of Ours, the true and unchangeable principles by which ecclesiastical education and every sacred minister should be guided.

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<sup>1</sup> We have translated this Encyclical from the Italian. It was not composed in Latin, otherwise we should have given the Latin text, according to our usual practice.—J. F. H.

The Catholic priesthood, divine in its origin, supernatural in its essence, unchangeable in its character, is not an institution that can accommodate itself to the whims of opinion and to the variations of human systems. Participating as it does in the eternal priesthood of Jesus Christ, its object is to bear to the end of time the message which the Divine Father entrusted to His Incarnate Son. 'As the Father hath sent Me, I also send you.'<sup>2</sup> To labour for the eternal salvation of souls will ever be the great purpose of the Christian priesthood, and the end from which it can never turn aside. In order to accomplish that sublime purpose it should never cease to have recourse to those supernatural safeguards, to those divine rules of thought and action which Jesus Christ gave when He sent His Apostles through the world to convert all peoples to the Gospel. Hence St. Paul in his letters reminds us that the priest is nothing less than the 'ambassador';<sup>3</sup> the 'minister of Christ'; the 'dispenser of the mysteries';<sup>4</sup> and he represents him to us as being constituted in a high place, as an intermediary between heaven and earth, to treat with God of the supreme interests of the human race which are those of life eternal. Such is the conception which the Sacred Books give us of the Christian priesthood—that is—of a supernatural institution which transcends all human associations, and is as entirely separated from them as the divine from the human.

The same lofty idea clearly emerges from the works of the Fathers, from the teaching authority of the Roman Pontiffs and of the Bishops, from the decrees of Councils, from the unanimous teaching of the Doctors and of the Catholic schools. Indeed the whole tradition of the Church is as one voice to proclaim that the priest is 'another Christ,' and that the priesthood 'is exercised indeed on earth, but is justly enumerated amongst the Orders of Heaven,'<sup>5</sup> 'since it is entrusted with the administration of heavenly things, and a power is conferred upon it that has not been given even to the angels,'<sup>6</sup> a power

<sup>2</sup> John xx. 21.

<sup>3</sup> 2 Cor. v. 20.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Cor. iv. 1.

<sup>5</sup> 'Sacerdotium enim in terra peragitur, sed coelestium ordinum classem obtinet; et jure quidem merito.' (St. Chrysos., *De Sacerdotio*, Lib. iii., n. 4).

<sup>6</sup> 'Etenim qui terram incolunt in eaque commorantur ad ea quae in coelis sunt dispensandi commissi sunt, potestatemque acceperunt quam neque angelis neque Archangelis dedit Deus.' (*Ibid.*, n. 5.)



and a ministry that regards the government of souls which is the 'art of all arts.'<sup>7</sup>

Therefore education, studies, practices, everything in a word that relates to the discipline of priestly life, has been considered by the Church as a thing entirely apart, not only distinct, but even separated from the ordinary ways of secular life. This distinction and separation should remain unchanged in our times also, and any tendency to make common or to confound the education and the life of the ecclesiastic with lay life and education must be regarded as discountenanced not only by the tradition of Christian centuries, but by the doctrine of the Apostles and the teaching of Jesus Christ Himself.

Certainly in the education of the clergy and the ministry of the priesthood reason itself commands that account should be taken of the changing conditions of the times. Hence We are very far from rejecting all those changes that are calculated to make the influence of the clergy more effective in the midst of the society in which they live. It is, on the contrary, with a view to that end that it has seemed well to Us to promote in their ranks a deeper and more refined culture and to open out a wider field for their activity. But every other innovation that could injuriously affect what is essential in the priest should be regarded as entirely blameworthy. The priest is above all things constituted as the teacher, the healer, and pastor of souls, the guide on a journey that does not close with this life. Now, he can never discharge that noble office if he is not versed, as far as needs be, in the science of things sacred and divine, if he is not richly endowed with the piety that makes him a man of God, if he does not apply himself to strengthen his teaching by the effect of his example, according to the warning given by the prince of the Apostles, 'but being made a pattern of the flock from the heart.'<sup>8</sup>

However the times may change and the conditions of life may vary and be modified, these are the distinctive and all-important endowments that should shine forth in the Catholic priesthood according to the principles of faith. Every natural and human acquirement will be welcome in addition, but must be held in relation to the sacerdotal office as only of relative and secondary importance. For if it is reasonable and just that the

<sup>7</sup> 'Ars est artium Regimen Animarum.' (St. Greg., M. Regul. Post. part i., c. 1.)

<sup>8</sup> 1 Peter v. 3.

clergy should, where lawful, devote themselves to the needs of the present age, it is also a duty and a necessity that far from yielding to the evil current of the world, they should as far as possible resist it. Such action on their part, whilst it will correspond to the noble aim of the priesthood, will also make their ministry more fruitful ; for it will add to their dignity and win them respect.

Now, it is only too well known that the spirit of naturalism tends to corrupt even the soundest part of the social body, that it fills with pride the minds of men and makes them rebel against all authority, that it debases their hearts and sets them in search of the transient possessions of this world whilst they despise the eternal. It is greatly to be feared that some influx of that spirit which is so pernicious and so widespread may have insinuated itself amongst ecclesiastics, particularly amongst the less experienced. The sad effects of this would be a falling off from that gravity of conduct which adds so much to the dignity of the priest, a disposition to yield to the fascination of every novelty, an attitude of pretentious independence towards superiors, a loss of that well-balanced judgment and moderation which is so necessary, particularly in the discussion of matters that refer to faith and morals. An effect still more deplorable, because it involves the ruin of a Christian people, would be the introduction into the sacred ministry of a language out of harmony with the character of a messenger of the Gospel.

Moved by such considerations We feel impelled once more and with greater earnestness than ever to recommend that, above all, seminaries should be upheld in the true spirit both as regards the education of the mind and that of the heart. Let the fact be never lost sight of that these colleges are exclusively destined to prepare young men not for any human office no matter how honourable and legitimate, but for the high mission already mentioned of ' ministers of Christ and dispensers of the mysteries of God.'<sup>9</sup> From such a foundation, supernatural as it is, it will be always easy, as We noted in Our Encyclical to the Clergy of France, of the 8th of September, 1899, to draw up precious regulations which will not only mark out the lines on which the education of the clergy should be carried out, but will avert from the institutions in which they receive their education all danger in the religious or moral order, whether internal or external.

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<sup>9</sup> 1 Cor. iv. 1.

As regards studies the clergy should not be ignorant of any advance that is made in the discipline of the schools. They should accept what is truly recognised as good and useful in new methods. Every age should contribute towards the progress of human knowledge. Therefore We wish that in this you should bear in mind Our instructions on the study of classical letters, and principally of Philosophy, Theology, and the kindred sciences—instructions which we gave in various documents, but particularly in the above-mentioned Encyclical, a copy of which We send you with the present letter.

It would certainly be desirable that young ecclesiastics should all, as is right, follow their course of studies under the shadow of some sacred institution. But since grave reasons make it in certain circumstances advisable that some of them should frequent the public universities, let it not be forgotten with what care and caution the Bishops should permit them to do so.<sup>10</sup> We wish at the same time that the faithful observance should be insisted on of the regulations contained in another more recent document issued under Our direction, special attention being paid to what is there laid down in regard to reading and everything that could give occasion to young men to take part in outward agitations.<sup>11</sup>

Thus the students of seminaries treasuring the precious time that is given them can apply themselves in the greatest tranquillity to those studies that are to fit them for the great duties of the priesthood, and particularly for the ministry of preaching and confessions. Well may we reflect how grave is the responsibility of those priests who, in the crying need of the people, neglect the equipment necessary for the discharge of their duties, or do not bring to their ministry the enlightened activity it demands. In both one case and the other they fail to reach the level of that vocation which implies so much to the people whose souls it is their duty to save.

And here we should call your attention, Venerable Brethren, to the special instruction which We ordered to be issued in reference to the preaching of the divine word, as it is Our desire that the richest fruit may be gained from it.<sup>12</sup> In regard to confessions let it be borne in mind how severe are the words

<sup>10</sup> *Instructio, Perspectum est.* S. Cong. EE. & RR., 21 July, 1896.

<sup>11</sup> Instruzione della S. Cong. degli AA., EE., SS., 27 Jan., 1902. Del unione democratico cristiana in Italia.

<sup>12</sup> Instruzione della S. Cong. VV. et R.R., 31 July, 1894.

of that mildest and most distinguished of the moralists<sup>13</sup> that refer to those who feel that they are unfit to sit in the tribunal of penance, and not less severe is the sad complaint of the great Pontiff Benedict XIV. who set down as one of the greatest calamities to the Church the absence in confessors of that knowledge of moral theological science which is called for on account of the gravity of so sacred an office.

But in order to prepare ministers worthy of the Lord it is necessary, Venerable Brethren, to apply carefully and with greater vigour and watchfulness than ever, not alone the rules for the acquisition of scientific knowledge, but also the discipline and educational exercises of your seminaries. Let no youths be admitted there except those who offer well-founded guarantees that they wish to consecrate themselves for ever to the ecclesiastical ministry.<sup>14</sup> Let them be kept away from contact and from association with young men who do not aspire to the priesthood. Such association may indeed be tolerated for a time, for grave reasons and with due precaution, since it is not possible to make all the provision in such circumstances that ecclesiastical life demands. If the young men who are placed in such circumstances should show any tendencies not in accord with the ecclesiastical vocation, the Bishops should be most cautious in allowing them to proceed to Holy Orders according to the serious admonition of St. Paul to Timothy: 'Impose not hands lightly upon any man.'<sup>15</sup> In all this every other consideration should be held as of less importance than the dignity of the sacred ministry.

It is, moreover, of the greatest importance, in forming students of the sanctuary to the true image of Jesus Christ, in which all ecclesiastical education consists, that superiors and teachers should add to the assiduity and skill with which they discharge their office the example of an edifying sacerdotal life. The exemplary conduct of those who preside over others, particularly over the young, is the most eloquent and persuasive language to inspire them with a conviction of their duties and the love of good. An office of such importance requires in the superior a spirit of no ordinary prudence, and of indefatigable zeal. Hence the office should be entrusted in every seminary to an ecclesiastic well versed in the ways of Christian perfection. The superior can never be too much

<sup>13</sup> S. Alf. Liguori, *Trat. del confessore* C. I. iii., n. 18.

<sup>14</sup> Coucil. Trid., Sess. xxiii., xviii.

<sup>15</sup> 1 Tim. v. 22.

impressed with the necessity of imparting to his students and cultivating in them with the greatest assiduity that piety which is fruitful for all, but for the clergy is of inestimable price. Let him take care to put them on their guard against the pernicious delusion which is not unfrequent amongst the young of allowing themselves to be so engrossed in their studies as to neglect their advancement in the science of the saints. The more firmly the spirit of piety will have taken hold of the clergy the more they will become inured to that spirit of sacrifice which is so much needed in order to promote the divine glory and the salvation of souls.

There are not wanting, heaven be praised, amongst the clergy of Italy, priests who give noble proofs of what can be effected by a minister of the Lord penetrated with this spirit. Wonderful indeed is the generosity of those who in order to extend the kingdom of Jesus Christ become willing exiles in foreign lands, who bear fatigues and privations of every kind, and in some cases win the martyr's crown.

In this way, surrounded by loving care and furnished with the necessary culture of mind and spirit, the young levite will be gradually trained in everything that the sanctity of his vocation and the needs of the Christian people demand. The time of preparation in truth is not short, yet it must be continued beyond the time spent in college. It is still necessary that young priests should not be left without guidance in their first labours, but should be assisted by the experience of those who are more advanced and who can help to bring to maturity their zeal, their prudence, and their piety. It will also be expedient, whether by academic exercises or periodic conferences, to keep them continually engaged in their sacred studies.

It is clear, Venerable Brethren, that what We have thus far recommended, far from impeding that social activity of the clergy which We have so often inculcated, will on the contrary help to guide it and make it fruitful. To insist on the faithful observance of the rules We have laid down is merely to protect what should be the life and soul of that activity.

We repeat then, and still more emphatically, that it is the duty of the clergy to go to the people, who are fascinated on all sides by the fallacious promises with which socialism endeavours to draw them away from the faith of their fathers, remembering at the same time that they must subordinate their action to the authority of those whom *the Holy Ghost* has

*constituted as Bishops to rule the Church of God.*<sup>16</sup> Without this, confusion would follow, and the gravest disorder to the detriment of the cause that has to be promoted and defended.

We desire, therefore, that candidates for the priesthood should be carefully instructed, at the end of their course in the seminaries, in those Pontifical documents which regard the social question and Christian democracy, abstaining meanwhile, as We have said above, from any external action. Then when ordained priests let them turn with particular devotion to the people, who have ever been the object of the most loving care of the Church. To lift up the children of the people from ignorance of spiritual and eternal things, and with unflagging perseverance to attract them to an honest and virtuous life, dissipating their prejudices and helping them in the practice of Christian duty ; to promote amongst the Catholic laity those institutions that are recognised as really helpful in the advancement of their moral and material interests ; to inculcate, above all, those principles of justice and of charity taught by the Gospel which regulate with such equal measure the rights and duties of civil society ; such is, in its principal aspects, the noble task which they should pursue in their social action. But let them always bear in mind that even amongst the people the priest should maintain untarnished the august character of the minister of God, being himself placed over his brethren, *on account of souls*. Any method of dealing with the people that would set aside the priestly dignity in opposition to duty and ecclesiastical propriety, should be severely reprovcd.

These are the considerations, Venerable Brethren, which the dictates of Our Apostolic office made it Our duty to offer to the clergy of Italy. We do not doubt that in a matter of such gravity you will respond to Our solicitude with devoted and loving zeal, following the example of the great Archbishop, St. Charles Borromeo. In order, therefore, to give effect to our instructions you will take care to make them the subject of your exhortation at your local conferences, and to supplement them by whatever practical regulations you may think necessary in your respective dioceses. To whatever expedients you may devise, or conclusions you may reach, the weight of Our authority will not be wanting.

And now, with a word that comes to Us from the very depth

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<sup>16</sup> S. Greg. M. Regul. Post ii. c. 7.

of Our heart, we turn to you, priests of Italy, wherever you may be, and impress upon you collectively and singly the necessity of corresponding ever more worthily with the spirit of your sublime vocation. To you, ministers of the Lord, We say with even greater reason than St. Paul who addressed his words to the simple faithful, 'I therefore, a prisoner in the Lord, beseech you that you walk worthy of the vocation in which you are called.'<sup>17</sup> May the love of our common mother the Church strengthen and make perfect amongst you that concord of thought and action which renders exertion doubly fruitful. In times so unfortunate for religion and society, when the clergy of every country is called upon to unite for the defence of faith and of Christian morality, it behoves you, Beloved Sons, whom particular links bind to this Apostolic See, to give an example to the clergy of all other nations, and to take precedence of all in unlimited obedience to the voice and commands of the Vicar of Jesus Christ. Thus the blessings of heaven will fall abundantly, as We invoke them, and make the clergy of Italy worthy of its great traditions.

Let Our Apostolic Benediction be a pledge of these divine favours. We impart it to you, Venerable Brethren, and to the clergy committed to your care, with all the effusion of Our heart.

Given at Rome near St. Peter, on the sacred day of the Immaculate Conception of Mary, 8th December, 1902, the twenty-fifth year of Our Pontificate.

LEO PP. XIII.

#### **CATHOLIC SERVICES ON TRANSATLANTIC STEAMERS**

We have received for publication from his Lordship, the Bishop of Elphin, the following important Document. In order that its purport and significance may be fully understood we should explain that some time ago, at the request of the Episcopal Board, his Lordship entered into correspondence with the *Cunard* and *White Star Steam Ship Companies*, with a view to obtain certain concessions not usually granted hitherto for priests who travel across the Atlantic.

The Directors of both Companies were extremely courteous, and asked the Right Rev. Mgr. Nugent to talk the matter over with his Lordship. For this purpose Mgr. Nugent came all the way from Liverpool to Sligo. On his return the

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<sup>17</sup> Eph. iv. 1.

Secretaries of the Companies sent replies to a number of queries which the Bishop of Elphin had addressed to them. The following document indicates in detail what the queries and the replies were :—

CUNARD STEAM SHIP COMPANY, LTD.,  
 GENERAL MANAGER'S OFFICE,  
 8, WATER-STREET, LIVERPOOL,  
*June 14th, 1901.*

MY LORD,—Referring to your Lordship's letter of the 10th April, and to an interview we have since had with Monsignor Nugent, who presented certain propositions which he had received from your Lordship, and which we understand would meet the wishes of the Irish Catholic Bishops, we beg to reply on them as follows :—

PROPOSITION.

1. That a Catholic Priest crossing by an Atlantic steamer be permitted to give morning service between ten and eleven o'clock to the Steerage passengers?

2. In the event of there being two Catholic Priests on board, and one may wish to celebrate Mass, can he be permitted to do so in the Reading Room or some other suitable place on Sundays and Holidays at 8 o'clock?

3. May a Priest, with the permission of the Captain, visit the Steerage passengers, and in the case of serious sickness administer to them the Rites of their religion?

4. In case a Catholic passenger should die during the voyage, may a Catholic Priest perform the funeral service?

REPLY.

1. For some years past the Commanders of the Cunard Line steamers have had discretion to accede to requests of this character whenever the conditions are favourable and we are again drawing their attention to the matter.

2. The Commanders will be directed to allow the use of a suitable room for the purpose, but for the general convenience it is felt that the Service should take place prior to 8 a.m.

3 & 4. No objection would be offered by any of the Commanders in this Company's service to either of these requests.



5. Considering the large proportion of Irish female Catholic emigrants who travel as steerage passengers, the Irish Bishops deem it most desirable that a Catholic Stewardess (who, if possible, should be a trained nurse) ought to be in the service of each ship.

5. This would involve questions being raised as to the religion of applicants for positions in this Company's employ—which would be a departure from our present practice, and one which would, in our opinion, be undesirable to establish.

We trust that the above arrangements will be considered satisfactory.

I am, my Lord,

Your Lordship's obedient Servant,

A. J. MOORHOUSE.

The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Elphin,  
St. Mary's, Sligo.

A communication of a similar kind was received from the Directors of the *White Star Company*.

ED. I. E. RECORD.

#### TRANSLATION OF FEASTS AND INDULGENCES

IN DECRETO DE TRANSLATIONE FESTORUM RELATE AD INDULGENTIAS  
COMPREHENDITUR ETIAM TRANSLATIO PLEN. INDULG. IN CASU.

Prior Generalis Ordinis Servorum B. M. V., Sacrae Congregationi Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae exponit, non omnes convenire Indulgentiam Plenariam per rescriptum eiusdem S. C. die 27 Januarii 1888 concessum, a Christifidelibus toties lucranda, quoties ecclesias Ordinis Servorum Mariae etc. (sive Fratrum, sive Monialium nec non Tertii Ordinis vel Confraternitatis VII. Dolorum B. M. V.) in festo septem Dolorum B. M. V. visitant, transferri posse ad aliam diem, si externa sollemnitas transferatur.

Quare ad omne dubium de medio tollendum humiliter quaerit: An in Decreto generali diei 9 Augusti 1852 de translatione festorum relate ad indulgentias, comprehendatur etiam translatio Plenariae indulgentiae, de qua supra?

S. Congregatio audito Consultorum voto, respondit : *Affirmative.*

Datum Romae ex Secretaria eiusdem. S. Cong. die 2 Iulii 1902.

S. Card. CRETONI, *Praef.*

L. + S.

### THE WINE OF THE HOLY SACRIFICE

E S. R. UNIV. INQUISITIONE. CIRCA CONDENSATIONEM MUSTI PRO FORTIFICANDA ALCOOLICITATE VINI PRO MISSAE SACRIFICIO ADHIBENDI.

*Beatissime Pater,*

Archiepiscopus N. ad pedes Sanctitatis Vestrae provolutus, humiliter exponit :

In regionibus nostris admodum difficile est verum et genuinum vinum pro SSmo. Missae Sacrificio mihi comparare. Fidi namque debeo mercatoribus extraneis et ignotis, qui aliquando jam non genuina merce defraudarunt. Nunc ab aliquo tempore in ipsa civitate N. quidam vir ex uvis nostrae regionis vinum parare coepit. Sed, cum haec uva egentissima sit materia saccharina et consequenter vinum inde proveniens non multum alcohol contineat, curatione aliqua opus est, ut vinum elevetur ad illum gradum *alcoholicitatis*, quem ejus conservatio requirit. Hunc in finem laudatus vir methodum evaporationis musti adhibere proponit ad vinum pro SSmo. Sacrificio parandum, ea quidem ratione ut liquor ex uvis expressus, ad dimidium decoctus, vinum producat quod 14 vel 16 gradus *alcohol* habeat.

Ad omnem tamen in re tanti momenti dubitationem tollendam, Archiepiscopus Orator humiliter declarari postulat :

Utrum licitum sit ad SSmum. Missae Sacrificium offerendum hujusmodi vino uti.

*Feria IV, die 22 Maii, 1901.*

In Congne. Generali S. R. et U. Inquisitionis ab EEmis. et RRmis. DD. Cardinalibus Generalibus Inquisitoribus habita, proposito praedicto dubio praehabitoque RR. Consultorum voto, iidem EE. ac RR. Patres decreverunt :

*'Detur Decretum diei 5 Augusti, 1896, quod sonat :*  
*" Utrum licitum sit ad S. Missae Sacrificium conficiendum uti vino ex musto obtento, quod ante fermentationem vinosam per*

evaporationem igneam condensatum est?—Resp.: Licere, dummodo decoctio hujusmodi fermentationem alcoolicam haud excludat, ipsaque fermentatio naturaliter obtineri possit et de facto obtineatur.”

Sequenti vero Feria VI die 24 Maii 1901 in solita Audientia SSmi. D. N. Leonis Div. Prov. Pp. XIII a R. P. D. Commissario S. Officii habita, SSmus. D. N. resolutionem EEmorum. Patrum adprobavit.

I. Can. MANCINI, S. R. et U. *Inquisit. Notarius.*

## NOTICES OF BOOKS

SUMMULA PHILOSOPHIAE SCHOLASTICAE; in usum adolescentium Seminarii Beatae Mariae de Monte Mellario concinnata. Vol. I. Logica et Ontologia. Dublin: Browne and Nolan, Ltd. Price 4s. net.

WE have no hesitation in extending a warm welcome to this excellent and too unpretentious volume of Philosophy, and we hope that the companion volumes on Special Metaphysics and Ethics will soon be given to the public by the same gifted author. The present volume contains 400 ordinary octavo pages, thus striking a scale that would suit a two years' course. It could, however, be easily made to cover three years, owing to the great wealth of valuable and suggestive doctrine contained in the quotations with which the footnotes abound.

One of the chief merits of the book is the genuine and successful effort made, chiefly by means of those footnotes, to show the connexion between Scholastic Philosophy and current philosophical systems, and thus to give the former a *living* interest for its students. This is a most important object to aim at, to make the student feel the *reality*, the practical bearing on present-day thought of what he reads. He will be naturally more interested in what is said and taught by modern philosophers nearer home than by names and systems which he never encounters outside his class or text-book. Hence the advantage of home manufacture, *ceteris paribus*, even in philosophical text-books. The author of the Melleray Philosophy under review shows the ripe fruit of experience and reading. His quotations from such authorities as Harper, S.J. (*Metaphysics of the Schools*); Maher, S.J.; Rickaby, S.J. ('Stoneyhurst Series'); Abercrombie, Poland, Mercier—to mention only a few—show his intimate acquaintance with modern English and Continental writers, and are exceedingly well selected and valuable throughout. He seems to have succeeded equally well in extracting all that is most valuable from the standard scholastic writers of modern times—Liberatore, Pesch, Sanseverino, Balmes, Schiffrini, Zigliara, etc.

The chief excellence of the book consists in its transparent

clearness and simplicity of thought and language. This is what the student of an obscure and difficult subject needs above all else. He may not, and probably will not agree entirely with all the views expressed in the course of this book, but, certainly, he can scarcely fail to understand them. The force and cogency of the reasoning would have been much increased if the author had *developed* the *principal* arguments rather than given long strings of reasons in so many brief and summary syllogisms.

The neat and attractive form in which the book appears is very creditable to the publishers.

P. C.

BERNADETTE OF LOURDES. A MYSTERY. By E. Pouvillon.

Translated by Henry O'Shea. London: Burns and Oates.

THIS neat little volume is an attractive addition to the Catholic literature of these countries. A religious tale in the form of a play will be a novelty to many readers, and, perhaps, the religious susceptibilities of some will suffer a shock at finding introduced as *dramatis personae* spiritual beings. This familiarity with the supernatural, this humanising, as it were, of angels and saints may appear to them as bordering on irreverence. Nothing, however, could be farther from the author's intention, and a fine Catholic sentiment pervades the whole book. As the name implies, this miracle-play has for its theme the story of Bernadette, to whom the Blessed Virgin appeared in the grotto at Lourdes; and the author, while taking plenty of poetic licence in descriptions, etc., adheres closely to the facts.

The translator's work leaves little to be desired, and we only wish that he may continue his labours in the same field. The need of an abundant supply of good Catholic literature is, at present, sorely felt in these countries, and the translation into English of some of the best Catholic books in French would be a very laudable work.

D. F.

TIMOTHY; OR LETTERS TO A YOUNG THEOLOGIAN. By

Dr. Franz Hettinger. Translated by Rev. Victor Stepka.

B. Herder, Vienna; St. Louis, Mo.; 17, South Broadway.

THIS is a series of letters addressed to a young levite, who is supposed to have almost finished his course and to be on the

eve of ordination. The Letters treat of such subjects as Vocation, the Study of Philosophy, Theology, and the Natural Sciences, Art Studies, the Seminary, Spiritual Exercises, the Study of Theology (Dogmatic and Moral), Canon Law, Biblical Studies, Church History, the Fathers, the Care of Souls, Catechetics, Homiletics, and the Liturgy.

In our opinion this volume can receive no half, or merely formal praise ; we should like to see it in the hands of every priest and ecclesiastical student, if for no other reason than because of the subjects of which it treats. The Letters are written in a beautiful way, warm with a kind fatherliness, and with a view to the formation of a thoroughly priestly character. They are full of wisdom, of solid instruction, and spiritual admonition, of not a little, too, of that profane knowledge which in those days no priest can afford to be without. They aim at showing the great, eternal significance of life, how to acquire the knowledge of true being, how ' he cannot go astray whose soul is trained to despise the world and to seek God ' ; and they lay down principles of thought and action that should guide the path and mould the character of at all events the ideal priest.

The translation, it should be added, is admirably done ; one forgets that it is a translation.

J. W. M.

ST. ANTHONY IN ART AND OTHER SKETCHES. By Mary F. Nixon Roulet. Boston : Marlier and Co., Ltd.

In this most attractive work we are conducted through the chief galleries of the world in search of the religious in Art. If the authoress has a wide, a sympathetic, and a discriminating knowledge of her subject, she displays a knowledge no less extensive of the literature of Art and, indeed, of literature generally. She revels in quotations ; withal, in this she offends so artistically that you learn first to forgive, and then to be pleased with, her violation of the literary commandment.

What is Art, and what is its aim?—is a question often asked. ' Art,' said Dante, ' is second in descent from God.' Had one no other knowledge than what is conveyed in the work before us, one should feel that it is the aim of Art not to slavishly imitate and reproduce empiric nature, but rather to reveal

nature as it should be in its primal forms, to elevate and to uplift, to let the rays of the ideal pierce through and through the outer forms. There is surely a difference between a portrait and a photograph. And no one can study the great religious masterpieces of the world—the Titians, Murillos, Fra Angelicos, Botticellis, Correggios, etc., without perceiving that it is in its relations with the Infinite, the All-Beautiful, with the truths of eternity and immortality, in fine, with that great inner world which was first opened by Christianity, Art has found its highest perfection. In those works, so different in conception and spirit from those of the moderns, each stroke of the brush is almost a *Sursum Corda*; and the men who wrought them must have been, and were, men who were full of great religious devotion and lived very near the heights of virtue.

The publishers deserve a special word of praise for the success with which they have produced the plates, and for the artistic finish of the whole book.

J. W. M.

INSTRUCTIO PASTORALIS EYSTETTENSIS. Freiburg: Herder.  
1902. Price, 12s. 6d.

THIS is a complete manual of pastoral theology, and will be found most useful, not only to those ecclesiastical students who have reached this part of their course, but also to all priests entrusted with the care of souls. It contains everything they need. The arrangement of subjects is the same as that laid down in the Pontifical,<sup>1</sup> one which experience shows to be eminently intelligible and practical. The first place is therefore given to the Blessed Eucharist (under which heading, the Holy Mass, Communion, and Viaticum are treated of), and to this subject ten chapters are devoted. The following ten sections or *tituli* (comprising more than forty chapters) treat of the other sacraments, and their respective administration—of the holy oils, &c.—of the altar, church, sacristy, cemetery, &c. Next we have *tituli, de vita et honestate clericorum, de munere Pastoralis, de administratione rerum spiritualium et temporalium*, &c. Last and not least comes an Appendix, containing various forms of applications for dispensations, &c. Throughout this useful work all the decrees, the most recent included, are quoted in connection

<sup>1</sup> Page iii., *Ordo ad visitandas parochias*.

with the subject on which they bear. As an example of this the paragraph, *Qualis missa dicenda sit*, may be mentioned. So much care has been bestowed on the preparation of this manual for the use of the clergy, that it deserves a place in every priest's library.

F. C.

THE OLD TESTAMENT IN THE LIGHT OF THE HISTORICAL RECORDS OF ASSYRIA AND BABYLONIA. By T. G. Pinches. London: S. P. C. K. Price 7s. 6d.

THIS work is designed to bring within the reach of all readers the latest results of the study of the cuneiform inscriptions. It is done in a most satisfactory manner. The author, who is one of the best scholars in England, famous for his own discoveries, has by his thorough knowledge of the subject and his skilful combination of translations and remarks, produced a manual of great utility to the student either of the Bible or of profane history. Some idea of its nature may be gathered from even a cursory statement of its contents. The history of the Creation and of the Flood is commented on with the aid of the relevant tablets, and then comes a description of Babylon in Abraham's time, for which the *data* of the contract-tablets are largely utilized. Next we have the 'Tel El-Amarna tablets and the Exodus,' and lastly, a description of the nations with which the Israelites at different times came in contact: *e.g.*, the Egyptians, Amorites, Hittites, Assyrians, Babylonians, together with their kings, their wars, their religious beliefs, their social life and customs, etc. The wealth of erudition used to illustrate all these subjects is remarkable. Few scholars besides the British Museum expert could have written such a work. We must say that we do not agree with Mr. Pinches' definition of inspiration, nor with his views on some other matters, but these are not what he made his theme. As regards Assyriology and the light it throws on Scripture, his work is admirable.

R. W.

DIE ALTESTE LATEINISCHE UEBERSETZUNG DES BUCHES BARUCH. By Rev. G. Hoberg. Freiburg: Herder. 1902. Price, 3s.

A MONOGRAPH such as this possesses a special interest. The introductory portion contains in a small compass all that is known about the prophet Baruch himself, as well as the references made to his book by the Fathers in the first centuries.



Then follows a critical description of the two recensions of the Latin version which have been already published : namely, the one contained in the Vulgate (*Vetus Latina A.*), and the one published by Sabatier (*Vetus Latina B.*). As the Hebrew text of Baruch is lost, the Septuagint on which the *Vetus Itala* and all other versions were made, has come to be regarded as the original. But while the two recensions of the *Itala* just mentioned successively improve on its Latinity and expand its text, that now, for the first time, published by Professor Hoberg, of Freiburg, represents the *Itala* unaltered. Its provincialisms, faulty expressions, and faulty grammar remain unaltered. Notwithstanding these literary blemishes, for the purpose of textual criticism it is of exceedingly great value. It is reproduced from the transcript of the famous *Codex Gothicus* (eleventh century), belonging to the Cathedral of Leon, which was made by the Bishop of the diocese for Cardinal Caraffa about the year 1587. The transcript is preserved in the Vatican Library, and in order to ensure absolute accuracy, Hoberg photographed its pages. He, as well as other scholars, have recognised the importance of the text of the *Codex Gothicus*, and for the purpose of comparison he prints in the monograph before us the four texts (*Septuagint*, *Codex Gothicus*, *Vulgate*, *Sabatier*) in parallel columns. Lastly, he adds the Syriac version of the apocryphal Epistle of Baruch. As a contribution to the textual criticism of Scripture, Hoberg's work deserves great praise. R. W.

EXPLANATION AND APPLICATION OF BIBLE HISTORY. By  
Rev. J. Nash, D.D. New York: Benziger Bros.

THIS book is at the same time an outline of Bible History and a compendium of Christian Doctrine artfully blended together.

In each chapter such facts are selected from Bible History as give occasion to teach and explain some truth which is taught in our Catechism. The advantage of this is manifest. On the one hand, Bible History is shown to be a collection of facts which contain for us very practical lessons, while on the other, the teaching of our faith, which in the abstract would make no impression on the young mind, is put before us in concrete form.

The author justly considers that the 'principal feature of the work is the practical application found at the end of each

chapter.' It makes us feel that the Catholic doctrine ought to be the rule of our daily life, and not mere theoretical truth having no reference to our conduct.

'The work is intended for the use of Catechism teachers.' We should have said that it is written by way of answers to questions. We think there is a lot of useless repetition of the questions in the answers. To illustrate this here is an extract from the book:—'How many sons had Jacob? Jacob had twelve sons. Who was the favourite? Joseph was the favourite. Why was Joseph the favourite? Joseph was the favourite because . . . How did Jacob show his love for Joseph? Jacob showed his love for Joseph by giving him a coat of many colours.' (P. 78.)

We think this quite unnecessary for 'Catechism *teachers*.' However, it is only a very secondary matter, and we do **not** hesitate to recommend the book to catechists as a very useful companion to the Catechism.

M. O'B.



## THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF PARIS

1875-1901

**I**N a volume recently published,<sup>1</sup> the distinguished Rector of the Catholic University of Paris, has given an account of the work done by that institution since its foundation a quarter of a century ago. In a clear and graceful style Mgr. Pechenard tells the story of the origin and growth of the establishment over which he so worthily presides. His work is a valuable record of the efforts made by Catholics in France in the cause of higher education. Whatever has been done in so sacred a cause cannot fail to be both interesting and instructive to Catholics outside the limits of Paris, and of France. It is, therefore, the purpose of the present paper, following in the footsteps of Mgr. Pechenard, to sketch the origin and development of the Catholic University of Paris, to describe its constitution and organisation, and to set forth its work, its discipline, and its influence.

### I. ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE UNIVERSITY.

By the decree of the Convention, 1794, the ancient and celebrated University of Paris, with all its Faculties and Colleges, was suppressed. When the revolutionary tempest

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<sup>1</sup> *L'Institut Catholique de Paris, 1875-1901*, par Mgr. Pechenard, Recteur-Paris, 1902.

had subsided and order was restored, Napoleon I. organised a complete system of national education in all its grades, primary, secondary and higher. One great university under the title, *Université de France*, was established, and all schools, primary and secondary, were placed under its control. The diocesan Great seminaries only were excepted. The new University, with its faculties of Theology, Law, Letters, and Science, had branches or local universities in the principal great centres throughout France. Its head quarters were in Paris and in the buildings which formerly belonged to the ancient Sorbonne. The University was a State establishment. There were, indeed, chairs of theology at the Sorbonne, and at other centres, viz., Rouen, Lyons, Bordeaux, Toulouse and Aix; but to these Faculties canonical institution was never granted.

Under the First Empire and under the Restoration Catholics struggled to obtain freedom from State control in the matter of education. Under the Monarchy of July a first instalment of freedom was obtained. By the law of 1833 freedom of primary education was granted, and any French subject of eighteen years of age, and possessed of a certificate, or *brevet de capacité*, was authorised to open a school. Secondary and higher education still remained a State monopoly. Catholics continued the struggle, and in 1850 a greater measure of freedom was obtained. By the law known as the *loi Falloux*, members of religious congregations were permitted to teach in primary State schools, on the presentation of their superiors. In the case of nuns, a letter of their superior called *Lettre d'obédience* took the place of a certificate or *brevet de capacité*. The moral character of the school was placed under the supervision of the Curé.

Secondary education obtained almost complete freedom from State control. The *Petits Séminaires* were altogether exempted from legal formalities as to the capacity of teachers. The degree of Bachelor was required for the office of Principal in other secondary schools. In other respects they were free in the selection of their teachers and the choice of their programme of studies. Much of the freedom obtained in 1833 and 1850 has, unhappily, been since lost. By the law of 1881

primary education in France was rendered gratuitous, and a *brevet de capacité* was required of all teachers religious and secular. By the law of 1882 primary education was made compulsory, and by that of 1886 it was enacted that all teachers in State schools should be lay. In consequence, primary education in France is now by law gratuitous, compulsory, and lay. An interval of five years was granted to replace the religious by lay teachers in the case of boys' schools. In the case of schools taught by nuns, the change was ordered to be made more gradually, on the occasion of the death or removal of the principal teacher. Religious are indeed still at liberty to teach in the free schools or *Ecoles libres*, if they belong to an approved congregation and possess a *brevet de capacité*. Catholics continue to make great sacrifices to obtain free religious education for their children. The *Ecoles libres* are attended by 1,477,310 children, and about 56,000,000 francs, or £2,240,000 is annually contributed by the people for their support.<sup>2</sup>

Secondary education is still free; about 90,000 boys, or more than half of all the young men receiving secondary education are taught in the clerical colleges. This liberty is now menaced, and should the *loi Falloux* be abrogated or (the *stage scolaire*) residence in a State establishment become necessary for appointments in the service of the State, the outlook for religious education in France is far from encouraging.

By the law of 1850 freedom of secondary education had been obtained. Not till after the fall of the second Empire was freedom of higher education won. On 12th July, 1875, the *Assemblée Nationale* voted a law granting a measure of freedom in higher education. Any establishment of higher education having a staff of professors, with the degree of Doctor, and in number equal to those in the State faculties was authorised to take the name of *Faculty*, and any establishment possessing three such faculties was permitted to assume the title of *Université Libre*. Perceiving that a change of opinion amongst public men on the subject of education was imminent,

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<sup>2</sup> *Un siècle de l'Eglise de France*, par Mgr. Bannard, p. 325.

certain Catholic Deputies advised the French Episcopate to take advantage without delay of the privilege granted by the law of July. In consequence, the Bishops set to work. Plans were formed for the establishment of five great centres of higher education. In the North, the dioceses of Cambrai and of Arras, combined to found the Catholic University of Lille. In the West twelve dioceses united to establish a university at Angers. Fifteen dioceses in the South-west founded that of Toulouse. In the South-east twenty-six dioceses combined to found the Catholic University of Lyons; while thirty-three dioceses around Paris united their efforts to found a Catholic University in the Capital.

Each of these was soon fully organised, and each still continues to work strenuously in the cause of higher Catholic education. But our present purpose is to speak of the Catholic University then founded in Paris.

On 11th August, 1875, a month after the passing of the law, the Archbishops of Paris, Rouen, Sens, Reims, and Tours, together with the Suffragans of Paris met to deliberate on the project of establishing a Catholic University. The assembled prelates decided to found a Catholic institution of higher learning, and to call it the Catholic University of Paris. A faculty of theology already existed at the Sorbonne, and the prelates hoped that the Holy See might be induced to grant to it canonical recognition. What the Bishops most of all desired to found was a Catholic Faculty of Medicine, but the law required that every medical school should have attached to it a fully equipped hospital, where the students might receive clinical instruction. Not having under their control such a hospital the prelates were obliged to defer the establishment of a Medical Faculty. The terms of the law required the co-existence of at least three great faculties to form a University. It was resolved, therefore, to begin with the three faculties of Law, of Letters, and of Science. When this resolution was adopted a committee of organisation was formed. The Archbishop of Paris placed at their disposal the ancient monastery *Des Carmes*, rue Vaugirard, which had for some time previously served as an *Ecole des Hautes Etudes*. This was made the seat of the new establishment. The bishops appealed to

the liberality of the faithful for means to commence the good work.

In less than four months from the first meeting of the Bishops two and a half millions of francs were subscribed, and in less than six months from the passing of the law the new University was opened. From the first, the three faculties of Law, of Letters, and of Science, were organised. For some time a faculty of theology was wanting. A faculty of theology had existed at the Sorbonne since 1808, but as has been said above, the Holy See had never given it canonical sanction. Negotiations had at various times been commenced by the French Government to obtain canonical recognition for the theological faculties at the Sorbonne and elsewhere in France; but they had failed. In 1858 a Bull had been drafted, with the assent of the two Powers, granting the desired sanction, but the Italian war broke out, and the Bull was never promulgated.

Before the Revolution the faculty of the Sorbonne was celebrated throughout the world, but it was not altogether free from the taint of Gallicanism. What was to be thought of the Sorbonne as re-established by Napoleon I. At the Vatican Council, its Dean, Mgr. Maret,<sup>3</sup> Bishop of Sura, was an active Inopportunist, and had written a work showing that a definition of Papal Infallibility was inexpedient. He had, indeed, after the Council loyally accepted the definition and withdrawn his book from circulation. Yet the Holy See when asked to approve the new University of Paris, naturally desired that its theological school should, from the commencement, be free from the suspicion of Gallican tendencies, and the Holy Father urged the Bishops to found a Theological faculty distinct from the Sorbonne. To comply with this desire a theological school, with chairs of Theology, Scripture, and Canon Law, was commenced in 1878. The buildings of the ancient monastery *Des Carmes* were from that date reserved to be the residence of ecclesiastical students. The following year, 1879, the seminary of the University was placed, as to

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<sup>3</sup> *L'Eglise et l'Etat au Concile du Vatican*, par Emile Olivier, vol. i., p. 408, vol. ii., p. 378.

discipline, under the management of the Fathers of the Congregation of St. Sulpice. At length in 1889, the faculty of theology was canonically erected by the Holy See. A few years later, in 1895, its organisation was completed and three canonical faculties, viz., of Theology, of Canon Law, and of Scholastic Philosophy, were established. Meantime the State provision for the support of the theological faculty at the Sorbonne was suppressed by the Government, and thus in fact, if not in law, it became extinct.

The new theological faculty continued to grow, and in 1899 the University authorities opened a second seminary for the residence of ecclesiastics and placed it under the management of the priests of the Congregation of the Mission.

A medical school was still wanting. With a view to the establishment of a medical faculty a plot of ground was purchased at a cost of 360,000 francs. Plans were prepared for the construction of a hospital, consisting of twelve large, and four small pavilions, with provision for 950 beds. First one small pavilion was built; others have since been added, and have been equipped with all the most approved modern appliances. Though a medical faculty has not been established, the Catholic *Hôpital Saint-Joseph* is now one of the most interesting in Paris, and clinical lectures are given in it to Catholic students since 1890. It is hoped it will be one day the centre of a great Catholic medical school in the French capital.

But, meanwhile, an important change had taken place in the legal status of the University. In order to obtain degrees students of the Catholic faculties had to undergo examinations. They had, however, the option of presenting themselves, either before a board of examiners from the State University (*Jury de l'Etat*) or before a board made up of examiners selected in equal numbers from the professors of the State University and from those of the Catholic faculties (*Jury mixte*). In the interval between 1875 and 1879, 1,258 students of the Catholic faculties presented themselves for examination; 664 before the mixed board, and 594 before the State board. Of the former category, 75 per cent., and of the latter 80 per cent., passed the examination with success. From these



figures it will be seen that the mixed board was more exacting than the State board. Yet the opponents of free education raised an outcry against the system of examinations by mixed boards. So early as 1876 the Minister of Instruction, M. Waddington, introduced, in the Chamber of Deputies, a bill abolishing examinations by a mixed jury. This measure was carried in the lower chamber, but was rejected by the Senate. The composition of the latter body was modified by an election of senators in 1879. Counting on the support of both chambers, Jules Ferry, Minister of Instruction, re-introduced M. Waddington's measure, which was this time carried in both houses, and became law on 18th March, 1880. By this law free or Catholic establishments of higher education were forbidden to assume the title of university, or to grant degrees. The system of examinations by a mixed board was abolished, and the examination for degrees was reserved to a board of State professors.

Inscription in the free faculties remained valid. But inscription in the State faculties was declared gratuitous. Moreover, it was enacted that no free establishment of higher education should have corporate rights (*la personnalite civile*) except in virtue of a law passed in each case for that express purpose.

By the law of 1880 the Catholic Universities lost most of their privileges. The right to teach and to present their students for degrees at the State examinations still remained. The Bishops, therefore, resolved to maintain the Catholic establishments, which henceforward adopted the title, *Institut Catholique*. In spite of the disadvantage resulting from the law of 1880 the *Institut Catholique* of Paris has courageously held on its course. Its theological faculties have become fully organised, and the faculties of Law, of Letters, and of Science, have continued to train up students capable of obtaining degrees with honour before the boards of the State University. Nor has the material side of the University been neglected. A plan for the construction of university buildings was adopted in 1890. A part of this plan has already been carried out, at a cost of about 440,000 francs, the proceeds of voluntary subscriptions. The University possesses a valuable library of

150,000 volumes, a fine collection of instruments for instruction in physical science, three laboratories for instruction in chemistry, and a well-stocked museum of geology and mineralogy. But it is time to speak of the organisation of the University.

## II. ORGANISATION OF THE UNIVERSITY

The Archbishops and Bishops of thirty-three dioceses in the centre of France assembled in general meeting form the governing body of the Catholic University, and by annual collections in their dioceses provide means for its support. For the despatch of business a standing committee has been formed, consisting of seven Bishops elected by their colleagues, and holding office for a period of three years. The Archbishop of Paris holds the rank of Chancellor. The University is immediately governed by a Rector, who must be an ecclesiastic, and who is selected by the Bishops, and confirmed by the Holy See. In the earlier years of the University the abbé Conil governed the rising institution as Pro-Rector. In 1881 a Rector was formally appointed. The person chosen for that office was Mgr. D'Hulst, a man distinguished by his rank, his virtues, and his learning, and who along with his duties as Rector filled with honour the post of Deputy in the lower chamber, and occupied with distinction the pulpit of Notre Dame. He was succeeded by Mgr. Pechenard, an ecclesiastic well qualified by his talents, and his administrative ability, as well by his literary accomplishments for the high position he occupies.

The Rector is assisted by a Vice-Rector and aided by a Rector's council, composed of members partly appointed and partly elected.

The canonical faculties are governed by a college of doctors, at whose head is a dean. The other faculties are governed by a dean chosen by election from amongst the professors for a period of three years. In the faculty of law the professors are appointed by concursus; in the other faculties they are appointed by the board of Bishops. Professors once appointed are irremovable except for a grave reason. But a limit of age has been fixed. On reaching the age of seventy they are obliged to retire. Should a professor

before that age become incapable of fulfilling his duties, he is invited by the rector to appoint a substitute for a term of three years, on the expiry of which he must resign his chair. In order to make provision for professors on their retirement the following method has been adopted. No deduction is made from the annual salary of professors, as is usually done in State institutions. But, each year, a sum equal to one-tenth of each professor's salary is invested in his name in a special fund. The interest is added to the capital; and after twenty years' service, and sixty years of age, a professor's right to the sum which has accumulated to his credit becomes absolute. Payment may be deferred until the limit of age has been reached, when the account of each is closed, and the sum to his credit is handed to him. This principle, which was adopted at first for the professors and principal officers of the University, has been extended to all the officials, even to the domestic servants.

### III. WORK OF THE UNIVERSITY.—FACULTIES

From the organisation, we now pass on to examine the work done by the University in its several schools.

*Theology.*—The establishment of the theological faculty has been already referred to. It remains to speak of its present condition. At its commencement the theological faculty began with four chairs, viz., Theology, Scripture with Hebrew and Syraic, Ecclesiastical History, and Scholastic Philosophy. To these were added a chair of Canon Law. Unlike the Roman Universities, in which the degree of doctor may be obtained at the end of the ordinary curriculum of studies, the University of Paris, and the other Catholic faculties in France, that of Lille alone excepted, made it a condition of admittance that students should have already completed the ordinary course of philosophy and theology as taught in seminaries. This method has the advantage of not weakening the seminaries by withdrawing from them their most talented students. In substance, too, it is the method of the ancient Sorbonne, in which students presented themselves for the grade of bachelor only after completing a three years' course of theology and afterwards continued

their studies to obtain higher degrees. In the earlier years of the Faculty the course followed was this. Students who had completed the ordinary seminary course were permitted to present themselves for the degree of bachelor, or auditor. On obtaining that degree, they were inscribed on the roll of the University, and after attendance at lectures for two years, they were eligible to present themselves for the degree of licentiate. Students of superior excellence were at liberty to present themselves afterwards for the doctorate. The standard of excellence necessary for the latter degree was maintained so high that from 1878 to 1895 only three doctorates were awarded. Inaugurated in 1878, the theological faculty received canonical institution in 1889. By a Rescript of 1895 it has been more fully organised. In that year three canonical faculties, viz., theology, canon law, and scholastic philosophy were established, and statutes provisionally approved for a period of ten years, for their government. Each of these faculties is autonomous, and consists of a college of eight or at most twelve doctors, presided over by a dean. By the same Rescript the programme of studies was sanctioned. According to the statutes, as modified in 1895, the students in the diocesan Great seminaries may obtain the degree of bachelor by passing with success an examination in a programme of studies fixed by the authorities of the University. But no one is permitted to present himself for the Licence unless he has attended lectures at the University for a period of one year after obtaining the grade of bachelor. At the end of a second year of residence the doctorate may be obtained. But, besides the ordinary doctorate there is a higher doctorate called of *agrégation*. For this degree candidates must present a written thesis on some important subject, and make a public defence of forty propositions. At the present time the seminaries of thirty-three dioceses are affiliated to the University, and present their most talented students for the grade of bachelor in philosophy or theology or canon law. Since its establishment the faculty of theology has conferred 20 doctorates, 114 licences, and 626 bachelorships. The faculty of canon law has conferred 7 doctorates, 117 licences, and 296 bachelorships; while that of scholastic philosophy has granted 9 doctorates, 20 licences, and 370 bachelorships.

The reputation of the canonical faculties is deservedly high. The theological chairs are filled by two distinguished Jesuits. The more important question of dogmatic and moral theology are exhaustively treated, and special attention is given to such questions and difficulties as are of particular interest at the present time. The chairs of Sacred Scripture belong to the theological faculty and are ably filled. The name of the abbé Martin, first professor of Scripture, and of abbé Loisy, sometime a professor of Hebrew, are well known to Biblical scholars. In 1893 an article in the *Correspondant* from the pen of Mgr. D'Hulst, and entitled *La Question Biblique*, drew attention to the rôle of the Paris University in the question of Biblical criticism. The eminent rector, as Mgr. Baunard expresses it, stated the question *avec une extrême hardiesse* and dwelt on the character of the several schools of interpretation; that of the Rationalists on the one hand, and of Catholics on the other. The latter, in France, were more or less advanced and might be said to form three schools, that of the Jesuits, represented by the writers in the *Etudes Religieuses*; that of the Dominicans, represented by the *Revue Biblique*; and that of the Sulpicians represented by the abbé Vigoureux.<sup>4</sup>

Soon after the Encyclical, *Providentissimus Deus*, was published by Leo XIII., and laid down the rules to be observed by Catholics in Biblical exegesis. Its teaching was loyally accepted. About this time, the abbé Loisy, a young professor, already in the forefront of the exegetical movement, resigned his chair. In 1890 the abbé Vigoureux had been appointed to succeed the abbé Martin, and soon after, in 1893, an additional chair of Sacred Scripture was created and assigned to the abbé Fillion. These two professors, well known by their works on Biblical exegesis, belong to the company of St. Sulpice. Their names are a sufficient guarantee for the character of Biblical teaching in the University.

In the faculty of canon law the first professor was Mgr. Gasparri. His canonical treatises, *De Matrimonio*, *De Ordine*, and *De Eucharistia*, are the best evidence of the solidity of

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<sup>4</sup> *Un siècle de l'Eglise de France*, par Mgr. Baunard, 3rd edition, p. 375.

his learning, and the excellence of his teaching. For seventeen years he gave his valuable services to the rising University. In 1897 he was consecrated Archbishop of Cesarea, and sent as apostolic delegate to Peru, Equator, and Bolivia. He now holds the office of Secretary to the Congregation of Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs, in Rome, where his many friends in France augur for him a still more brilliant future. The work which he commenced is ably carried on by the learned Dr. Boudihnon, and by the abbé Many.

Two Marists and one Dominican fill the chairs of Scholastic and Thomistic philosophy.

The chair of ecclesiastical history was for many years filled by the abbé Duchesne, a scholar widely known for his edition of the *Liber Pontificalis*, as well as for his works entitled *Les Origines Chretiennes*, and *Les Fastes Episcopaux*. His learned labours merited for him admission to the *Institut de France*, and the French Government have since made choice of him as head of the *Ecole Francaise* in Rome.

*Law*.—From the beginning the faculty of law has been the most flourishing in the University. In France a degree in law is necessary as a qualification for many positions in the service of the State; and many study law who do not propose to adopt a legal career. In the faculty of law the chairs are awarded by concursus. The first dean of this faculty was M. Edmond Connelly, counsellor in the Court of Cassation. M. Connelly was of Irish descent. Late in life he took orders, and was known as M. le Chanoine Connelly. In addition to the chair of law properly so-called, several supplementary chairs have been added, such as those of political economy, of constitutional and international law, of the history of law. The law-school enjoys a well-merited reputation. Some of its professors have from time to time been selected by foreign governments to act as arbitrators in important cases. Works, too, which have been published by some amongst them, have been awarded the highest honours by the Academy.

The students of this faculty have obtained their degrees with success at the State examinations. Their successes up to 1901 are, 1,025 licences and 132 doctorates.

*Letters*.—The law of 1880 dealt a severe blow to the faculty

of Letters. It continued its work, however, and prepares students with marked success for degrees according to the programme of the State faculties. In the department of letters there are four sections, viz., (1) Literature, (2) Philosophy, (3) History, and (4) Modern Languages, in which a degree may be obtained. The number of students in this faculty has in recent years averaged 170. Many amongst them are ecclesiastics who reside in the seminary of the Institute, and study in preparation for professorships in the diocesan seminaries or other establishments of secondary education. In this way the University exercises a salutary influence over the studies in Catholic schools. Moreover, on the invitation of the Bishops, the professors of the faculty of letters visit establishments of secondary education, and contribute to their efficiency by pointing out where existing systems of teaching, or programmes of study, may require improvement. They have also established an annual competition between the Catholic secondary schools of thirty-three dioceses. About sixty establishments compete annually for the honours which the University offers. By this means emulation is created and the standard of studies elevated. The students of this faculty have obtained at the State examinations 625 licences, 33 *aggregations*, and 22 doctorates. The late lamented abbé Broglie, well known for his studies in *Apologetics*, was for some time attached to this faculty. At present it possesses a staff of professors, each distinguished in his special subject. Amongst them may be mentioned abbé Bertrin, whose works, *Les Grandes Figures Catholiques Contemporaines*, *La Question Homerique*, and *La Sincerite Religieuse de Chateaubriand*, have received the eulogium of the learned. Not less distinguished is the abbé Rousselot, whose studies on the transformation of language have led to the discovery of what may be termed a new science, viz., experimental phonetics (*La Phonetique experimentale*), which has earned for its originator honours from the learned societies of France and Germany, and which, outstepping the bounds of theory has been found useful in the treatment of stammering, and in the education of deaf mutes.

*Science.*—In the faculty of science, instruction is given in

mathematics, physics, chemistry, geology, and mineralogy. The students of this faculty up to 1901 have obtained 218 licences, 1 *agrégation* and 4 doctorates. Amongst its staff of able professors two are particularly distinguished, M. Lapparent, and M. Edward Branly. The works of M. Lapparent on geology, on mineralogy, and on physical geography, are of the highest merit; and the French Government has recognised his eminence by nominating him a member of the *Académie des Sciences*. To M. Branly belongs the honour of having discovered the principle of the *Radioducteur*, or coherer, a principle which has since been applied with success by Marconi to the invention of wireless telegraphy. M. Branly's studies in this subject have led him to further discoveries which promise to render the operations of wireless telegraphy more simple.

*Discipline.*—In university life studies and lectures develop the intellect. The moral character is formed by discipline. We must not then omit mention of the discipline existing in the Catholic University of Paris. The students are divided into two great categories, clerical and lay. The ecclesiastical students number about one hundred and fifty. Some of them follow the courses of the canonical faculties; others attend lectures in the faculties of letters or of science, in preparation for professorships. They reside either in the seminary of the Institut or in that of St. Vincent de Paul, or in the religious houses of the orders to which they happen to belong. No ecclesiastical student is permitted to live at a hotel.

For the greater security of lay students a boarding house has been opened and placed under the management of a priest. All lay students, wherever they reside, are under the special care of the vice-rector, and they are recommended to select amongst the professors of their faculty one who shall be their guide and adviser in matters of conduct as well as of study. In the halls of the *Circle Catholique du Luxembourg* they find safe companionship, and halls for amusement or for study. This excellent club, founded fifty years ago, and now presided over by abbé Fonssagrives, is the rendez-vous of all that is best amongst the Catholic students in Paris. In the association of *Notre Dame des Etudiants* they are brought together on Sundays at St. Sulpice for Mass and



an instruction suited to themselves. In the Conference of St. Vincent de Paul, which on its first establishment was a failure, but which, having been re-established, now numbers forty members, they are initiated in the practice of charity. They have also organised two other charitable works of their own, viz., that of the *Petits Ramoneurs*, and that of the *Marmittons*. In the former they gather together boys engaged as chimney sweeps, and in the latter, boys employed in restaurants, and instruct them in catechism and provide them with amusement. Thus the students are brought into contact with the poor and the labouring classes and learn to understand them.

But it may be interesting to inquire what are the relations between the clerical and the lay students. In the faculties of letters and of science the ecclesiastics mingle with the lay students at the same lectures, and undergo the same examination. They join with them too in their charitable works, nor are they cut off from them altogether in other respects. There exists an *Association Amicale des Etudiants*, to which ecclesiastics are admitted. The members of this association meet once a month for the purpose of literary discussion or for friendly recreation. In this way both classes of students are led to know each other, and made to feel that they are children of the same *Alma Mater*.

#### UNIVERSITY EXTENSIONS

Besides its influence over the students who follow the courses in the various faculties to prepare for degrees, the University exercises a wholesome influence over many others. Each year a course of public lectures on subjects of general interest is delivered in the halls of the establishment. Special lectures, too, are given on social questions, on apologetics, and on philosophy. The *Revue de l'Institut Catholique* commenced in 1896 is another channel of influence.

A course of lectures for lady students has also been established to afford to women an opportunity of higher culture. In order to exclude mere *dilettante*, a fee is required for admission to these lectures. In Paris many young ladies desirous of higher culture are thus provided with a means, as Mgr. Pechenard expresses it, of satisfying the aspirations of their

intellect, and at the same time of safeguarding the principles of the faith, a result hardly to be hoped for in other intellectual surroundings where the principles of Naturalism hold sway.

To the influence of the Catholic University of Paris is also due in a large measure the establishment of Catholic scientific congresses, which do so much to encourage Catholic scholars, and to make them known to each other. The first of these congresses, the organisation of which was largely due to Mgr. D'Hulst, was held in Paris in 1888. The sixth will be held in Rome in the autumn of 1903.

To show more clearly the work done by the University, it will be useful to put before the reader two tables, one giving the number of students in attendance at lectures in one year, the other giving a summary of the successes gained by the students from the foundation of the University up to 1901.

TABLE I.

NUMBER OF STUDENTS IN THE YEAR 1897-'98.<sup>5</sup>

Facultés Canoniques	-	{	Théologie	-	-	23	}	86
			Droit Canonique	-	-	16		
			Philosophie Scolastique	-	-	10		
			Cours divers et isolés	-	-	37		
Facultés de Droit	-	{	Première année	-	-	134	}	433
			Deuxième année	-	-	101		
			Troisième année	-	-	87		
			Capacité	-	-	12		
			Doctorat	-	-	92		
			Cours isolés	-	-	7		
Ecole des Lettres	}	Licence -	Lettres	{	Ecclesiastiques	51	}	86
				{	Laiques	35		
			Histoire	{	Ecclesiastiques	10	}	19
				{	Laiques	9		
			Philosophie	{	Ecclesiastiques	8	}	19
				{	Laiques	11		
			Langues	{	Ecclesiastiques	3	}	6
				{	Laiques	3		
			Cours isolés			28		
Ecole des Sciences	-	{	Physiques	{	Ecclesiastiques	6	}	17
				{	Laiques	11		
			Mathématiques	{	Ecclesiastiques	10	}	19
				{	Laiques	9		
Total General,							722	
à ces chiffres il convient d'ajouter pour les cours libres de Théologie							-	100
pour les cours d'Enseignement des Jeunes Filles							-	119
,, ,, conférences Publiques une Moyenne de							-	75

<sup>5</sup> See *Bulletin du Denier de l'Institut Catholique de Paris*.

TABLE II

## SUMMARY OF SUCCESSES UP TO 1901. \*

Bacheliers	-	{	Théologie	-	-	265	} 970
			Droit Canonique	-	-	328	
			Philosophie Scolastique	-	-	377	
			Capacitaires en Droit	-	-	33	
Licenciés	-	{	Théologie	-	-	123	} 2206
			Droit Canonique	-	-	125	
			Philosophie Scolastique	-	-	19	
			Droit	-	-	1041	
		{	Lettres	-	-	671	
			Philosophie	-	-		
			Histoire	-	-		
			Langues Vivantes	-	-		
Sciences	-	-	227				
Agrégés	-	{	Lettres	-	-	33	} 34
			Sciences	-	-	1	
Docteurs	-	{	Théologie	-	-	20	} 197
			Droit Canonique	-	-	8	
			Philosophie Scolastique	-	-	6	
			Droit	-	-	133	
			Lettres	-	-	23	
			Sciences	-	-	7	

From the foregoing sketch and from these tables it will be seen how courageously and successfully the Catholic University of Paris is carrying on the struggle for freedom in higher education. The work done in the past quarter of a century is a presage of the work which under favourable circumstances will be done in the future. The other Catholic Institutes at Lille, Angers, Toulouse, and Lyons, are likewise doing good work in the same cause. All have the faculties of theology, law, letters, and science. In addition to these, Lille possesses a very successful Catholic medical school. In Toulouse, Lille, and Lyons, as in Paris, the ecclesiastical students reside in seminaries established for the purpose.

But it may be asked how far does the influence of these five institutes or Catholic universities reach, as compared with that of the State university. Here let us borrow the words of Mgr. Baunard in the chapter on *L'Enseignement Chretien*, in

\* Taken from *L'Institut Catholique*, page 253. These figures include the successes won in July, 1901. The figures given on previous page and taken from Mgr. Pechenard's work, do not in all cases, include the results of July, 1901.

his work, *Un siècle de l'Eglise de France*.<sup>7</sup> Quoting from a report furnished to him, Mgr. Baunard writes:—

On 15th January last (1900) there were in the State Faculties 29,377 students, of whom 26,974 were French; who alone should here be taken into account. The Free Establishments of Higher Education numbered at that date 1,207. If to these we add 200 students in Theology, not enrolled on the official lists, as against 150 students in Protestant Theology, we arrive at the proximate figure 1,400. The total number in the State Establishments and in the Free Faculties amounts to 28,347 students.

Our establishments of secondary education have at the present moment as many pupils as the lycées and colleges of the University. Nothing can be more certain; and it is proven that we have 84,569 students in our Free colleges, while the rival establishments have 84,839. These are the figures, according to the statistics of 1897, which are increased to-day in our favour by 7,000.

We ought, then, to have in our higher schools the same number of students as our adversaries, that is one-half of the whole. If parents and children were consistent, if all continued their studies in the same spirit in which they began them we should have in our five free universities, taken together, at least 14,178 students. *Fourteen thousand* young men animated with the sentiments they imbibed in our 400 Catholic colleges. What a strength for the Church and for Fatherland! What a proof and guarantee of the preservation in France of our hereditary faith, and of the noblest Christian sentiments. Now, continues our secretary-general, we find under the banner of free education only 1,400 students, that is to say *one in ten* of the young men whom we have educated; *one in twenty* of the total number. In presence of this fact we cannot but call to mind the words of the Gospel: *Et novem ubi sunt?* . . .

And yet [continues Monsignor Baunard], what is wanting to our establishments? Have they not victoriously proved their worth before the official Boards of Examiners, where at each examination of each year they obtain a per-centage of successes notably higher than that of the State Faculties? Have we not seen this very year one of our students take first place for one of the most coveted *aggregations*, that of History; and another carry off the first prize in the general competition amongst the State Faculties of Law. The Church which educates them has valiantly done her duty. Have Christians, who still grudge her their confidence, done theirs?

Thus writes Mgr. Baunard. But is not the picture somewhat overdrawn? A large proportion, viz., 8,627 of the students in

<sup>7</sup> Paris, 3rd edition, p. 131.

the State faculties are medical students. There is but one Catholic medical school, that of Lille. Where can the students who desire to study medicine under Catholic masters go? Anyhow, when every allowance has been made, it remains true that there are more students in the one Catholic university of Louvain, with its 2,000 students, than at the five Catholic universities of France.

There is much to be said in favour of the spreading of centres of higher education in a large country where the State University itself has sixteen great centres. But it may be questioned whether a concentration of energy and of resources would not have produced in France a success similar to that obtained in Louvain.

Another inference, too, may be drawn from the history of these free universities in France. In them there are lay and ecclesiastical students. The ecclesiastics enjoy, indeed, a greater measure of freedom than is possible in diocesan seminaries. But while on certain occasions they mingle with the lay students; in their daily life they are kept under discipline, and are thus guarded against the dangers which abound in great cities. This was the practice of the Church in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and it cannot be abandoned with safety.

During the quarter of a century which has elapsed since its foundation the Catholic University of Paris has proved its worth, and the friends of higher Catholic education, wherever they are, will watch its growth with interest, and will pray that it may prosper, and one day equal the Ancient University of Paris, which was for so many centuries the glory of France.

PATRICK BOYLE, C.M.

## MARIE CORELLI AND THE CHURCH

THE novel is a great power for popularizing the results of research, whether social, scientific, or religious. For, it is not everyone who has the inclination or ability to work out these results for himself; but, in the novel, the reader has them brought before him with a certain amount of fascination. They are at work apparently in real life. The interest of the story carries him along and enables him to fix his attention, whilst he imperceptibly imbibes the doctrines desired by the writer, and often has them indelibly fixed in his imagination and in his heart.

But, whilst the novel may be an instrument for the inculcation of truth, it may obviously be also the means of disseminating error. Just as the mirror, if it be plane, gives forth a correct image of what is reflected in it. But, if it be concave or convex, the reflected image is a mere caricature. The mirror in that case is no guide to truth.

Of late years many novels have been published, with a view to advancing certain social and religious views. Thus, quite recently, there has appeared Hall Caine's *Eternal City*, and some few years ago, Mrs. Humphrey Ward's *Robert Elsmere*. No Catholic will entirely endorse the views of either of these writers; and, especially it may be said of the latter book, that it is one calculated to do harm, by upsetting the minds of many who are not familiar with the Biblical and historico-theological discussions of the day. But, on the other hand, it must be admitted, that these writers deal with their subject in a scholarly way, without vulgar abuse of institutions with which they are not in sympathy, and with a reverence becoming the topics of which they treat.

The present paper is concerned with two novels of a somewhat different character—the latest publications of Marie Corelli, *The Master Christian* and *Temporal Power*; both of which present to the reader a distorted image, a caricature, an absurd misrepresentation of the Catholic Church.

No one would be inclined to deny that Marie Corelli possesses many of the gifts that go to make up the great novelist. She has descriptive and dramatic power of a high order. There are passages in her works extremely touching and full of pathos; whilst some of her characters are delineated and carried through with wonderful consistency and truth to life. But, on the other hand, her books seem to be oppressed with a good deal of turgidity and heaviness. There is a tendency to overdo the sentimentality, so that the love scenes at times become gushing, effusive, and maudlin. Above all, there is a morbidness pervading her works—as for instance in the last chapter of *Temporal Power*, where the king and Sergius Thord sail to death over the stormy ocean, with the corpse of the murdered Lotys—which is somewhat repulsive, and accounts for the dislike in which they are held by many, notwithstanding the large circulation to which they have attained.

It is impossible to be equally favourable in the criticism of the didactic portions of Marie Corelli's novels. For, it cannot be doubted, that in her two last books, she aims at teaching the world on the subjects of religion and sociology. Time after time, in connection with the great picture painted by one of her heroines, Angela Sovrani, she inveighs against the notion that women may not give great lessons to mankind as well as men. Evidently she is vindicating her own right to enlighten the world; and in the volumes we are considering is contained some of the light she would disseminate. Let the following passage suffice as a sample of her views on this subject.<sup>1</sup>

'Oh! a woman!' exclaimed Angela, her beautiful eyes flashing with mingled tenderness and scorn, and her whole face lighting up with animation, 'only a woman! *She* must not give a grand lesson to the world! She must not, by means of brush or pen, point out to a corrupt generation the way it is going! Why? Because God has created her to be the helpmate of man! Excellent reason! Man is taking a direct straight road to destruction, and she must not stop him by so much as lifting a warning finger! Again, why? Only because she is a woman! But I—were I twenty times a woman, twenty times weaker than I am, and hampered by every sort of convention and usage—I would express my thoughts somehow, or die in the attempt.'

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<sup>1</sup> *The Master Christian*, p. 134.

Accordingly, in *The Master Christian* and *Temporal Power*, Marie Corelli sets herself to express her thoughts, among other things, on the Catholic Church. The world's Christianity, she thinks, has gone astray. The Churches; especially the Catholic Church, do not teach the doctrines of Christ. True Christianity is contained in a sort of socialistic natural religion, which she shadows forth in a misty kind of way. Into this region, however, we do not propose to follow her, being concerned only with her teaching, as it affects the Catholic Church.

It may be said at once that Marie Corelli's attacks are not of a kind to do harm. They are too much after the style of the *Rork*, or the Protestant Alliance. There is about them a want of refinement, an absence of logic, a violence, a disregard of facts, which do not at all show the incapacity of women for dealing with great controversial subjects, but which seem to indicate that Marie Corelli's time would be more usefully occupied in devoting her attention to romance writing than in teaching mankind about the Catholic Church. No doubt, *The Master Christian* especially, will appeal to a certain limited public; but that public will not consist of what is truest and best in this country. It will be made up of such as interest themselves in putting in force the obsolete penal laws against Jesuits, or are to be found attending the lectures of the 'ex-nuns' and 'Ruthvens' of modern notoriety.

Marie Corelli's views on religion are to be found scattered up and down her books, but largely they are contained in certain long harangues or diatribes by such heroes of hers as Aubrey Leigh, Cyrillon Vergniaud, and Sergius Thord. Through these we conscientiously waded, though it must be confessed the style and subject matter were often of the dreariest. Long paragraphs, extending to two or three pages, with no special point; texts of Scripture quoted in the good old style without any particular regard to the context; the point of view of the teacher shifting according to convenience, now based on Christ's teaching, now in direct opposition to it. In fact, words strung together in such loose and random fashion, that Mgr. Gherardi's comment, at the end of one of Aubrey Leigh's deliverances, was none too strong, when he



said (page 311): 'You rant very well, Mr. Leigh! You would make an excellent Hyde Park orator!'

But, what seemed specially noticeable about these verbose productions was, that whilst one had to exercise much self-control and patience to keep one's attention fixed and take in the sense of the text, apparently they had moved the writer to the very depths of her being, so that every now and then one was astonished to find that the audience had been listening spell-bound—such notes as the following being frequent: 'He (Leigh) paused—there was a slight stir among the audience, but otherwise not a sound.' (Page 603).

Unfortunately, to deal adequately with Marie Corelli's attack upon the Catholic Church, its ministers, its teaching, its practice, and its work in the world, would be impossible in a brief essay. It would require volumes. All that can be attempted is to consider briefly in two sections the characters whom she introduces as typical of the Catholic clergy, and then in a third to bring forward a few specimens of her manner of dealing with things connected with the Catholic Church.

### I

If Marie Corelli's picture of the Catholic Church is a reliable one, the priests introduced by her as characters in her novels ought to be really typical of the Catholic clergy. That is a proposition not likely to be called in question.

What kind of men, then, are the clerics whom she introduces?

In *Temporal Power*, there is a Jesuit, Mgr. Del Fortis, 'a dark, resentful-looking man, of about sixty, tall and thin, with a long, cadaverous face, very strongly pronounced features, and small sinister eyes, over which the level brows almost met across the bridge of the nose.' (Page 33).

The character of this man is revealed in the Twenty-fifth chapter, where he is represented as having gained admission to a dungeon to 'confess' a wretched half-witted youth, who had been arrested in the act of attempting to murder the king. This half-crazy lad had been brought up in a Jesuit college, where, apparently—so we are supposed to believe—the Fathers

had so wrought on his ill-balanced intellect, that the result was his criminal attempt at regicide. Under threat of forcing him to drain a phial of poison, which he holds before the lad's eyes, Del Fortis is now terrorizing his victim into taking an oath that at his trial he will repudiate his connection with the Jesuits and falsely incriminate Sergius Thord, Lotys, and the socialists in his mad deed, when the interview is suddenly interrupted by the entry of the king. Such is priest No. 1.

Then there is a Roman ecclesiastic, in intimate relations with the Vatican, Mgr. Gherardi, 'one of the cleverest, most astute, and most unscrupulous of men, to whom religion was nothing more than a means of making money and gaining power.' 'Away out towards Frascati he had a superb villa, furnished with every modern luxury and convenience (not rented in his own name, but in that of a man whom he paid heavily to serve him as his tool and menial)—where a beautiful Neapolitan *danseuse* condescended to live as his mistress.' (Page 301.) Gherardi was a liar of the blackest type (*cf.* page 538); and was guilty of attempting to violate a young countess—Sylvie Hermenstein—whilst paying a formal visit to her house. This is priest No. 2.

In conjunction with Gherardi may be taken his intimate friend and associate, Mgr. Moretti, 'a tall, spare man, with a dark narrow countenance of the true Tuscan type—a face in which the small, furtive eyes twinkled with a peculiarly hard brilliancy as though they were luminous pebbles.' (Page 215.) His close connection with Gherardi is enough to lead one to suspect that Moretti's character was not of the loftiest. The fact is placed beyond doubt by a perusal of Chapter XXVII., which records a dialogue between the two friends. Let one sample of his views suffice (page 415):—

'We all live for Barabbas,' pursued Moretti, an ironical smile playing on his thin lips, 'not for Christ! Barabbas, in the shape of the unscrupulous millionaire, robs the world!—and we share the spoils, pardon his robberies, and set him free. But, whosoever lives outside Dogma, serving God purely and preaching truth—him we crucify!—but our robber—our murderer of Truth, we set at liberty! Hence, as I said before, the power of the Church.'

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<sup>a</sup> *The Master Christian*, p. 300.

Moretti is priest No. 3.

Another clerical character is the Abbé Vergniaud, a popular or rather fashionable Parisian preacher. He is an atheist, as witness the following words of his out of many<sup>3</sup> :—

Let each man enjoy himself according to his temperament and capabilities. Do not impose bounds upon him—give him his liberty! Let him alone! Do not try to bamboozle him with the idea that there is a God looking after him, so will he be spared much disappointment and useless blasphemy. If he makes his own affairs unpleasant in this world, he will not be able to lift up his hands to the innocent skies, which are only composed of ether, and blame an impossible large person sitting up there, who can have no part in circumstances which are entirely unknown outside the earth's ridiculously small orbit.

Nor does the Abbé make any secret of his views. They are notorious. So that he lays himself open to Angela Sovrani's retort :—

How cold! How didactic! You would give each man his freedom according to habit and temperament—no matter whether such habit and temperament led to crime or otherwise—you would impose upon him no creed—no belief in anything higher than himself—and yet you remain in the Church.

Such were the Abbé's views! His practice was no better. He was a libertine and a hypocrite. How like the great popular French preachers! Bossuet and Fénelon and Lacordaire and Monsabré and Didon! In the Abbé Vergniaud we have priest No. 4.

One more ecclesiastical character must be outlined here, that of the Archbishop of Rouen. As was to be expected, this dignitary is not depicted as of quite so gross and low a type. His character, however, is the reverse of complimentary to the French episcopate.

His fresh, plump face, unmarred by any serious consideration, bespoke [we are told],<sup>4</sup> a thorough enjoyment of life, and the things which life—if encouraged to demand them—most strenuously seeks, such as good food, soft beds, rich clothing, and other countless luxuries which are not necessities by any means, but which make the hours move smoothly and softly.

The Archbishop was very often wrong. Wrapped up in himself and his own fixed notions as to how life should be lived, he

<sup>3</sup> *The Master Christian*, p. 101.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 33.

seldom looked out upon the larger world, and obstinately refused to take any thoughtful notice of the general tendency of public opinion in all countries concerning religion and morality. All that he was unable to explain, he flatly denied, and his prejudices were as violent as his hatred of contradiction was keen.

This amiable and mortified prelate makes up priest No. 5, and, with the exception of two men of most exalted station—Cardinal Bonpré and the Pope, reserved for separate treatment—exhausts the list of Marie Corelli's clerical characters.

Now it does not seem presumptuous to affirm that in setting before the reader this list of characters, supposed to typify the clergy of the Catholic Church, enough has been done to shatter any pretensions of which Marie Corelli may boast to be regarded as a safe guide respecting that great organisation. The Catholic Church is spread throughout the world. Its priests are known in every land. It is not seriously contested that they are, as a body, as honest, sincere, and devoted to duty as any class of men living; and it is certain that this gross libel upon the members of an honourable profession, will provoke nothing but indignation and disgust in the minds of all right-minded men.

We shall, however, take a further step to rebut this evidence of Marie Corelli. She has given us some samples of the French clergy. She has done more. Her hero, Angela Sovrani, in the marvellous painting referred to before, introduces amongst other figures, one which she calls 'a servant of Christ, at the Madeleine, Paris.' It is the type of the French priest, for she says:—

'You blame me for choosing such an evil type of priest! But there is no question of choice! These faces are ordinary among our priests. At all the churches, Sunday after Sunday, I have looked for a good, a noble face,—in vain! For an even commonly honest face,—in vain!' (Page 129.)

Here is the type (page 129):—

Low beetling brows, a sensual cruel mouth, with a loosely-projecting upper lip, eyes that appeared to be furtively watching each other across the thin bridge of the nose, a receding chin and a narrow cranium, combined with an expression which was hypocritically humble, yet sly . . . a type mercilessly true to the life; the face of a priest.

Two witnesses shall be called against this evidence, both men of unimpeachable authority: one, who had the opportunity of studying the French priesthood from within, and afterward became the avowed enemy of the priesthood and the Church, the late Ernest Renan; the other, an English Protestant, who has been engaged for many years in France studying French institutions on the spot, Mr. J. E. C. Bodley. The evidence of both witnesses is contained in the following passage from Bodley's *France*.<sup>5</sup>

The author of the *Vie de Jesus*, who had none of the injustice of an apostate, said of the Order he had quitted: 'I have never known any but good priests';<sup>6</sup> and seven years of constant association with French ecclesiastics of every rank have impressed the full value of this testimony upon me, who also regard the Catholic Church objectively, though not from the point of view of M. Renan. My studies on the Church in France, in the work which will follow this one, will fully deal with the tradition and character of the clergy. All that need be said of them here is that by their lives and example they show how a celibate sacerdotal caste may be an advantage to the State. . . . The parish priests of France, than whom there is not a more exemplary body of men in any land, illustrate the better qualities, refined by discipline, of those great categories of the people, which constitute the real force of the nation.

Such is the answer to Marie Corelli's attack on the French clergy. Did space permit, an equally conclusive one might be made in regard to the clergy of other countries. But the effect of this reply cannot be confined to France. It shows clearly that Marie Corelli's teaching as to the character of the clergy should be taken *cum grano*, indeed with the gravest suspicion.

## II

Cardinal Bonpré is one of Marie Corelli's heroes.

Tall and severely thin, with fine worn features of ascetic and spiritual delicacy, he had the undefinably removed air of a scholar and thinker, whose life was not, and never could be in accordance with the latter-day customs of the world; the mild blue eyes, clear and steadfast, most eloquently suggested 'the peace of God that passeth all understanding'—and the sensitive intellectual lines of the mouth and chin, which indicated strength and determined will, at the same time declared that

<sup>5</sup> Page 43.

<sup>6</sup> *Souvenirs d'Enfance*, St. Nicolas du Chardonnet.

both strength and will were constantly employed in the doing of good and avoidance of evil; no dark furrows of hesitation, cowardice, cunning, meanness, or weakness marred the expressive dignity, and openness of the Cardinal's countenance. (P. 3.)

This holy man had spent his years in 'a certain small, half-forgotten, but once historically-famed cathedral town of France.'—not in idleness, however; for 'most of his time was passed in reading and study' (page 7.) He was in fact (page 8) 'wise with the wisdom which comes of deep reading, lonely meditation, and fervent study,' and 'had instructed himself in the modern schools of thought, as well as the ancient.'

This venerable gentleman, equipped with every advantage of nature and grace, is raised up by Marie Corelli to confound the Catholic Church. Not content with painting him as a scholar and perfect Christian, she has recourse to the miraculous. Forgetful of her allegiance to modern anti-ecclesiastical science, she makes him work a miracle; and strives to bolster up his authority still more by introducing at his side a petulant, forward, precocious *enfant terrible*, a fantastic incarnation of the Divine, a kind of *Deus ex machina*—one Manuel—to see him through his difficulties.

What are the Cardinal's views? They are to be found in every part of *The Master Christian*. 'The Church has failed,' he says to himself (page 13); and again, when the Son of Man cometh 'He will not find faith even in the Church He founded.'

Again (page 115):—'Heresy against the Church is nothing—it is heresy against Christ which is the crime of the age—and in that the very Church is heretic.'

Again of a sermon preached by the Abbé Vergniaud (Chap. xiii.), in which the doctrines and authority of the Church are denounced and ridiculed, he says (page 217):—

'In his address he pointed out certain failings in the Church which may possibly need consideration and reform; but against the Gospel of Christ, or against the founder of our Faith, I heard no word that could be judged ill-fitting.' The Abbé had just before admitted the attack on the Church, adding:—'Christ Himself would attack it if He were to visit this earth again.'

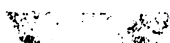
It would be beside the mark here to discuss the views held

by the aged Cardinal. One thing is obvious! He is not a Catholic at all; and, learned and acute man as he is represented as being, he must have been perfectly aware of that fact.

But then, that being so, how can his position be defended as honest? How was it, that it never occurred to him that he was playing the hypocrite? That he was receiving money under false pretences? That, in parading in purple and fine linen, and not denouncing the Church to his flock, he was keeping them in their allegiance to what he believed to be a delusion and a lie? No explanation is given of all this.

Nor is it easy to understand his state of mind after his first audience with the Pope. Here is a man who has grown old in the priesthood, a profound theologian, a thinker, an archbishop and a cardinal! He has clearly become an apostate, and consorts with, and encourages the avowed enemies of the Church. He goes to the Vatican, and is astonished that his interview is not over-cordial! 'When Bonpré left the holy presence he knew well enough that he was, *for no fault of his own* (!) under the displeasure of the Vatican.' (Page 329). 'Weary and sick at heart, the venerable prelate sighed as he reviewed all the entangling perplexities which had, *so unconsciously to himself* (!), become woven like a web about his innocent and harmless personality.' (Page 330.) And most wonderful of all—it never seems to have occurred to him, that he would not succeed, at his first interview, in bringing over the Pope to his views! He seems to have thought that he had only to have an audience, in order to persuade his Holiness that the Church had failed, and that such trifles as infallibility and the like must be given up! (*cf.* page 328).

The fact is, Cardinal Bonpré is an impossible character. As depicted in *The Master Christian*, in a constant state of worry and mental fatigue, unable to see through the most obvious fallacies, utterly deficient in argumentative power, and largely dependent on others for support, he is, whatever he may have been in Marie Corelli's imagination, a mere decrepit old man, evidently suffering from senile decay.



## III

The number of passages relating to Sacred Scripture, and the beliefs and practices of the Catholic Church, to which we take exception in these volumes, is so great that it would be impossible to deal with them all. Four points are therefore selected as specimens of the prevailing style and method.

1. Wishing to discredit the significance of the well-known text of St. Matthew, 'Thou art Peter,' etc., Cyrillon Vergniaud uses in one place the following words (page 225):—

'Who that has read, and thought, and travelled, and studied the manuscripts hidden away in the old monasteries of Armenia and Syria, believes that the Saviour of the world ever condescended to 'pun' on the word Petrus, and say, "On this Rock (or stone) I will build My Church," when he already knew that He had to deal with a coward who would soon deny Him.'

There you have a fine affectation of learning! But what are those mysterious MSS. of Armenia and Syria? We know of the 'Codex Sinaiticus,' discovered in a convent on Mount Sinai in 1844, and now in the Royal Library at St. Petersburg; also of the 'Codex Vaticanus,' in the Vatican Library. We know that there is a host of other New Testament MSS., including such famous ones as the 'Codex Alexandrinus,' in the British Museum, the 'Codex Bezae' at Cambridge, and the 'Codex Ephraemi' in Paris. So too, every one has heard of the illustrious textual critics—English and German—Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, Tregelles, Hort, and Westcott—men who had 'read and thought, and travelled and studied.' But of no other mysterious MSS., either in Syria or elsewhere have we heard! Nor of any critic who has ventured to discredit the well-known Petrine passage! We have, however, read in Hort and Westcott's introduction to their world-famed edition of the Greek text (page 285), that, 'It would be an illusion to anticipate important changes of text from any acquisition of new evidence.' So that it would almost seem that the mysterious MSS. have no objective existence outside Marie Corelli's fertile imagination.

Nor is there any more ground for her argument, based on the 'pun' used by our Saviour. It is well known that our Saviour employed the ordinary Jewish method of teaching



and argument (*cf.* the parable). His thought was cast in Jewish mould. But what is more common in the Sacred Writings of the Jews than the Paranomasia or Pun? It is true Marie Corelli lays stress upon the fact that our Saviour knew that Peter would afterwards deny Him; so He did, too, that Judas would betray and sell Him to His enemies! And yet He made him an intimate friend, and called him to the apostolate! The fact is, there is about as much foundation for the attack on the Petrine passage as for that on the French clergy!

2. With such views as to the Church, holding in fact that 'Christ did not found a Church,'<sup>7</sup> one is prepared for the following words:—

'Roman Christianity is grafted upon Roman Paganism. When the Apostles were all dead, and their successors (who had never been in personal touch with Christ) came on the scene of action, they discovered that the people of Rome would not do without the worship of woman, in their creed, so they cleverly substituted the Virgin Mary for Venus and Diana. They turned the statues of gods and heroes into figures of apostles and saints. They knew it would be unwise to deprive the populace of what they had been so long accustomed to, and therefore they left them their swinging censers, their gold chalices, and their symbolic candles. Thus it is that Roman Catholicism became, and is still, merely a Christian form of Paganism, which is made to pay successfully, just as the feasts of Saturnalia of ancient days were made to pay, as spectacular and theatrical pastimes.' (Aubrey Leigh, p. 315.)

There you have an admirable instance of—to call it by a mild term—the fallacy known as the *suppressio veri*. 'Roman Catholicism became, and is still, *merely* a Christian form of paganism.' If Marie Corelli had confined herself to saying that, when, after a terrible conflict lasting three hundred years, the Church had conquered paganism, she took over and purified, together with certain pagan temples, other external customs of the old empire, we might in a qualified way agree with her.<sup>8</sup> But to say that the Church is the direct descendant of paganism is to ignore the most potent factor in its formation.

The rising Church hated paganism: witness all that it suffered, rather than adopt pagan beliefs! On the other hand,

<sup>7</sup> *The Master Christian*, Manuel, p. 314.

<sup>8</sup> *Cf.* Dr. Barry's *Papal Monarchy*, ch. i.

the first Christian communities had their origin in the little Jewish coteries existing in Rome and such cities as Antioch, Ephesus, Corinth, and the like. Their ideas were largely taken from the Jews. When they wanted to build and furnish places of worship, they had the temple to look back upon, with its sacred vessels and its incense. The Christian Apocalypse is full of Jewish ideas; and the Church took over, *en masse*, the Jewish Scriptures, for our Saviour had said, 'I have not come to destroy the law, but to fulfil.' In fact, for a long time, the pagans did not distinguish the Christians from the Jews.

To say, in the face of this, that the Church is 'merely a Christian form of paganism,' and that the use of such things as incense, chalices, and candles, is directly inherited from the pagan, does not indicate a very deep knowledge of Christian origins. Far more historical and scholarly are the following words of M. Renan<sup>9</sup>:—

Deux réminiscences dominent tout cet enfantement de l'architecture chrétienne; d'abord un vague souvenir du temple de Jerusalem, dont une partie était accessible aux seuls prêtres; puis, une préoccupation de la grande liturgie céleste, par laquelle débute l'Apocalypse. L'influence de ce livre sur la liturgie fut de premier ordre. On voulut faire sur terre ce que les vingt-quatre vieillards et les chantages zoomorphes font devant le trône de Dieu. Le service de l'Eglise fut ainsi calqué sur celui du ciel. L'usage de l'encens vint sans doute de la même inspiration. Les lampes et les cierges étaient surtout employés dans les funérailles.

3. Marie Corelli prides herself on her devotion to truth, and adherence to the genuine teaching of Christ. Here is an instance of her consistency in these matters.

Her heroine—Sylvie Hermenstern—is to be married to Aubrey Leigh. Shortly before the marriage, a scene is portrayed between her and Gherardi (chaps. 33, 34), in which she proudly gives utterance to the following sentiments:<sup>10</sup>—'You know perfectly well—or you should know—that a wife's duty is to obey her husband, and that in future his church must be her's also.' (Page 532.) Again: 'Whatever his form of faith,

<sup>9</sup> *Les Origines du Christianisme*. M. Aurelius. p. 517.

<sup>10</sup> These sentiments were heard and approved by Leigh.

I intend to follow it, as I intend to obey his commands, whatever they may be, or wherever they may lead.' (Page 532). And again: 'From henceforth we are together, and together we are content to go after death, wherever God shall ordain, be it hell or heaven.' (Page 537).

These sentiments may be very fine ; but they certainly do not indicate a very deep love of truth ; neither are they Christianity. That a wife should obey her husband's commands, whether good or bad ; that she should adopt his faith, whether she judge it right or wrong, is not a very lofty standard of action. How is it consistent with the teaching of Christ? 'You cannot serve two masters.' And again: 'If any man come to Me, and hate not his father, and mother, and wife, and children, and brethren, and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be My disciple.' It does not seem possible to reconcile the two positions. Perhaps, however, we shall see things differently when we have had an opportunity to study the MSS. hidden in the monasteries of Armenia and Syria!

4. The most painful episode in *The Master Christian* is the description of the audience given by the Pope to Cardinal Bonpré and Manuel. How different the refined and brilliant pages, in which Hall Caine introduces us to the Vatican in the *Eternal City*. What ill-natured criticism! What vulgar insolence! How unlike the reverence experienced and displayed in presence of the august and venerable Pontiff, in the audiences of real life!

The boy Manuel, in presence of the Sovereign Pontiff, declines to kneel. 'I may not kneel to any man!' he says, 'but to God only!' Already, on more than one occasion, Angela Sovrani had been described as kneeling to the Cardinal, as the child naturally does to receive its father's blessing. Then, in aggressive style, he proceeds to lecture the Pope in insolent language. We wonder how many men of refined mind have read through these pages without feeling a deep sense of the impropriety and indecency of the scene!

As for the subject matter of Manuel's diatribe, it is as worthless as the style is unbecoming. 'Come out with me,' he says to the Pope, 'to live as Christ lived, teaching the people personally and openly.' (Page 439). 'Minister with

your own hands to the aged and the dying.' 'Come and preach Christ as He lived and died, and *was* and *is*.' And so on, *ad nauseam*.

Marie Corelli seems to imagine that the Pope lives in luxury in the Vatican, doing nothing for God's Church. She does not realise that his life is one of simple frugality and hard work. She overlooks the fact, that whereas, when Christ lived, the faithful numbered but a few individuals in a tiny corner of the globe, now they are hundreds of millions over the whole earth, and that therefore what was possible for our Saviour is not possible for His Vicar Leo XIII. She does not seem to realize that the government of the universal Church is a gigantic task; and that if the Pope were to engage in ordinary missionary and parochial work, he would have to neglect the work of his office and reduce the Church to chaos. She seems incapable of grasping the fact that the Sovereign Pontiff *does* teach the faithful and the world far more efficaciously in his wise Encyclical letters, than if his time were devoted to such work in some small district of a great city, as can be quite as well done by a simple priest. Nor does she seem to be aware that the Pope is in touch with the universal Church, by the approbation of bishops, by seeing the bishops from all over the world at stated times, by receiving in audience crowds of the faithful from every land, and by encouraging by word and financial aid the good works and missionary efforts of his children throughout the world.

Such are the remarks we have to offer about Marie Corelli's two latest novels. They are not favourable; but, it is doubtful whether they are any more severe than the verdict of the average fair-minded man would be as to her criticisms of the Catholic Church.

She adroitly selected a time, when the country was strongly moved about the Ritualistic practices in the Church of England, to launch *The Master Christian* on the public. The result was a large sale. But her style of controversy will have to change before it appeals to what is best in the English people.

Englishmen, as a rule, dislike much of the teaching of the Catholic Church. They dislike Confession, the veneration of

the Blessed Virgin, the Mass; they have an idea that the authority claimed by the Church tends to trammel the mind and to interfere with personal freedom. Above all, whilst willing to let Catholics go their own way, they object to the introduction of Catholic doctrines and practices into the Church of England.

On the other hand, Englishmen are honest and fair, and they know enough of Catholic priests to reject with indignation the insinuation that they are nothing better than a set of scoundrels. We do not grudge Marie Corelli the class of men who will be credulous enough to assimilate her teaching as to the Catholic Church and its ministers.

J. A. HOWLETT, O.S.B.

## 'IS OUR EARTH ALONE UNINHABITED?'

A FRIENDLY COMMENT UPON REV. E. A. SELLEY'S ESSAY

'To the wisest man, wide as is his vision, Nature remains of quite *infinite* depth, of quite infinite expansion; and all experience thereof, limits itself to some few computed centuries and measured square miles.'—T. CARLYLE.

IN his very interesting paper in the November issue of the I. E. RECORD, the Rev. E. Selley has provided us, your readers, with much food for reflection. He firstly asks: '*Is our earth alone inhabited?*' Then, without of course presenting us with any dogmatic reply, he suggests a good deal to provoke an affirmative rejoinder.

That our little world alone harbours living and sentient creatures seems to me, at least, wholly inconceivable. Nature is so rich, so prolific, and so exceedingly lavish and generous in all her ways, that it would seem almost an outrage upon her even to suggest that she has made the earth alone the scene of birth and death, of love and marriage, of mourning and rejoicing. I speak, let me observe, loosely and in the wider and laxer meaning of these terms, which I extend to all sentient beings, even to the irrational.

Since indeed, we find life, and all life's accompanying phenomena, wherever we are able to penetrate, it would surely be unreasonable to represent it, as a peculiarity of but one tiny orb, among the encircling myriads, that go to make up the visible creation? Life, and the natural delights that life yields in such abundance, are found on the land and on the sea, in the mountain and in the valley, in the air and in the earth, in the stagnant ponds and in the swift-rushing rivers; in short, wherever we are able to push our investigations. I refer to animal life; to the life of all kinds of sentient beings, of birds and beasts, and of fish and reptiles, and insects, as well as of every variety of slimy inhabitant, whether of the soil beneath our feet, or of the deepest and darkest caves of ocean.

But Father Selley, if I mistake not, refers, not so much to

animal life in general, as to human life in particular; and that, of course, brings us face to face with a vastly more difficult, even though it be with a vastly more interesting problem. The question then is: are human and intelligent beings working out their allotted destiny, exercising their energies, expressing their thoughts, passing their judgments, building up empires, conquering nature's laws, and opening up new fields for commerce in, say, Uranus and Sirius, in Arcturus and in Castor and Pollux, as well as here on earth? In other words: do the minute points of golden splendour that we observe dotting the skies on a clear summer's night really represent vast theatres of human activity? Are they fields of human force and feeling, where hearts beat fast, and thoughts run high, and where thousands meet, now in friendly converse, and now in the fierce and fatal throes of bloody conflict? Are these far-off worlds, in short, but more or less faithful portraits of our own world, only designed on a more extended plan, and built upon a more magnificent scale?

I have no more right to suggest an answer, and certainly no better qualifications for discovering one than Father Selley; but perhaps—merely to prove my interest in his essay—I may be allowed to speculate and to surmise.

I think it is extremely important, to begin with, that we should distinguish between the rational animal MAN, and other unknown, yet hypothetical and possible rational animals. Man has two sides to his nature. He is rational, and he is animal. Now, whenever we refer to him as an inhabitant of the earth, we invariably refer to him in so far as he is animal. When, for instance, we discuss his capability of living in the fierce heat of the torrid zone, or amid the perpetual frosts and snows of the frigid zone; when we affirm the impossibility of his living at all, without air, or of his living in the water or in the fire, we are always alluding to the lower or animal side of his nature, *i.e.*, to his body, and to that only. For the soul is in no way directly affected by any such conditions. Now, so long as we take man to be the *only* visible and rational being in existence, I utterly fail to see how we can possibly venture to declare, even as a probable opinion, that the stars and other celestial orbs are inhabited by rational

beings. My view is that man's necessary bodily requirements would not admit of it for a single instant.

Man's body has been made by God, and especially constructed and fitted together, not for any kind of an earth, not (if we may so say) for earths *in general*, but for our own particular earth; for an earth of the consistency and of the temperature and of the size, etc., etc., of the earth that it now actually inhabits. It is most admirably adapted to the conditions and general character of our little planet. All its parts and organs and muscles and articulations bear a distinct and a direct relation to the earth, and are constructed to suit not, let me repeat, earths in general, not earths both great and small; hot or cold; dense or porous; but *just this one specific earth* in which man now dwells, and no other.

Perhaps a few lines of demonstration may assist the reader in realizing the truth of my contention. Let me then begin by observing that even were it possible, by some unknown mechanical agency, to transfer the entire population of this world to some larger planet, even of the same constitutive elements, and of a similar temperature, the consequences would be much more serious and remarkable than might be at first supposed, by anyone unaccustomed to reflect. Some thoughtless persons speak as though it would be as simple a matter, so far as results are concerned, as driving a herd of sheep from a small enclosure to a larger field, or as shipping men from the congested regions of England to the vast open spaces of Australia. But there never was a greater fallacy. Indeed the difficulties that would be created by any change, even in the mere size of our dwelling-place, are enormous. In fact it may readily be shown that, if reasonable beings exist at all in any world, different from our world, they cannot possibly be creatures really like ourselves.

For simplicity's sake I will confine my remarks to the consideration of a single planet, and I will suppose it to differ from our earth only in point of size, and I will suppose it to be inhabited, and then I shall invite the reader to weigh well the consequences that follow, and then to form his own judgment.

I select Jupiter as a good example. Speaking roughly, its



diameter is eleven times greater than that of the Earth, and its bulk or size about 1,400 greater. We will, for argument's sake, suppose that in all other respects, Jupiter resembles the earth, and that its climate, and geological formation, and so forth differ in no respect from what we are accustomed to. These suppositions are, obviously, absurd, but we wish to show, that, even with all the advantages that such impossible suppositions would secure, it would still be true, that no man, or other creature closely resembling man, could possibly find a home on its surface. Why? Well because, even if no other objection can be raised, Jupiter is too enormous. 'But, surely,' the incredulous reader may feel inclined to retort, 'its greater size must be rather an advantage? There will be all the more elbow-room; and better facilities for growth and expansion,' and so on. True. But who so argues overlooks one of the most irresistible and one of the most important laws of nature, controlling all material bodies in the universe. I mean the law of attraction, or the law of gravitation.

If it were possible to take an ordinary man out of the streets of London or of Dublin, and to transplant him to Jupiter, he might fondly imagine that it would be very delightful to set out at once on an exploring expedition in his new home. But impossible! For he would find himself instantly pinned immovably to the ground, by the force of gravitation. It would be impossible for him to run, or to walk, or even to stand! His muscles, which bore him about so easily in this world are now of no use to him. They are utterly unequal to surmounting the pressure, steadily and uninterruptedly exerted upon every molecule of his entire body. He has no freedom; no power of locomotion; no strength even to extend his arms. Indeed, the circulation of the blood, and other equally necessary functions of life, would be so interfered with, and so thrown out of gear, that life itself would be rendered impossible.

The reason is perfectly plain, and will be easily appreciated by anyone who will take the trouble to consider and to apply our present every-day experience. Thus I find, when I stand up, anywhere upon the earth, that the said earth is pressing me lovingly to its bosom, with a pressure of about thirteen stone.

Or to express the same truth in simpler language, my weight just turns the scales at thirteen stone. I cannot withdraw myself from the influence of the earth's attraction. Even in this little planet some genuine exertion is requisite in order to lift my body a few inches away from its surface, at each succeeding step, as I mount a stair, or clamber up a mountain. What is this dead weight of thirteen stone? What is this pressure? It is simply the attraction of the earth upon my body dragging at it, and keeping it down. Now, the force of gravity acting upon a body will affect it to a different degree on different parts of even the same earth. The nearer the equator we stand, the less we weigh; whereas, the nearer we place ourselves to the poles, the more we weigh. This is due partly to the rotary motion of the earth, whose centrifugal force diminishes the force of gravitation more and more as one approaches the equator, and partly because, owing to the earth being flattened at the poles and not a perfect sphere, an object at the poles is brought nearer the centre of the mass, and is therefore attracted more strongly than an object at the equator.

Such differences are obviously small and scarcely appreciable. Indeed they can be detected only by delicate instruments. But consider for a moment, what the difference would be to yourself, gentle reader, if the earth were suddenly kicked away from beneath your feet by some miraculous power, and if in its place were instantly substituted a planet a thousand times vaster! What would be your sensations if you were suddenly made conscious that you were being tugged at and pressed down to the ground, not by an attraction equivalent to ten or fifteen stone, but by an attraction equal to a dead pressure of ten or fifteen stone, *multiplied by over a thousand!*

It is a well-ascertained fact, that the attraction between any two bodies is the resultant of the attractions of each molecule of the one, upon every molecule of the other. This is known as 'The Law of Newton,' and may be stated thus:—The attraction between material bodies [for example, between my body, on the one hand, and the earth on the other; or between my body, on the one hand, and the planet *Jupiter*

on the other] is directly proportional to the product of their masses, and inversely proportional to the square of their distance, the one from the other.

Let us apply this law to a man transported for the moment, to the surface of Jupiter. R. A. Proctor writes:—'Everything that has hitherto been learned respecting the constitution of the heavenly bodies, renders it quite unlikely that the elementary constitution of Jupiter differs from that of our earth.' (Page 116-7). And Professor Ball writes:—'That 1200 globes, each as large as our earth, all rolled into one, would be needed to form a single globe as large as Jupiter.' (Page 211). Now, these two statements put together would naturally lead to the conclusion that Jupiter is not only 1200 times as large, but likewise 1200 times as heavy as the earth. Here, however, we should be wrong; since astronomers have satisfied themselves from actual observation, that though 1200 globes the size of our earth would be needed to form a globe as *large* as Jupiter; yet, 310 globes of the weight of the earth would suffice to counterbalance the *weight* of Jupiter. Some account for this strange contrast on the supposition that Jupiter must be hollow; others on the theory that it must be formed of some much more porous substance than our earth, and others again on the theory that it is of an exceedingly high temperature; and so forth. But we are not now concerned with the explanations but with the facts, which may be accepted as stated above.

We will now draw out our conclusions. Let a race of fully grown men, in all respects like ourselves, be suddenly transported to Jupiter. Well, they would at once come under the influence of that planet's attraction. This attraction would forthwith paralyse all action, and render life absolutely unbearable, if not wholly impossible. A man of average size, who would, on our earth, weigh ten stone, would there weigh about ( $310 \times 10 =$ ) 3100 stone; or between nineteen and twenty *tons*. The proportions of his body and the composition of his limbs, and the strength of his muscles would *ex hypothesi*, be the same as in this world; but with the same muscles and limbs he is now called upon to contend against and to withstand wholly superior forces. When a man of ordinary

size walks up a flight of stairs, or climbs up a mountain in this world, he has to poise the whole weight of his body—which we may put at about ten or twelve stone—alternately, first on one leg and then on the other.

Transfer that *same* man to Jupiter. Set him the same task, and what is it that you are now asking him to do? You are asking him to balance and to support, first on his right foot, and then on his left, a weight, no longer of ten or twelve stone, but of twenty or thirty tons. You are asking him to do the impossible. His physical powers have in no way been interfered with. They are just what they were. Consequently they are in no way proportioned to their new environment, and wholly unfit to bear their present burden, or to withstand the unusual strain now put upon them.

The puny little inhabitant of earth, whom you have (in thought) so imprudently translated to the planet Jupiter, is hopelessly incapable of coping with the new conditions by which he finds himself surrounded. So far from being able to walk up stairs, or to ascend a declivity, he finds it impossible to so much as stand erect. He is glued to the ground. He is rivetted down fast and secure to the surface of the planet. He is hard pressed against it, with a pressure of from twenty to thirty tons, which he cannot overcome.

What conclusion do I wish to draw from this single fact? I wish to show that when we talk of the planets and the stars being inhabited by *men like ourselves*, we are talking in ignorance. Yet, I have pointed to but one insurmountable difficulty. And a difficulty which would arise equally, even though the supposed planet differed in nothing but size.

Let A and B be two stars or two planets. Let A be a thousand times the size of B. Let them be exactly the same in every other respect. Then the inhabitants of A, supposing both orbs to be inhabited, must necessarily be totally different from the inhabitants of B. If A, B, C, D, E, up to N<sup>th</sup> be all considerably different, one from the other, though only in point of size, it would follow, that the inhabitants of each must likewise differ from one another. But the stars A, B, C, D, E, to N do actually differ, not only in size, but in motion about their axes, and in their orbits, and in their temperature, and their

degree of moisture, in cohesion, in conductivity, in chemical proclivities, and in many other respects, so that it is exceedingly difficult to suppose that man, or any creature *closely* resembling man, can inhabit other worlds than ours.

Having—at least as it seems to me—disposed of the theory that the stars can be inhabited by men, just like ourselves, the question still remains: Has God given them any inhabitants whatsoever? Has He peopled them with races of rational beings of some kind?

Here, of course, we enter upon the region of pure speculation. To me, however, I confess an affirmative answer seems the most probable. In fact, if I may be allowed to hazard an opinion, I should say that it follows from the very character of God as it is revealed to us. It seems according to His bounty, goodness, and extreme liberality, that a world without inhabitants should be rather the exception than the rule.

What gives man his pre-eminence over other visible beings known to us, is not the shape, or size, or configuration of his body. No. It is the tremendous fact that he is rational, and has an intelligent soul. His body is quite secondary, and, in comparison, unimportant. The essential thing in man is mind, not matter. Now, as I have already remarked, when we speak of his being adapted to this earth of ours, and in harmony with his physical surroundings, we are discussing man, not in so far as he is mind, but only in so far as he is matter; only in so far as he is a creature compounded of clay, and put together in a certain definite manner with organs, muscles, bones, arteries, glands, brain, stomach, limbs, etc., including of course such feelings and sensibilities as depend on matter.

But there is no sort of necessary connection between a reasonable soul and our own particular variety of corporal form. We use the material brain when we think or reason, but there is nothing, I take it, to show that between thought *quâ* thought and the human brain, the *nexus* is so essential and strict that no soul, however formed, could work with any other instrument? What, then, is there to prevent God from creating spiritual beings and intelligences, similar to our souls, and then conferring upon them visible and material forms, other than those He has conferred upon *us*? God formed

man's body of the slime of the earth (Gen. ii. 7), a body most admirably adapted in every way, to the conditions presented by the earth on which it was destined to dwell. Then God 'breathed into his face the breath of life, and man became a living soul' (Gen. ii. 7). Now, what difficulty have we in supposing that something similar took place, say, for example, in Jupiter? If a body were formed by God out of the substance of the planet Jupiter rather than out of the slime of the earth, and if, further, it were a body destined to live in the larger planet, rather than in the smaller, it is quite evident that it would be just as admirably fitted for *its* environment as our body is for our environment. But the environments being essentially different, the two classes of bodies must be essentially different also. Must we then say that Jupiter cannot have intelligent inhabitants, just because they would, *quoad corpus*, necessarily be constituted differently to man? Evidently not.

If we associate intelligence with a corporal form at all, from sheer habit and custom, we invariably associate it with a body formed as ours is. Never having seen or even heard of any rational animal except man, we are too ready to draw the conclusion—but surely a wholly unwarranted conclusion?—that there can be no other species of rational animal. But it were as easy, and not only as easy, but as natural for God to infuse a rational principle of life into a body formed on the plan of a bird, a fish, or an insect, or on any other plan, as into a body such as ours. We may go further and say that this would seem even congruous and consonant with God's character; for He is rich in invention, and limitless in resources, and He loves, from the very exuberance of His generosity, to surround Himself with variety (*circumdatus varietate*. Ps. xlv. 10), and seeks to manifest in innumerable ways His power, His wisdom, and His goodness.

That our own insignificant globe should be the only one inhabited, amid such untold myriads of vaster and nobler globes seems, as Father Selley observes, most unlikely. To maintain that here in this tiny atom, and here only, are to be found intelligences to admire, and to contemplate God's wondrous works, and not in the greater orbs, where the objects

of study and contemplation must be so unmeasurably more enchanting and magnificent and worthy of contemplation, is surely to maintain the thing that is not?

Why, indeed, should we not suppose that Sirius, the Dog-star, for example, is inhabited by intelligences supplied as ours are, with material forms or bodies? Sirius is calculated to be forty-eight times more brilliant than the Sun.<sup>1</sup> It is also many million times vaster than the earth, so that it would form a magnificent home and dwelling-place. On the theory that intelligences clothed with material forms are residing there we are obliged, of course, to admit that these forms are not as ours. But what of that? Our bodies are formed of matter, partly in a solid, and partly in a liquid state. Theirs might also be formed of matter, though certainly not in a solid state. No matter could retain its solid state in such a fiercely incandescent star. But does this fact present the slightest difficulty? Their bodies might be—say, of metal—but raised to a terrific temperature, so as to suit their totally different environment, and in a permanently gaseous state. Why not? Because it would break through all our preconceived notions? That is no reason whatever. Bodies so formed might seem, at first blush, too unsubstantial and unmanageable and unstable to serve as organs to a soul. But there is no cause to show why God should not give the soul a command and a control over such bodies, quite as complete as He has given our soul over its body of clay. In fact, if we altogether shut out from our minds the thought of our bodies, and imagine ourselves to be pure spirits in search of some material form in which to exercise our sensitive powers, we should find it quite as hard, and probably indeed very much harder to imagine ourselves using such a sodden thing as clay or slime, than the more subtle element of gas. A pure intelligence deliberating on the choice of a substance from which to make a material body, would probably discover greater aptitudes and higher possibilities in the active, subtle, and attenuated nature of gas, than in the solid, sullen-looking clay. If, then, even the less promising clay does actually serve our

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<sup>1</sup> Ball, page 384.

spirit so well, why should not a form, fashioned out of gas or air, serve it equally well or even a thousand times better?

One thing, at all events, seems abundantly clear: if God creates a spiritual substance like the soul, and clothes it with a corporal form, in any sense analogous to that of the body, and then places it to dwell in a star or a planet differing, however, slightly from the earth, the said 'corporal form' or body must, most certainly, be different to our bodies, since it must be adapted to, and in harmony with, *its* dwelling-place, which is different from *our* dwelling-place. In fact, it is imperative that it should be so fashioned and endowed as to be able to live in comfort and in health amid its actual surroundings.

Since, further, every star and planet does actually differ in many respects from our earth, it follows that wherever we may imagine reasonable beings to be, they must—at least as regards their bodies—differ very considerably from ourselves. But once we admit as possible a marked difference, there is no reason why we should limit it either in one direction or in another. Intellectual beings living, say in Sirius, or in Jupiter, are perfectly conceivable; only they must possess an organism and a form totally different from ourselves. They must possess different methods of locomotion, of nutrition, of speech, very possibly even different senses, and perhaps a larger number than have been given to us.

We, of course, cannot imagine other senses than the five we possess, but that is for the simple reason that nothing but actual experience can give us an idea of any sense whatever. Possessing but five senses, we cannot so much as imagine what a sixth sense would be like. But did we possess but four, the same difficulty would arise in imagining a fifth, and, if but three, of imagining a fourth, and so on. No man, born stone-blind—no man who has never had the organ of sight, knows what vision is. Even those who see, cannot explain sight to him so that he can form a really clear and accurate notion of it.

Consequently, the inhabitants of some gigantic sun (while like to us in being composed of spirit and matter), will be unlike to us in a vast number of other respects: perhaps resembling man, because compounded of a spiritual and



immortal soul, united to a mortal and material body, yet unlike, because the material body must be so totally different.

St. Thomas is of opinion that there are not only nine choirs of angels, but that each individual of each choir is of a distinct species, and different from all his companions. 'Impossible esse duos angelos unius speciei.' Why may we not suppose, in a similar way, that distinct species of composite beings dwell in each of the unnumbered stars all together forming one vast genus, of which the race of man is but a single and probably an inferior species?

Surveyed from some imaginary point, external to the starry universe, we might, perhaps, compare the innumerable stars scattered through space, as the flower beds or the seed-plots in a garden, each containing a genealogical tree of a different kind. A seed (Adam) is placed in the seed-plot of the earth, and the human tree growing up, spreads out its various branches, which we call European, Mongolian, Malayan, Australian, Negro, and the rest, but all connected, and, so to speak, united in one stem. Jupiter, and Saturn, and Sirius, etc., would be other seed-plots, each receiving a seed, suitable to its own particular soil and climate. These seeds would in their turn develop, expand, and throw out their varied branches, like the Adamite seed planted on earth. And all their respective branches would (as in our own case), spring from one stem, and be traceable to one common source, and terminate in one common ancestor.

Man once thought that the earth, his home, was the greatest orb in existence, and the centre of the universe, upon which sun and moon and all the stars danced attendance. Now he has learned modesty, and acknowledges that the earth is a very inferior planet indeed. Perhaps a time will come when he will also learn, that man, the inhabitant of the earth, is not the only rational animal in existence, but that there are vast numbers and varieties of rational animals, scattered through the universe, of which he is but a very poor and inferior specimen, a being of an altogether inferior order. Who knows?

J. S. VAUGHAN.

## 'THE KNIGHTS OF FATHER MATHEW'

**T**O the kindness of some unknown friend I have been lately indebted for a copy of the *Sacred Heart Review* of Boston, U.S.A., and amongst other good things which I read in that very excellent periodical was an article on the 'Knights of Father Mathew.' The article, too short to satisfy my curiosity, stimulated my desire to know more on a subject which strongly aroused my interest and arrested my attention, and so I wrote for the Laws and Constitutions of the Association with a view to see if we could not emulate them on this side of the 'ferry' and they now lie before me.

'The Knights of Father Mathew' is a Catholic, Total Abstinence, Benevolent, and Insurance Organisation, founded at St. Louis, Missouri, U.S.A., on the 18th July, 1881. It is based on the principles enunciated by Theobald Mathew, the great apostle of temperance. A report of its proceedings lately published makes this quite clear, it says:—

While the members of the Knights of Father Mathew have every reason to be proud of its splendid record as a cheap and safe Insurance Society and the great good it has done in distributing large sums of money among the widows and orphans and other dependents of its deceased members, yet those things are but infinitesimal when compared with the good it has done by reason of its advocacy of the great living principle of Temperance. In all our endeavours towards the upbuilding of our Order we should always keep in mind and to the front that grand basic principle of our Order—Temperance. When insurance and all other worldly and material schemes have ceased to attract, the great moral principle of Temperance will live, and if we wish to perpetuate the existence of our insurance feature, we must ever be alive to the fact that Temperance is the paramount feature of our organisation. In our efforts to extend the scope of our Order we should endeavour to be temperate in all things. Our words, our actions, and our conduct towards others should ever be tempered so that we may be beyond the suspicion of phariseism or fanaticism. Neither should we be too cowardly to at all proper times proclaim our Temperance principles, or to disseminate them to the best of our ability. We should be true Catholics, or otherwise

we cannot be true men, or true to our Society. No member of it should ever allow himself to do anything inconsistent with such membership.

It surely needs no words of mine to recommend these noble sentiments to the attention of our Irish temperance advocates, nor is it necessary to say that an association which promulgates them is worthy of admiration and imitation, and it is in order that we may not only admire but imitate, I write this article, to bring the matter under the notice of all who are engaged in Temperance work, and especially the members of the 'Father Mathew Union.'

Though Shakespeare asks the question, 'What's in a name?' and thereby implies that there is nothing or not much, most people think there is a great deal, and hence we find our American Cousins, their republican simplicity notwithstanding, dubbing their members 'Knights,' and their officers 'Supreme Chief Sir Knight,' 'Supreme Deputy Chief Sir Knight,' 'Supreme Recorder,' 'Supreme Banker,' and 'Supreme Sentinel.' There is also a 'Supreme Spiritual Director,' who has exclusive control over the spiritual affairs of the Order. Now we in Ireland are not, like our neighbours across the Channel, 'a nation of shopkeepers,' but rather a 'nation of nobles,' and living as we do under monarchical institutions, have a natural taste for titles, and therefore it would be found that 'Knight' was very attractive—if we would not accept the 'K.C.B.' let us be 'K.F.M.' If the other titles were deemed too flamboyant we might substitute more modest ones.

I notice that there are no 'Dames' to correspond with the 'Knights.' Why should there not be? Why should the 'female persuasion' be excluded from the benefits? They do, it appears, admit women to a sort of moral membership, for in an 'Appeal to the Ladies' they say:—

The Knights of Father Mathew appeal to you in a special manner. It is conducted for your benefit especially. You are earnestly requested to influence your lady friends to join the Ladies' Auxiliary of the Knights of Father Mathew, and by your advice and example encourage the practice of total abstinence. It is a well-known fact that you, the innocent ones, are the greatest sufferers from the demon of intemperance. The Knights of Father Mathew extends its shield over your homes, and will bring contentment and happiness while the

father, brother, or son lives, and after the death of the loved one, it will provide for the protection of the widow and the orphan.

The objects of the Order are then set forth in sections 3, 4, 5:—

To unite, fraternally, male Catholics of sound bodily health and good moral character, between 12 and 50 years of age inclusively. To give all moral and material aid in its power to the members and those dependent on them. To educate the members socially, morally, and intellectually, and to assist the families, widows, orphans, or other beneficiaries of deceased members, in such a manner as may hereafter be enacted.

Passing over the next succeeding sections, which detail the respective duties of the officers, and which need not detain us at present, we come to the general laws of the Order dealing with the members. Section 56 says:—

Each applicant for membership shall sign the application form prescribed by the Supreme Council, stating his age, occupation, and residence, the name or names of his beneficiaries, and whether he had been previously rejected by any Council of the Order; and he must be recommended by a member of the Order in good standing.

Section 59 reads:—

All persons, on becoming members of this Order shall take the following PLEDGE: I promise, with divine assistance, to abstain from all intoxicating drinks, including cider, malt and fruit liquors, and to discountenance by advice and example intemperance in others; and I do further pledge myself to faithfully obey and support the constitutions, laws, by-laws, rules and regulations of this Order, and labour to the best of my ability to advance its objects and to promote the welfare, spiritual and temporal, of my fellow members.

After these follow sections having reference to the table of rates, payments of assessments, etc., and then we arrive at a most vital point, namely, that dealing with the *violation of the pledge*. Sections 78 to 81 provide for this, they say:—

Any member violating the Pledge shall be, by the very act, suspended, and when proved guilty shall be expelled, the expulsion to date and take effect from proved date of violation of pledge. The suspension shall work deprivation of all rights and claims of membership pending trial. Any member cognizant of such violation, and failing to report same shall be

reproved, suspended, or expelled, at the discretion of the Council. Any member of the Order found guilty of violating his pledge may be reinstated by the Council if he shall, within sixty days after such violation, make application to the Council of which he was a member, to be reinstated, and shall thereupon pay to the Supreme Recorder a fine of three dollars for the first offence, and five dollars for each subsequent offence, provided he shall have passed a satisfactory medical examination between the time of such violation and his reinstatement.

The fact that breach of the Pledge means forfeiture of all monies paid in is a most important feature of the society, and should prove a very strong stimulus and incentive to keep temperate, and the longer you were a member, the stronger would be your claim in the society and the stronger the hold of the society on you. I was speaking lately to a national teacher and he told me the attendance at the night classes was far in excess of that in the day school, the figures being 95 per cent. in the former and about 70 in the latter. I asked him how he accounted for this. Well, said he, ‘you see they have to pay in the night school and they want to get value for their money: they don’t pay in the day school, and what they get for nothing they don’t appreciate.’ So would it be with our ‘Knights’ if they had to pay for their knight-hood. The fact that the Order over and above being a Temperance Society, was also an *Insurance Company and Savings Bank* combined, would give it great stability and permanency.

Again I pass over several sections legislating for the beneficiaries, and the next one which arrests my attention is No. 99, which says:—

Any male Catholic who is of the full age of 12 years and not over 50 years, and competent to earn a livelihood, and *not engaged in the liquor traffic (for himself or in such service for another)*, may be admitted to the Order as a beneficiary member.

Immediately after this follows No. 100, which runs:—

All members of this Order shall be required to attend Holy Communion in a body with their respective Councils at least once a year.

Finally we read in section 125:—

A member who shall be guilty of any immoral practice or

improper conduct, violative of his duties and unbecoming his profession as a member of the Order, shall, upon conviction thereof, be reprimanded, suspended, or expelled, as the Council may determine.

In making these excerpts form the book of rules I have sinned, I fear mortally, by omission, seeing that there are over 170 sections, and that I have only quoted about a dozen. However, my *apologia* must be that I merely wish to call attention to the subject, rather than exhaust it. Anyone who desires fuller information I shall be happy to forward a copy of these rules to, but he will see for himself that many of them, admirable *in se*, are not, perhaps, imitable in our less progressive country. I should like to supplement these extracts by a quotation from a leaflet issued by the Order this New Year:—

What have the Knights of Father Mathew done? In twenty-one years the Order has paid half a million dollars to beneficiaries, making them secure against want. It has also distributed thousands of dollars for charitable and benevolent purposes to those who were sick and in distress. Its benevolent influence is extended in making the lives and homes of members and their families all that the Christian life and home should be, by crushing that monster of discord—Intemperance.

There is no other organisation that has done or can do so much as this Order for the protection and upbuilding of our fellow-man. By being a member you can, by advice and example, save many of those who are near and dear to you—in other words sobriety is the saving clause in every man's life. Keep our men and women sober and they will do the rest.

As a Catholic and a Christian man, as a husband, a father, a brother, a son, we ask you to pause for a moment. True, you are no drunkard, only what is termed a moderate drinker. Well, every inebriate, every unfortunate laid in a drunkard's grave, was once a moderate drinker. But, you say, 'I have sufficient self-control, will-power, to know when to stop.' Are you sure of this? You certainly are not. If you will but think and look about you, you will find thousands of examples of the best and strongest of men who have fallen, and who were superior to you in education, position, and social standing, by the insidious influence of drink. Why not you? Do you desire that which is greater than wealth, good health? Do you desire to live a long, peaceful and happy life? Then join the Knights of Father Mathew, which in the past twenty-one years has averaged only about seven deaths per year. Does

not this bespeak the good health and favourable chances of long life for its members? Does it not show that the Knights of Father Mathew is the cheapest insurance company in the country?

The Knights of Father Mathew should be the leading organisation in every parish in which a Council is established. Being sober men, they should be the ones on whom the parish priest should rely to lead in all parish work; and it should be a matter of duty for the members, both collectively and individually, to so deport themselves that both the clergy and the people should be impressed with the knowledge that the sober man is the one to be relied on for the advancement of religion and morals, and that by being sober and God-fearing men they have the means, and use it, for the up-building and development of all that is good in man.

The reproach has often been cast at us, Temperance people—I cannot say wholly without justification—that we *talk* a great deal and *do* very *little*. Now here is an eminently practical scheme, which, if properly managed, would have far-reaching consequences for our people, a scheme where talk will avail nothing and work will have a monopoly. Who more fitted to undertake it than the members of the 'Father Mathew Union'? I hope, therefore, that they will give it their blessing at their next annual general meeting in Dublin. In the 'F.M.U.' we have an organisation already formed, suited for the purpose in hand; our President could be (*ex officio*) President of the Knights of Father Mathew, our Vice-Presidents the Trustees in whose joint names all monies could be invested, our Diocesan Councillors its Directors, and each Priest could be Manager of his own parochial branch and the medium of communication with the General Secretary. If it be objected that this would be too large and unwieldy, let it be remembered that the American organisation has a membership of over three thousand, and embraces four States, viz., Missouri, Kansas, Illinois, and Iowa, any one of which is as large as Ireland, or larger.

But before our general meeting comes off we must prepare the ground. I therefore beg to invite all those who have charge of temperance associations and *especially those who have a Benefit Society attached thereto*, to favour me with their views, and we might then hold a preliminary meeting

to discuss the *pros* and *cons* and put the whole question in a feasible shape for consideration at the general meeting.

I must not close this article without a strong personal appeal to all the members of the 'F.M.U.' to *do something* in the sacred cause. What? If you have not a total abstinence society in your parish, start one forthwith—*cum permissu superiorum* of course—no parish, however small or rural, should be without one. If you already have a branch, join hands with us in affiliating it to the 'Knights of Father Mathew.'

I wish I could convince all Temperance workers, as I myself have been convinced by personal and rather sad experience of over twenty years, that *total abstinence* is the only panacea and that *mere temperance* societies will not cure the malady. An 'Anti-Whiskey League,' or an 'Anti-Beer League,' or a 'Lonely Pint League,' would be, I suppose, better than nothing, but they would be at best only weak and halting measures. I am here reminded of two stories *ad rem*. I happened one day to meet, at the house of a mutual friend, the wife of a great southern brewer. She said: 'I share your views on Temperance very largely, Father O'Brien, and if I had my way *I would close all the Distilleries*, it is they are doing the mischief, *but the Breweries do no harm!*' The second story runs thus. An old parish priest who held rather peculiar views as to the physical effects of certain liquors, on being told by a parishioner that he had been drunk, said to him: 'What did you drink, Mick?' 'Porther, your reverence.' 'Oh! why didn't you drink whiskey?'

I sometimes compare these halting societies to Ritualism. The Ritualist habituates and familiarises the people to the doctrines and ceremonies of the Church—incense, lights, Confessions, Masses, etc.—and so disabuses their minds of the old, crass bigotry on these points, but having led them so far on the road to truth, he halts and tells them *they have reached the goal*, and thus does more harm than good. So with the aforesaid societies, they are on the right road, but *they halt before they reach the drunkards*, and are not these the whole *raison d'être* of all temperance societies? If the former did not exist, the occupation of the latter would be gone.



Now, the drunkards will not join a society by themselves—who can blame them?—for if they did, it would be a ‘League of Reformed Drunkards,’ and who would join such? Nobody. Hence in order to reach them we first get at the strictly temperate people and say to them: ‘Come, throw the cloak of your charity over these poor fellows and cover their shame, join the League (1) for their sakes, (2) as an act of mortification for your own good, (3) for fear lest you should, by-and-bye, become like to them.

But let not the drunkard absorb *all* our sympathy. I confess I am more concerned for the ‘drinkard,’ or, call him what you will, ‘moderate drinker,’ or ‘immoderate drinker.’ He never, or seldom, gets drunk, but—will it be believed?—he often drinks more liquor, spends more money, and does more harm, aye, and sins more than the drunkard! We hear a wail about the £15,000,000 spent on drink every year. Who spends it? The drunkards. By no means. They might possibly *swim* in it, but they could not possibly drink it, for they are a small minority of the population. No, my honest, ‘moderate drinkers,’ don’t try to blink facts, *you* are the consumers. Hear what Cardinal Manning says about you:

There is a good number of people who have never been drunk in their lives, but who have often been not quite sober. They use that which is lawful in what is called ‘moderation.’ The other day I asked myself how I could best define ‘moderation,’ and this was my thought: ‘It is that immeasurable and often immense quantity which cannot be measured,’ and those who make a rule of ‘moderation’ very often do not know where it begins or where it ends. We are resolved to save not only those who are under the dominion of drink, but those who are under the dominion of ‘moderation.’<sup>1</sup>

Some reformers look to the ‘better housing of the poor’ as the remedy. Yet what is the fact? The man in the neat, modern cottage is just as fond of the ‘pub.’ as he of the old, dirty hovel; the drunkard is to be found in the castle, well fed and well clad, as often as in the hut, with poor clothes and bad diet. Our people are not a domesticated people, many of them have houses but not homes, they are not a reading

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<sup>1</sup> Dr. O’Riordan’s Inaugural Address to Father Mathew Union—see Report for 1902, p. 24.

folk and hence they seek abroad what they do not find at home, and they go to the pub. for it—for the matter of that do not their 'betters' go to the club?—and therefore it is of the highest importance that there should be halls provided for them, with *cafés* attached, especially for fair days and markets.

Some, again, say: 'Give me the children, the next generation.' But I reply, give me the present generation, I have not patience enough to wait for the next, let it take care of itself. We are all in the habit of pledging the children, 'until you are twenty-one,' and the very phrase suggests to them their freedom when that point is reached, and, for the most part, *they use it*. To suppose that by thus pledging them, they will never drink is a fallacy as proved by facts; the taste or habit of drink may be acquired in a week or a day. It is entirely a question of will-power; the very best total abstainers I have ever met, were those who were steeped in drink for years. The children do not need it when they get it, and it is no guarantee for the future, and besides all this, crowding the society with them leads the adults to think that after all the pledge is only a thing suited for children.

For us priests the question is not, Is there any danger of my becoming over-fond of drink? nor, Would my taking the pledge give good example to my flock? nor, Could I preach more effectively against the evils of drink if I did? But this is the question, Is not intoxicating drink a luxury? It is, and I, as a priest, ought not to indulge in luxuries. *Ergo*.

WALTER O'BRIEN, C.C.

# Notes and Queries

## LITURGY

### THE USE OF 'THESAURUS FIDELIUM' IN LITANY OF THE HOLY NAME

REV. DEAR SIR,—We find in almost all our Rituals and Latin prayer books in the Litany of the Sacred Name:—‘Thesaurus fidelium.’ Why not ‘Thesaire’? The latest Ratisbon Ritual and Beringer happily give ‘Thesaire.’

M. O'CALLAGHAN.

*St. Vincent's Church, Cork.*

The difficulty proposed by our respected correspondent is a perfectly natural one. It is quite true that liturgical books generally, which contain the Litany of the Holy Name, have ‘Jesu, thesaurus fidelium.’ Now, the more correct form seems to be ‘Jesu, thesaure fidelium,’ since the other invocations, occurring in exactly the same context, are presumably in the vocative. We say, presumably, because as far as form goes many of them may be in the nominative.

Loth to accuse the learned compilers of our Liturgical manuals of disregarding so obvious a rule of Latin grammar, it occurred to us to inquire whether there was any warranty in the ancient classical authors for the use of the nominative instead of the vocative case. Through the courtesy of an eminent classical scholar we have ascertained that the use of the nominative for the vocative is not uncommon in the older writers, especially in instances of solemn address. Thus Livy<sup>1</sup> has, ‘Audi tu, *populus Albanus*.’ In the Vulgate of the New Testament the usage is much more common. It is enough to refer to ‘Nolite timere, *pusillus grex*,’<sup>2</sup> ‘*Dominus meus et Deus meus*.’<sup>3</sup> While, in the well-known three-fold petition, which occurs in the Mass and after the Litanies, we have the

<sup>1</sup> *Hist.*, lib. i., 24. See Gildershuere, Latin Grammar, § 33, R. 6.

<sup>2</sup> St. Luke xii. 32.

<sup>3</sup> St. John xx. 28.

word 'Agnus' as a vocative—a form exactly parallel to 'thesaurus.' The same usage is found in the New Testament Greek, the nominative form of the noun with the article being used for the vocative. A notable example of this occurs in the Trisagion, which is sung by the choir on Good Friday during the adoration of the Cross by the people. Granting, then, that the use of the nominative for the vocative is allowable both in Latin and Greek, is there any reason for the preference sometimes shown the former? It is pointed out that there is. For, words like 'thesaurus' being of the class known as impersonal had no vocative form in common use. Hence, when such words are used in addresses, it is quite natural that the nominative, or better known form, should be used.

P. MORRISROE.

## CORRESPONDENCE

### 'PRIESTS AND TEMPERANCE REFORM'

REV. DEAR SIR,—Two things have recently been made very clear in the I. E. RECORD: that we, the priests of Ireland, have it practically in our power to make Ireland sober, and that we have not used this power as we should.

No doubt, in the past, there was somewhat of excuse in the unhealthy state of Public Opinion in reference to intemperance. This plea no longer exists; Public Opinion is waking, and no effort now made shall be barren of fruit. Are we free to allow this golden opportunity to slip? Surely, No.

What is to be done? Earnest Temperance workers, here and there, have already done much. To my mind, however, the great and universal reform that is certainly needed, cannot be achieved until universal, united, and concerted action is put into practice. We are all conversant with the example of the 'bundle of sticks.'

The revival of Irish Industries is just now a momentous and burning question of much practical importance; so also is the keeping at home of the 'bone and sinew' of the country. But, what can any of these avail so long as the money earned from industries, and the 'bone and sinew' are liable to be nearly all worse than wasted through the drink evil?

But then, the thousands that depend on the drink traffic, what is to become of them? Beyond the shadow of a doubt very many of these are persons of conscience and of the highest respectability; yet, there can be as little room for doubt, that very many of them, too, must depend for a livelihood on the sins and miseries brought about through excess in the use of drink. If all those who hold licences for the sale of intoxicants were strictly conscientious, very many of the evils of drink would soon disappear. Let, then, those who cannot 'live and thrive' with a sober Ireland find something else to do here at home, or 'leave their country for their country's good.' At any rate, excess in drink must be eradicated before the revival of industries can prove very beneficial; before it can be to much purpose to stem the tide of emigration; before Ireland can take that place she could, and should occupy, among the nations of the earth.

The remedying of the drink evil is, therefore, *the* most burning question now. The time is ripe for action. What part are we priests to play? First of all, we must convince ourselves of our duty and our power. Then we must go to work earnestly, both by example and by word. I do not mean to imply that up to this we have given bad example; but I do mean to imply that there is more need of care and watchfulness in this regard now than there ever was before. Besides, it is a well-known axiom that no words can have effect that are not backed up by corresponding deeds.

What kind of example are we to give? Surely that dictated by reason and common sense, and that which we desire our people to follow: that is, never to take ardent spirits unless we have a conscientiously good, solid reason for so doing, and not even then unless we know for certain that any persons who may be aware of our act, are aware also that we have such solid reason. It is another question when a good, solid reason for the use of intoxicants is really forthcoming. Many hold there is never any beneficial result from the use of intoxicating drink. Yet, since the Author of all things has also given us alcohol, it would seem that it must have some good use; it can hardly be put down as a wholly unmixed evil; though, plainly, it was never intended to be used as it is used now. If, however, it is never taken but as right reason dictates, that is, in case of real necessity or utility, it will be taken very seldom, and then in limited quantity; abuse and bad example will be avoided, and this is all that is required.

Example in *taking* is not enough, it must embrace *giving* as well. We must never give intoxicating drink to others unless we know they have a good, solid reason for its use.

By our example we must demolish the drink-catechism that unfortunately has gained foothold in Ireland for centuries, working so much mischief; and we must promulgate and inculcate a new, and the only rational one.

And this is the work we have to do by word also. What is this drink-catechism we have to abolish? It may be stated briefly in the old verse which runs thus:—

‘The wine is good: a friend is nigh:  
I thirsty am, or may be by-and-by:  
Or any other reason why.’

Take a drop because the material is good: take a drop

because you have met a friend : if you are thirsty take a drop : take a drop lest you might be thirsty ; and, if you have none of these reasons for taking a drop, take a drop for the mere gratification of taking it, because you like it, have a taste for it, and so on. I think we all must admit that this is the drink-catechism Ireland has irrationally adopted in the past, the catechism that has ruined and impoverished our country, the catechism that must be wiped out before she can be made sober and prosperous. It were all very well if the taking of intoxicating drink was not so dangerous as it is : but since it is, it is a violation and a perversion of right reason to take it at all in the absence of some real necessity or utility.

The abolition of this heterodox catechism will embrace all our unmeaning and baneful drink customs, such as drinking at weddings and christenings, at social meetings and parties, and the like—I shall not mention wakes and funerals ; drinking in connection with these would be altogether un-Christian, and worse—and will embrace all that from which abuse arises.

The abolition of the old drink-catechism accomplished, we shall have progressed far in establishing the new. We must, however, produce arguments against, I shall not say the abuse, but, the misuse of intoxicating drink : it is misuse that leads to abuse. Week in, week out, we must point out by example and by word, that it is totally against right reason to use intoxicating drink at all unless in case of real necessity or usefulness. We must proclaim to heads of houses and to parents that they are under a most solemn obligation in regard to what may occur in their homes, or in regard to their children ; that they must render a strict account for any abuse they permit or co-operate in ; that parents must not give drink to their little ones ; and that by example, word, and act, they must save them from the temptation as far as they possibly can. We must constantly harp on the sin, the shame, the disgrace, and the many other evil results of drink ; how it destroys reason, our only guide ; how it robs its victims of the grace and friendship of God ; brings them down and degrades them in the esteem of their fellow-men ; unfits them for positions of honour and trust ; how it casts to the winds self-respect ; renders the young incapable of ever growing to strength and manhood ; wastes and destroys health and money ; ruins industry ; weakens the mind ; leads to poverty, the workhouse, the madhouse ; makes homes unhappy, miserable, and wretched ; and opens the door to all sorts of evils, degradation, vice, and crime.

The natural motives will be found most useful when properly and earnestly handled, more useful with many than the supernatural ones ; and in all cases they will make a good foundation whereon to raise the supernatural.

I know some will say this method propounds nothing new. Perhaps not. But has it been used unitedly and universally? this is what I desire to urge especially : this is what is wanted : is it not in this we have failed?

But will this method, if adopted, make Ireland sober? Yes; with Public Opinion roused and waxing healthy as at present, it is bound to succeed. Effort, united and constant, is required, but success is assured. The proof of this is not far to find ; for, in parishes where such effort has been made drunkenness has practically disappeared.

In skilful warfare all sorts of arms and stratagems that are legitimate and honourable should be used. The combatting of the drink evil in Ireland must be a warfare. If we are to succeed, there must be no truce, or parley, or cowardice ; the war must be ceaseless and irreconcilable. And, again I repeat it, there must be persistent and dogged unity and universality of action amongst us, the leaders and officers : one may use one kind of arms and stratagems ; another, another ; but all must fight as one man for the one object and end ; this, and this alone, will ensure victory. Thus we shall aid and strengthen Public Opinion, raising it up to proclaim that intoxicating drink is so dangerous that it should never be used without a conscientiously good, sound, solid reason ; and that its results are so degrading and disgraceful, that the intemperate man should be regarded as really degraded and disgraced.

One point we must not forget to insist upon : that the tippler is the worst class of imbibor ; that, though drunkenness is in itself more sinful, yet, tipping or half-drunkenness is more degrading, more sinful, and more dangerous in its consequences ; for, drunkenness renders its victims powerless to do harm, while half-drunkenness looses the restraining bridle and still leaves its victims able and disposed to perpetuate all sorts of vice and crime—dangerous beasts of prey.

We must not merely point out the evils of drink as motives to abstain, but also the remedies and helps to be adopted : watching and prayer. Watching, by shunning the dangers, by joining our temperance and other useful societies ; lawful recreations and amusements, which we should try to provide



as far as possible ; and such-like aids and counter attractions. Prayer ; by frequent reading and meditation on the evils of drink, and the beauty and benefits of sobriety, and the ease with which the taste for intoxicants is contracted ; suitable vocal prayers for light and strength ; Holy Mass ; frequenting the sacraments of Penance and the Holy Eucharist as often as new light and strength are needed ; special prayers to the Sacred Heart of Jesus, that bore such thirst on account of sins of intemperance ; and a special prayer, in all public and family devotions, for the repression of intemperance.

Our duty is pressing. We have the power. The means are abundant. The harvest is ripe. One long, strong, united pull, and the enemy is vanquished ; victory is ours for our country, too long bleeding to death from intemperance. Surely we shall not fail !

We cannot hope to entirely exterminate the monster ; but we can greatly aid Public Opinion in assigning it its proper place ; that is on a par with theft, immorality, and such-like degrading and revolting crimes and vices. A little thought, a little prayer, a little labour and self-sacrifice : our fatherland redeemed, and a reward exceeding great. Our country calls. Surely she shall not call in vain.

JAMES M'GLINCHY, C.C.

*Claudy, Derry.*

#### FATHER HAYS AT BRADFORD

REV. DEAR SIR,—I was edified in reading in the *Irish Catholic* of 27th December, an account of Father Hays' temperance address at a meeting in Bradford. But what made the strongest impression on me was the announcement, by the chairman, that 'Canon Simpson, Rector of St. Mary's Catholic Church, had taken the pledge as an example to his people. It would be a great acquisition to the cause.' It reminded me of a letter which I received twenty-five years ago from the late Most Rev. Dr. Warren, Catholic Bishop of Wexford. When acknowledging the receipt of my *Moral Discourses* he called attention to the following passage : 'In the New Testament it is narrated that there was a certain lunatic who was possessed of an evil spirit from his youth, and the Apostles attempted to cast out the spirit, but they could not. So they told our Saviour, who said to them, "That this spirit is of the

kind that cannot be cast out, but by fasting and prayer." Now experience has incontestably proved that the demon of intemperance, like the dumb spirit in the Gospel, is of the kind that can be cast out by those who desire to cast him out only by their fasting from intoxicating drinks and by prayer; and it is worthy of note that it was the Apostles to whom our Divine Lord gave the advice to fast and pray if they would have power over the evil spirit. In like manner, let the fasting from intoxicating drinks be first begun by those who are free from the demon of intemperance, and soon the blessed power will be theirs, to deliver their brothers from the degrading thralldom which now possesses them, and to banish intemperance from the land.'

The Bishop wrote: 'I hope in your next edition you will alter the sentence beginning, "In like manner, etc." and insert the words that ought logically be found there, viz., "By those who represent the Apostles, and soon the blessed power, etc."' The sentence would then represent a perfect truism.'

It is evident that Canon Simpson in taking the pledge has adopted the course recommended by Dr. Warren, viz. :— 'In like manner, let the fasting from intoxicating drinks be first begun by those who represent the Apostles, and soon the blessed power will be theirs, to deliver their brothers from the degrading thralldom which now possesses them, and to banish intemperance from the land.'

I hope that Father Hays will be successful in getting all those who, like Canon Simpson, represent the Apostles, to take the total abstinence pledge, mindful of the solemn warnings quoted by Father Hays from St. Augustine: 'Since you could have saved your brother and have not saved him, then you are your brother's murderer.' (With the help of God he would never be the murderer of any man.) And again, from St. Paul: 'Since the taking of this kind of food scandalize my brother, I will not take that food for ever.'

I have to add that I often find myself speculating on the progress the Temperance cause would make if the suggestion of Bishop Warren were literally adopted by all the clergy, for whom I believe it was evidently intended.—Yours faithfully,

P. O'KEEFFE, P.P.

*Cappawhite, Dec. 31st, 1902.*

## ST. BRIGID AND ST. MEL

WE have received from the Very Rev. Canon O'Farrell, P.P., V.F., Ardagh, Edgeworthstown, the subjoined letter of His Eminence Cardinal Moran, Archbishop of Sydney, in reference to the relations between St. Mel, the Patron of Ardagh, and St. Brigid of Kildare. There was already good authority for the assertion that it was St. Mel who conferred the veil on St. Brigid, and that the very name *Macaille* means the Bishop of the Veil. This contention is now confirmed by the authority of His Eminence Cardinal Moran.

THE IRISH COLLEGE, ROME.

28th October, 1902.

MY DEAR FATHER O'FARRELL,—At the request of the Right Rev. Monsignor Murphy, Rector of the Irish College, I write one line to say that according to the ancient authentic records, the great Patron of your Diocese was privileged to give the Sacred Veil to St. Brigid, one of the chief Patrons of all Erin.

It is a pleasure to find that interest is being awakened regarding the history of our early Saints, and I trust that measures may be taken betimes to preserve the few memorials of our sainted forefathers that still remain.

Very few of the Diocesan Patrons stand forth in the history of the Irish Church so prominently and so gloriously as your own special Patron St. Mel.

I sail for my distant Diocese on next Sunday from Naples, and I earnestly commend myself to your pious prayers.—Yours very faithfully,

✠ PATRICK F. CARDINAL MORAN,  
*Archbishop of Sydney.*

## 'THE PROPER STIPEND FOR A MISSION'

REV. DEAR SIR,—A query by 'Justus,' and its rejoinder by 'Honestus,' in the current number of the *Ecclesiastical Review* (American), anent the title of this letter, prompt me to give your readers a missionary's view of the question so far as it applies to the somewhat different circumstances of parochial and missionary life in Ireland.

While, therefore, embodying the substance of the writer's  
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reply in the above-named American Review, I shall accommodate it to the existing circumstances of Irish life. I have no other credentials to write upon the subject, save that I am an old missionary myself, and belong to an Order engaged in missionary life in Ireland.

The parishes of Ireland, as financially considered on behalf of their pastors, may be divided into two classes, *medium* or *good*, and *well-off*. Very poor or needy parishes, as so commonly found in England and in some parts of America, are so exceptional, that I am not inclined to constitute them a special division. What, then, should be considered a proper, fair, and just stipend for missionaries in those numerous parishes in Ireland, in which, though the parishioners, as a rule, belong to the humbler and working class, nevertheless *de facto* provide becoming churches and presbyteries, and equally becoming support for their parish priests and curates?

Such parishes are evidently in a position to defray generously the expenses of a mission.

For the missionary emolument there seems to me two courses open to the pastors: either to agree beforehand with the missionaries, or rather with their superiors, upon the stipend to be given for the work required; or, what I think would be more satisfactory to the very people who bring the grist to the mill, to announce at the opening of the mission by the parish priest himself, that the Sunday evening collections and the closing day's collections, minus the usual Sunday Mass collection, will be for the 'Holy Fathers.'

This, while satisfying both parties that the labourer is offered something 'worthy of his hire,' would obviate that much to be deplored temptation of exorbitant charges at the doors.

In the second case, by no means uncommon in Ireland, where both priests and people may be said to be comfortably well off, the simplest and most satisfactory, while a fair and equitable procedure, would be to require the hard labours of the missionaries by a stipend of not less than *fifteen pounds* each per week. It is true the Americans consider it should be twenty pounds; but, as I said at the beginning, the circumstances of the countries are different.

In support of my suggested stipend, it may be well to quote a passage in the rejoinder alluded to:—'The stipend of one hundred dollars per week for each man is extremely

moderate when one considers the great outlay of money which the religious spends in preparing a man for this work ; the short time a man can be employed in so exhausting a labour ; the time spent in recuperating after each mission, to say nothing of personal and travelling expenses.' To these just sentiments, I think it only right to add, that such are the conditions of religious life in Ireland, that very often the Orders have to spare missionaries from other work to supply a sufficient staff, thereby occasioning to individual convents or monasteries a *damnum emergens* and *lucrum cessans*.

In the case of extremely poor parishes, to which I have alluded to as exceptional, the advice of 'Honestus' seems the only expedient for a parish priest, namely, to ask the missionaries to give his people a mission *for the pure love of God*. Such a plaintive and exceptional cry *ad misericordiam* would not be unavailing to any truly missionary Order.

In conclusion, let me add a word about retreats. These retreats in Ireland are too often *pseudo* names for small missions ; and yet, as a rule, one priest is expected to bear the whole burden. Until these cease to be so popular, I deem the above stipend (£15) to be altogether inadequate.—Yours sincerely,

HONESTUS SECUNDUS.

#### DIOCESAN EXAMINATIONS

REV. DEAR SIR,—Within recent years the highly important diocesan examination of pupils in Christian Doctrine has been introduced. Amongst other causes of its introduction may be reckoned the fearful leakage from the Church in England and America of ignorant Irish Catholics, who, had they remained at home, would, with their children, have been preserved to the Church by association, public opinion, hereditary sentimentality, or at least the absence of those dangers which menace them abroad. When they emigrated, not being able to account for the faith that was in them, they easily succumbed to non-Catholic influences, or at least became indifferent to the religious training of their children, who in time were lost to the faith. That ignorance was the main cause of the loss of faith is shown by the fact that the leakage chiefly took place amongst those who emigrated from rural districts, while it was practically unknown amongst those who went from cities and towns where

their faith was strengthened by frequent sermons, and the teaching of the monks and the nuns. In the latter case abstention from Mass or the Sacraments for a time may occur, but apostasy or non-baptism of children, rarely, if ever.

Too much praise cannot be bestowed on the zealous efforts made to remedy such an evil. But as the noblest efforts in the best causes have often been rendered useless through defects in the means employed, so the present efforts to instruct the rising generation, are not producing the results that ought to be expected when we consider the zeal and labour spent.

The causes of this loss are, first, individualism rather than nationalism in the drawing up of a programme ; second, caprice rather than reason and religion in the examination of the children. Individualism has led to various editions of the Catechism and, what is worse, to different formulas for the Act of Contrition. When a new pupil, who comes from another diocese, is examined by the teacher in his catechism, a not unusual answer is, 'That question wasn't in my catechism, sir. Mine had a different cover from yours.' The child in some cases cannot join in the prayers, alleging, 'That wasn't the way we said it in our place.' Ireland is so small that it ought not to be difficult to establish uniformity in this matter. Caprice is more hurtful in its effects. Examiners in some cases have a stereotyped set of catch questions. This is soon known. A teacher visits a neighbouring school after the examination and asks 'What questions did your boys get?' He takes them down, coaches his pupils, and gets 'Very Good' in his report for his cleverness.

A Parish Priest is sometimes to be found who will coach the teacher who hasn't sense to get the questions himself. A poor teacher who works hard but is too honest to try underhand means, must be content with 'Fair,' or 'Poor,' on his report.

Some of these questions are such that they are not much benefit, and perhaps may be hurtful. I give a few actually copied from notes handed round by the teachers to one another as being the questions given in their schools. 'Is an angel a man or a woman?' 'What are his wings made of?' 'If Adam came on earth could your sister marry him?' 'Which sacrilege was the cause of Judas's despair—the selling of our Lord or his unworthy Communion?' etc. In some cases the questions fill a dozen pages of MSS. Besides these, an extensive programme must be gone through, the result being that the teacher must

ram the Christian Doctrine into unwilling heads at the cost of time, patience, and justice to himself, and bitter tears and sighs for freedom from such thralldom, from the children.

This kind of catechetical work has been overdone in France, and we are not admirers of modern French youth.

The greatest evil is that this system of cramming excludes practical instruction on the proper fulfilment of religious duties, the overcoming of temptations, and the practice of virtue. Thomas à Kempis says : ' I would sooner feel compunction than know its definition.' What good is it for a child to win a prize for knowing accurately how many persons, natures, and wills in God the Son and the minute details of His Passion, if he was never exhorted to imitate His patience in suffering or His forgiveness of injuries? What benefit is it to know all the technical terms connected with the Blessed Eucharist if the child does not know how to spend the quarter hour after Communion profitably? What advantage to the child to be told the difference between theft and robbery if the teacher has not time to teach him to pray for help when tempted to steal ; or having time, does not think it necessary because ' That question won't be asked.'

The evils of the modern system will not be fully felt till the next generation, when the present men and women will have passed away. Of course it must not be understood that this regrettable state of affairs is universal. It exists sufficiently to excite alarm.

The following remedies are suggested :—

1. Same edition of the Catechism throughout Ireland.
2. Same formula for Act of Contrition, etc.
3. When a short Catechism is used, the text should be taken *verbatim* from the larger edition.
4. A moderate programme for each standard.
5. The singing of hymns to form part of programme.
6. The teachers of each district to be brought together occasionally and the requirements of the programme to be explained and a series of model instructions in Catechism to be given in their presence. (If we have organisers in Hand and Eye Training, Science, Music, etc., why not have them in Catechism?)
7. Teachers to be impressed that their instructions must be, according as the text requires, either (a) doctrinal, (b) moral, (c) devotional, (d) preservative ; the examiner to pay as much attention to (b), (c), and (d), as to (a), and to supply as far as possible the deficiencies of the teacher.

8. The reports not to be made public.
9. In appointing teachers, qualifications as a good catechist to have great weight.
10. Pastors and curates to interest themselves regularly and not spasmodically in the catechetical instruction.
11. Diocesan examiners to hold an annual conference among themselves.
12. A general annual report to be issued for the benefit of priests and teachers, containing accounts of defects in teaching, improved methods, suggestions, etc.—Faithfully yours,

EXPERIENTIA.

### PRIESTS AND TEMPERANCE

REV. DEAR SIR,—I am very grateful to Father Coffey for his kind appreciation of my imperfect paper on Temperance Propaganda. He says, however, that he cannot agree with my views about Temperance *v.* Total Abstinence. Well, if he does not agree with me, I am glad to say—pardon the presumption—that I agree with practically everything he has said. I have spent too much time in meditating on Temperance problems, and in studying Irish human nature, to entertain for a single moment the chimerical idea of making *all* our good people total abstainers. Like him, I hold that whilst aiming at total abstinence, we should welcome every Temperance society and movement as useful auxiliaries.

I would like to call the attention of priests—especially managers of schools—to the new edition of his *Temperance Reader*, brought out by the cultured and eminent physician, Sir Francis Cruise. It is published in Dublin at 1s. net. As this reader is approved by the Commissioners of National Education, the managers of our National Schools should see that it is used at least once a week as a reader for the higher classes. Every efficient manager of a primary school gives prizes to the pupils for special merit in some one department. This *Reader* is the very best prize for young boys. The Rectors of our Intermediate colleges and schools might save many a young life from the withering blight of intemperance if they distributed this *Reader* in their schools. As Sir Francis Cruise is in the very foremost rank of his profession, his words must have great weight, and will assuredly bring conviction to the



minds of many who would not listen to the mere Temperance reformer. Apart from his acknowledged medical pre-eminence, his literary attainments have won for him a world-wide fame. His *Reader* is very simple in its diction, clear in its statements, cogent in its reasoning. It places the Temperance cause on a medically logical basis. Hence I hope it will be well read and well known in our primary and secondary schools.—I remain, Rev. Dear Sir, yours faithfully,

JOHN FENELON, C.C.

**'IS OUR EARTH ALONE INHABITED?'**

REV. DEAR SIR,—I have read with much interest the learned article of Rev. E. A. Selley, O.S.A., in the November number of the I. E. RECORD, entitled, 'Is our Earth alone Inhabited?' The gist of the argument therein elucidated is to show from the comparative insignificance of our earth in the universe that it cannot be considered as the only orb inhabited by intelligent beings, as it is by no means adequate to show forth fully 'The glory of God' the Creator. It is true that the unthinkable vastness of the figures quoted by the learned writer would seem to go far to prove his thesis. Yet there are some considerations which, I think, tend to show that our earth, notwithstanding its pigmy size among the mighty orbs of illimitable space, is still the favoured one in the eyes of its Creator, and the main object of the Divine Mind in the creation of the universe. I will venture here to propose two of those considerations. The first I will call a Historico-Theological argument. The second a Physical one.

The first I deduce from the ineffable fact of

**THE INCARNATION.**

I think I am within the bounds of orthodoxy in saying that not even the Omnipotence of God Himself could conceive or effectuate anything greater than the assumption by one of the Divine Persons of the nature of His creatures. The unifying of the Divine nature with the created nature in the human being, under the personality of the Eternal Son of God. The life, sufferings, and death of God Himself for the love of man! Can anything be conceived that could be done for the inhabitants of other globes (if such there be) that could surpass, or equal this excess of Divine love? 'Nec est alia Natio tam Grandis quae

habeat Deos appropinquantes sibi sicut Deus Noster adest nobis !' (Deut. iv. 7.)

The second argument, purely physical, I deduce from

#### THE CONFIGURATION OF THE HEAVENS.

The distribution of the stellar groups, the collocation of the constellations. These wondrous groups of stars are not thrown into the regions of space at hap-hazard as it were from a pepper caster. On the contrary, they are designed with exquisite skill and perfection ; they are placed with all the sublime knowledge of an Omniscient Intelligence: but more than that, they are so placed with a

#### SPECIAL REFERENCE TO OUR EARTH.

The wondrous and beautiful constellations, or star-groups, present to the observer from the surface of the earth certain figures, which when studied by the Christian astronomer show forth in beautiful and symbolic language the whole story of our redemption.

It is true that in the course of ages the primitive symbolism of the stars has been partly lost, buried under a mass of inane mythology by the pagan nations of Greece and Rome. But for centuries and millenaries before the rise of Grecian or Roman mythology the stars were known and mapped and named, probably by God Himself. '*Laudate Dominum . . . qui numerat multitudinem stellarum et omnibus eis nomina vocat.*' And they are placed, as I have said, with a special relation to our earth.

In the very beginning of Creation we are told that the stars are placed in the heavens ; that they should 'shine in the firmament of heaven and give light to the earth ;' and 'that they should be for signs.' (Gen. i. 14, 15.) They were, therefore, placed in their present positions, which they have occupied for thousands of years, that they might be *read* by men as signs. Through them God has spoken to men and given them a Revelation, when properly understood, as clearly as in the written words of Sacred Scripture. It is not for me just now to go further into the subject of the manifestation of all the truths of religion, of Christianity, of the Gospel, as shown forth in the star-groups. It is a beautiful but extensive study, one which I should like to see developed in the I. E. RECORD by the learned writer to whose article I allude. I will simply close by saying that from *no other standpoint* in the universe but the *earth*, do

these constellations present the same mystic and symbolic figures, and hence that they have been placed as they are for the special behoof and benefit of *man*. *Man*, with his wondrous gift of intelligence, that spark of the very Divinity itself ; *man*, bearing in his soul the living likeness of his Creator ; *man*, capable of enjoying the Beatific Vision and worthy of being redeemed by the Blood of his crucified God ! Such a being, I say, was a sufficiently adequate object for the display of the mighty power of the Creator in the creation of the stars. And to man alone He addresses these words : '*The Heavens show forth the glory of God, and the firmament declareth the works of His hands.*' (Ps. xviii. 1.)—I remain, Rev. and Dear Sir, faithfully yours,

M. F. H.

## DOCUMENTS

### RESOLUTIONS OF THE IRISH HIERARCHY ON (1.) THE LAND QUESTION, (2.) THE BELFAST QUEEN'S COLLEGE AND TECHNICAL INSTRUCTION

THE usual January meeting of the Standing Committee of the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland was held on Tuesday, 20th January, at the University College, Stephen's Green. The following resolutions were unanimously adopted :—

1. The holding on a recent occasion of a Conference between representatives of the tenant-farmers and of the landowners of Ireland the Bishops consider to be an event of the best augury for the future welfare of both classes, and they earnestly hope that the unanimity of the Conference will result, without further delay, in legislation that will settle the land question once for all, and give the Irish people of every class a fair opportunity to live in and serve their native land.

2. Having become aware, through the public Press, that a scheme for the co-ordination of the Queen's College, Belfast, with the proposed Technical Institute in Belfast, has recently been put forward, we protest against any action being taken for this purpose until the public have had an opportunity of considering the Report of the Royal Commission on University Education, and also any legislative proposals which the Government may make in reference thereto.

We take this opportunity of republishing a resolution adopted by us on the 1st of May, 1900 :—

The Standing Committee of the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland have had under consideration a scheme which they have reason to believe is in contemplation for utilising the Queen's Colleges in giving effect to the provisions of the Agricultural and Technical Instruction Act. They protest against any attempt—whether made under colour of carrying out a system of technical and agricultural instruction or otherwise—to give new life and extended endowments to institutions which

have been too long maintained in opposition to the persistent remonstrances of the Catholics of Ireland.

✠ MICHAEL Card. LOGUE, <i>Chairman.</i>	
✠ JOHN, Bishop of Clonfert,	} <i>Secretaries</i> to the Meeting.
✠ RICHARD ALPHONSUS, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore,	

### THE IMPEDIMENT OF 'COGNATIO SPIRITUALIS'

DECRETUM. SUPREMAE CONGREGATIONIS S. O. CIRCA FACULTATEM  
DISPENSANDI SUPER IMPEDIMENTO COGNATIONIS SPIRITUALIS.  
FERIA IV. DIE 3 DECEMBRIS, 1902.

In Congregatione Generali S. R. et Univ. Inquisitionis proposito dubio: *Utrum in formulis, quibus concedi solet facultas dispensandi super impedimento cognationis spiritualis, comprehendatur casus cognationis spiritualis inter baptizantem et baptizatum, in iisdem formulis non praevisus*: Eminentissimi ac Reverendissimi DD. Cardinales Inquisitores Generales respondendum decreverunt: *Negative; seu non posse qui concessa per praedictas formulas facultate gaudent, super impedimento cognationis spiritualis inter baptizantem et baptizatum dispensare; idque communicandum cum omnibus quorum interesse queat, atque in posterum expresse in formulis edicendum. Si quae vero matrimonia cum huiusmodi dispensatione, vi earumdem formularum concessa forte hucusque contracta fuerint; ad omnem circa eorum valorem quaestionem dirimendam, supplicandum SSmo., ut eadem in radice sanata declarare dignetur.*

Et sequenti feria VI, die 5 eiusdem mensis in solita audientia R. P. D. Adessori S. Officii impertita, SSmus. D. N. D. Leo divina providentia Pp. XIII relata Sibi Emorum Patrum resolutionem adprobare, et pro sanatione in radice iuxta eorum Emorum Patrum suffragia benigne annuere dignitatus est. Contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus.

(Ex Arch. S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide.)

**THE NEW FACULTY OF THEOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY  
OF STRASBURG**

E SECRETARIA STATUS. PERMITTITUR ERECTIO FACULTATIS  
THEOLOGICAE IN UNIVERSITATE ARGENTINENSI

Le soussigné Cardinal Mariano Rampolla, Secrétaire d'Etat de Sa Sainteté, de la part du Saint-Siège, et Monsieur le Baron Georges de Hertling, Chambellan de Sa Majesté le Roi de Bavière, membre du Reichstag de l' Empire Germanique, Sénateur du Royaume de Bavière, membre de l' Académie Royale Bavaroise des Sciences, professeur à l'Université de Munich, délégué de la part du Gouvernement Impérial Allemand, sont convenus des articles suivants :

*Article 1.*

L'instruction scientifique sera donnée aux jeunes clercs du diocèse de Strasbourg par une faculté de Théologie catholique qui sera érigée à l'Université de Strasbourg. En même temps, le Grand Séminaire épiscopal continuera d'exister et de fonctionner pour l'éducation pratique desdits clercs, qui y recevront l'enseignement nécessaire dans toutes les matières se rapportant à l'exercice des fonctions sacerdotales.

*Article 2.*

La dite faculté comprendra notamment les branches suivantes :

1. La propédeutique théologique à la philosophie ;
2. La théologie dogmatique ;
3. La théologie morale ;
4. L'apologétique ;
5. L'histoire ecclésiastique ;
6. L'exégèse de l'Ancien Testament ;
7. L'exégèse du Nouveau Testament ;
8. Le droit canon ;
9. La théologie pastorale, et
10. L'Archéologie sacrée.

*Article 3.*

La nomination des professeurs se fera après entente préalable avec l'Evêque. Avant d'entrer en fonctions, les professeurs auront à faire la profession de foi entre les mains du doyen, suivant les formes et règles de l'Eglise.

*Article 4.*

Les rapports entre la faculté et ses membres d'un côté et l'Eglise et les autorités ecclésiastiques de l'autre, sont déterminés par les Réglements établis pour les facultés de Théologie catholique de Bonn et de Breslau.

*Article 5.*

Si la preuve est fournie par l'autorité ecclésiastique qu'un des professeurs doit être considéré comme incapable de continuer son professorat, soit pour manque d'orthodoxie, soit en raison de manquements graves aux règles de vie et de conduite d'un prêtre, le Gouvernement pourvoira, sans délai, à son remplacement et prendra les mesures propres à faire cesser la participation dudit professeur aux affaires confiées à la faculté.

Rome le 5 Décembre, 1902.

MARIANO Card. RAMPOLLA.

Baron GEORGES DE HERTLING.

**APOSTOLIC LETTER OF HIS HOLINESS POPE LEO XIII.  
INSTITUTING THE COMMISSION ON THE STUDY OF  
SCRIPTURE**

EX ACTIS LEONIS XIII. ET E SECRETAR. BREVIUM  
SANCTISSIMI DOMINI NOSTRI LEONIS DIVINA PROVIDENTIA PAPAE  
XIII LITTERAE APOSTOLICAE QUIBUS CONSILIUM INSTITUITUR  
STUDIIS SACRAE SCRIPTURAE PROVEHENDIS

LEO PP. XIII.

*Ad perpetuam rei memoriam.*

Vigilantiae studiique memores, quo *depositum fidei* Nos quidem longe ante alios sartum tectumque praestare pro officio debemus, litteras encyclicas *Providentissimus Deus* anno MCCCXCIII dedimus quibus complura de studiis Scripturae sacrae data opera complectebamur. Postulabat enim excellens rei magnitudo atque utilitas, ut istarum disciplinarum rationibus optime, quoad esset in potestate Nostra, consuleremus, praesertim cum horum temporum eruditio progrediens quaestionibus quotidie novis, aliquandoque etiam temerariis, aditum ianuamque patefaciat. Itaque universitatem catholicorum, maxime qui sacri essent ordinis, commonefecimus quae cuiusque pro facultate

sua partes in hac caussa forent ; accurateque persecuti sumus qua ratione et via haec ipsa studia provehi congruenter temporibus oporteret. Neque in irritum huiusmodi documenta Nostra cecidere. Iucunda memoratu sunt quae subinde sacrorum Antistites alique praestantes doctrina viri magno numero obsequii sui testimonia deferre ad Nos maturaverint ; cum et earum rerum, quas perscripseramus, opportunitatem gravitatemque efferrent, et diligenter se mandata effecturos confirmarent. Nec minus grate ea recordamur, quae in hoc genere catholici homines re deinceps praestitere, excitata passim horum studiorum alacritate.—Verumtamen insidere vel potius ingravescere caussas videmus easdem, quamobrem eas Nos Litteras dandas censuimus. Necesse est igitur illa ipsa iam impensius urgeri praescripta : id quod Venerabilium Fratrum Episcoporum diligentiae etiam atque etiam volumus commendatum.

Sed quo facilius uberiusque res e sententia eveniat, novum quoddam auctoritatis-Nostrae subsidium nunc addere decrevimus. Etenim cum divinos hodie explicare tuerique Libros, ut oportet, in tanta scientiae varietate tamque multiplici errorum forma, maius quiddam sit, quam ut id catholici interpretes recte efficere usquequaque possint singuli, expedit communia ipsorum adiuvari studia ac temperari auspicio ductuque Sedis Apostolicae. Id autem commode videmur posse consequi si, quo providentiae genere in aliis promovendis disciplinis usi sumus, eodem in hac, de qua sermo nunc est, utamur. His de caussis placet, certum quoddam Consilium sive, uti loquuntur, *Commissionem* gravium virorum institui : qui eam sibi habeant provinciam, omni ope curare et efficere, ut divina eloquia et exquisitorem illam, quam tempora postulant, tractationem passim apud nostros inveniant, et incolumnia sint non modo a quovis errorum afflatu, sed etiam ab omni opinionum temeritate. Huius Consilii praecipuam sedem esse addecet Romae, sub ipsis oculis Pontificis maximi : ut quae Urbs magistra et custos est christianae sapientiae, ex eadem in universum christianae sapientiae, ex eadem in universum christianae reipublicae corpus sana et incorrupta huius quoque tam necessariae doctrinae praeceptio influat. Viri autem ex quibus id Consilium coalescet, ut suo muneri, gravi in primis et honestissimo, cumulate satisfaciant, haec proprie habebunt suae navitati proposita.

Primum omnium probe perspecto qui sint in his disciplinis hodie ingeniorum cursus, nihil ducant instituto suo alienum, quod recentiorum industria repererit novi : quin imo excubent



animo, si quid dies afferat utile in exegesis Biblicam, ut id sine mora assumant communemque in usum scribendo convertant. Quamobrem ii multum operae in excolenda philologia doctrinisque finitimis, earumque persequendis progressionibus collocent. Cum enim inde fere consueverit Scripturarum oppugnatio existere, inde etiam nobis quaerenda sunt arma, ne veritatis impar sit cum errore concertatio.—Similiter danda est opera, ut minori in pretio ne sit apud nos, quam apud externos, linguarum veterum orientalium scientia, aut codicum maxime primigeniorum peritia: magna enim in his studiis est utriusque opportunitas facultatis.

Deinde quod spectat ad Scripturarum auctoritatem integre asserendam, in eo quidem acrem curam diligentiamque adhibeant. Idque praesertim laborandum ipsis est, ut nequando inter catholicos invalescat illa sentiendi agendique ratio, sane non probanda, qua scilicet plus nimio tribuitur heterodoxorum sententiis, perinde quasi germana Scripturae intelligentia ab externae eruditionis apparatu sit in primis quaerenda. Neque enim cuiquam catholico illa possunt esse dubia quae fusius alias Ipsi revocavimus: Deum non privato doctorum indicio permisisse Scripturas, sed magisterio Ecclesiae interpretandas tradidisse; 'in rebus fidei et morum, ad aedificationem doctrinae christianae pertinentium, eum pro vero sensu sacrae Scripturae habendum esse, quem tenuit ac tenet sancta Mater Ecclesia cuius est iudicare de vero sensu et interpretatione Scripturarum sanctarum; atque ideo nemini licere contra hunc sensum aut etiam contra unanimum consensum Patrum ipsam Scripturam sacram interpretari'<sup>1</sup>; eam esse divinorum naturam Librorum, ut ad religiosam illam, qua involvuntur, obscuritatem illustrandam subinde non valeant hermeneuticae leges, verum dux et magistra divinitus data opus sit, Ecclesia; demum legitimum divinae Scripturae sensum extra Ecclesiam neutiquam reperiri, neque ab eis tradi posse qui magisterium ipsius auctoritatemque repudiaverint.—Ergo viris qui de Consilio fuerint, curandum sedulo, ut horum diligentior quotidie sit custodia principiorum: adducanturque persuadendo, si qui forte heterodoxos admirantur praeter modum, ut magistratam studiosius observent audiantque Ecclesiam. Quamquam usu quidem venit catholico interpreti, ut aliquid ex alienis auctoribus, maxime in re critica, capiat adiumenti: sed cautione opus ac delectu est. Artis criticae disciplinam, quippe percipiendae penitus hagiographorum sententiae perutilem, Nobis vehementer probantibus,

<sup>1</sup> Conc. Vatic. sess. III., cap. II., *De Revel.*

nostri excolant. Hanc ipsam facultatem, adhibita loco ope heterodoxorum, Nobis non repugnantibus, iidem exacuant. Videant tamen ne ex hac consuetudine intemperantiam iudicii imbibant : siquidem in hanc saepe recidit artificium illud criticae, ut aiunt, sublimioris ; cuius periculosam temeritatem plus semel Ipsi denuntiavimus.

Tertio loco, in eam studiorum horum partem quae proprie est de exponendis Scripturis, cum latissime fidelium utilitati pateat, singulares quasdam curas Consilium insumat. Ac de iis quidem testimoniis, quorum sensus aut per sacros auctores, aut per Ecclesiam authentice declaratus sit, vix attinet dicere, convincendum esse, eam interpretationem solam ad sanae hermeneuticae leges posse probari. Sunt autem non pauca, de quibus cum nulla extiterit adhuc certa et definita expositio Ecclesiae, liceat privatis doctoribus eam, quam quisque probarit, sequi tuerique sententiam : quibus tamen in locis cognitum est analogiam fidei catholicamque doctrinam servari tamquam normam oportere. Iamvero in hoc genere magnopere providendum est, ut ne acrior disputandi contentio transgrediatur mutuae caritatis terminos ; neve inter disputandum ipsae revelatae veritates divinaeque traditiones vocari in disceptationem videantur. Nisi enim salva consensione animorum collocatisque in tuto principiis, non licebit ex variis multorum studiis magnos expectare huius disciplinae progressus.—Quare hoc etiam in mandatis Consilio sit, praecipuas inter doctores catholicos rite et pro dignitate moderari quaestiones ; ad easque finiendas qua lumen iudicii sui, qua pondus auctoritatis afferre. Atque hinc illud etiam consequetur commodi, ut maturitas offeratur Apostolicae Sedi declarandi quid a catholicis inviolate tenendum, quid investigationi altiori reservandum, quid singulorum iudicio relinquendum sit.

Quod igitur christianae veritati conservandae bene vertat, studiis Scripturae sanctae promovendis ad eas leges, quae supra statutae sunt Consilium sive *Commissionem* in hac alma Urbe per has litteras instituimus. Id autem Consilium constare volumus ex aliquot S. R. E. Cardinalibus auctoritate Nostra deligendis : iisque in communionem studiorum laborumque mens est adiungere cum Consultorum officio ac nomine, ut in sacris urbanis Consiliis mos est, claros nonnullos, alios ex alia gente, viros quorum a doctrina sacra, praesertim biblica, sit commendatio, Consilii autem erit et statis conventibus habendis, et scriptis vel in dies certos vel pro re nata vulgandis, et si rogatum

sententiam fuerit, respondendo consulentibus, denique omnibus modis, horum studiorum, quae dicta sunt, tuitioni et incremento prodesse. Quaecumque vero res consultae communiter fuerint, de iis rebus referri ad Summum Pontificem volumus; per illum autem ex Consultoribus referri, cui Pontifex ut sit ab actis Consilii mandaverit.—Atque ut communibus iuvandis laboribus suppellex opportuna suppetat, iam nunc certam Bibliothecae Nostrae Vaticanae ei rei adducimus partem; ibique digerendam mox curabimus codicum voluminumque de re Biblica collectam ex omni aetate copiam, quae consilii viris in promptu sit. In quorum instructum ornatumque praesidorum valde optandum est Iocupletiores catholici Nobis suppetias veniant vel utilibus mittendis libris; atque ita peropportuno genere officii Deo, Scripturarum Auctori, itemque Ecclesiae navare operam velint.

Ceterum confidimus fore, ut his coeptis Nostris, utpote quae christianae fidei incolumitatem sempiternamque animarum salutem recta spectent, divina benignitas abunde faveat; eiusque munere, Apostolicae Sedis in hac re praescriptionibus catholici, qui sacris Litteris sunt dediti, cum absoluto muneris omnibus obsequio respondeant.

Quae vero in hac caussa statuere ac decernere visum est, ea omnia et singula uti statuta et decreta sunt, ita rata et firma esse ac manere volumus et iubemus; contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum sub anulo Piscatoris die xxx Octobris anno MDCCCII, Pontificatus Nostri vicesimo quinto.

A. Card. MACCHI.

**LEO XIII. CONGRATULATES THE CANADIAN BISHOPS ON THE ERECTION OF A RESIDENCE FOR THE APOSTOLIC DELEGATE**

LEO XIII GRATOS ANIMI SENSUS TESTATUR EPIS CANADENSIBUS OB ERECTAM AEDEM IN URBE OCTAVIENSI, PRO DELEGATO APLICO

LEO PP. XIII.

*Venerabiles fratres, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.*

Allatum est Nobis sacrorum Antistites Canadensis Regionis, collatis liberaliter pecuniis, stabiles aedes in urbe Octaviensi Delegato Nostro copioso sumptu comparasse, ubi ille, tamquam in proprio domicilio, pro sua dignitate, resideret.—Haud

equidem Nos latebat quo studio atque observantia egregii isti Praesules Apostolicam hanc Sedem prosequerentur: verum ceteris, quas hac de re accepimus, pluribus praeclarisque significationibus novum nunc, illudque Nobis iucundissimum, testimonium accedit. Hanc autem animorum cum Apostolica Cathedra coniunctionem eo libentius commendamus, quod ut ea Nobis in tam trepidis undequaque rebus solatio est, ita ab ea maxime rei catholicae pendent vigor atque incrementa. Qua propter gratos animi Nostri sensus illis omnibus testatos volumus, qui ad stabiles aedes Delegato Nostro in Canadensi regione, honoris causa, constituendas operam contulerunt; cuius in eum obsequii pariticipes etiam accepimus meritissimos Patres Sulpicianos Provinciae Canadensis. Benevolentiae autem Nostrae pignus et caelestium munerum auspiciem, universis oblatoribus Apostolicam benedictionem ex animo impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die x Maii MDCCCXI, Pontificatus Nostri anno vicesimo quarto.

LEO PP. XIII.

#### FOUNDATION MASSES

PER SUMMARIA PRECUM. WRATISLAVIEN.—SATISFACTIONIS  
ONERUM MISSARUM.

Georgius Cardinalis Kopp, Princeps Episcopus Wratislaviensis, haec humillime exponit: 'Die 23 Septembris 1895 S. Congr. Concilii ad dubium Emi. Archiepiscopi Coloniensis:

"utrum, quando missae fundatae transmittuntur ad Curiam Archiepiscopalem, praeter stipendia missarum transmitti etiam debeant portiones ex redditibus foundationum assignatae fabricis, ecclesiae ministris, sacristis, organistis etc. in missis cantandis vel etiam legendis aliquo modo cooperantibus, vel potius eisdem relinqui?" respondit: "portionem fabricis ecclesiarum legitime assignatam ipsis posse remanere."

'Cum dein Rmus. Episcopus Hildesiensis sub die 1 Octobris 1895 supplicasset, ut pro aedituis quoque ceterisque ministris portio posset retineri, S. Congr. Concilii die 21 Ianuarii 1896 respondit:

"pro missis *lectis* retineri posse favore ministrorum et ecclesiae inservientium eam reddituum portionem, quae in limine foundationis vel alio legitimo modo ipsis assignata fuit, independentem ab opere specia'li praestando pro legati adimplemento.

‘Quod ultimum rescriptum etiam foundationibus Archidioecesis Colonien., quippe in qua eadem rationes valerent, applicari posse, Eadem S. Congregation sub die 8 Augusti 1896 benigne indulsit.

‘Porro eadem prorsus rationes pro foundationibus dioecesis Wratislaviens., valent *et accedit*, quod portiones ex missis fundatis tam legendis quam cantandis sacristis et praesertim organistis competentes a Regio Gubernio plerumque (ni semper) ut pars salarii dictis personis competentis numerantur, ita ut, quando parochus impeditus quominus foundationes in propria parochia persolvat, simul cum missis totum stipendium, i.e. omnes redditus respectivae foundationis transmittere deberet, portiones sacristis, organistis aliisque personis assignatas iisdem ex propriis cum proprio damno restituere cogeretur.

‘Hinc humillime petere audeo, ut :

“parochi impediti quominus missas fundatas tam legendas quam cantandas in propria parochia persolvant, solum eam portionem reddituum ad Curiam Episcopalem transmittere debeant, quae ipsis tamquam foundationem persolventibus competit, portiones vero tam ecclesiis quam organistis, aeditis, aliis personis aliquo modo cooperantibus, pauperibusque assignatas pro iisdem retinere possint.”

Ad has litteras Emi. Episcopi repositum fuit ab H. S. C. sub die 24 Martii 1902 — *videri, rescripta diei 23 Septembris 1895 Archiepiscopo Coloniensi et diei 1 Octobris eiusdem anni Episcopo Hildesiensi concessa eatenus extendi non posse ut ex redditibus foundationum detrahatur stipendium pro opere quod minime praestatur. Retinendum enim est in casu exposito, stipendium persolvi debere a parochis qui forsitan Missas foundationum minime celebrant eo quod abunde pinguiore habent eleemosynas.*

Emus. Episcopus haec reposuit :

‘Porro exposui in supplici libello citato easdem prosus rationes a Rmis. Antistitibus Coloniensi et Hildesiensi pro suis respectivis dioecesibus allatas valere eodem modo pro diocesi Wratislaviensi. Permittant quaeso Emi. Patres, ut eas in succo repetam ; et quidem

‘1. Fundatores, qui in stabiliendis legatis piis certos redditus ecclesiis assignarunt, certo certius liberalitate sua ecclesiis suis, non alienis, subvenire intenderunt. Hinc haec portio fabricis quasi ex titulo iustitiae competere videtur.

‘2. Ecclesiarum benefactores foundationibus suis etiam sus-

tentationi ministrorum succurrere studuerunt, ita ut proventus earum partem efficiant congruae ipsis competentis, qua ipsos spoliare aequum non videtur.

'3. Exposui has portiones tum fabricis tum ecclesiarum ministris competentes Regio Gubernio notas ab ipso tamquam partem salarii dictis personis competentis computari, ita ut parochus lege civili cogatur, ut has portiones sive fabricis sive ministris restituat, si omnes redditus foundationum, quas ipse persolvere nequit, transmittere debet. Et hoc quidem bene quoad illos parochos, de quibus S. Congregatio in litteris d. d. 24 Martii a. c. ( $\frac{1847}{2}$ ) supponit, "qui forsitan missas foundationum minime celebrant eo quod aliunde pinguiores habent eleemosynas." Quod quidem non licere nemo ignorat, et iuxta taliter agentes poenas luent. Sed quid quoad illos parochos, qui quotannis 300, 400, 500 et plura sacra fundata persolvere debent? Quid quoad illos, qui tot spiritualibus necessitatibus vivorum suorum parochianorum succurrere debent, ut ipsis pro omnibus missis fundatis persolvendis dies non suppetant? Et credo supponi posse hanc esse mentem S. Congregationis, ut parochus primo loco necessitatibus spiritualibus vivorum parochianorum provideat, ut scil. primo loco manualia persolvat pro praegnantibus, pro aegrotis, pro moribundis, pro recenter mortuis etc. et dein missas fundatas. Et si hoc, debetne parochus eo quid caritatis ni dicam iustitiae officia erga vivos parochianos satisfaciat, detrimentum subire, quia non potest simul missas fundatas persolvere, et nihilominus portiones ecclesiae ministris competentes ipsis ex propriis compensare debet?

'4. Tandem ne illud praeterire videar "non posse detrahi ex redditibus foundationum stipendium pro opere quod minime praestatur"—ecclesia, seu fabrica ecclesiae idem omnino praestat sive missa fundata persolvatur sive manualis, scil. praestat paramenta, vinum hostiam, candelas aliaque ad missam necessaria, organista pulsat organum, sive missa fundata persolvatur, sive manualis; item aedituus vestit parochum et parat necessaria, pueri inserviunt missae, sive fundata persolvatur sive manualis, quippe qui quotidie officio suo consueto fungi teneantur. Hinc patet, fructum foundationum non solum tamquam remunerationem servitii in fundatis missis exhibendi, sed etiam tamquam meliorationem salarii deberi aestimari, et insuper per transmissionem missarum fundatarum neque tolli opus neque imponi, si excipias solum parochum celebrantem. At si hoc, suscipientes foundationem, si semper excipias parochum seu

sacerdotem persolventem, carent titulo quo mercedem recipiant, et non est, cur transmittentes, si iterum excipias parochum, qui missam persolvere debet, fructibus sibi competentibus frustrentur.

‘ Haec iterum examini S. Congregationis Concilii subiicienda duxi et omni qua par est reverentia et obsequio iterum petere audeo :

‘ 1. gratiosam condonationem pro praeterito, quatenus hucusque indulto S Sedis aliter gesserint parochi ;

‘ 2. ut pro futuro impediti, quominus missas fundatas tam legendas quam cantandas per seipsos persolvant, solum eam portionem reddituum ad Curiam Episcopalem transmittere debeant, quae ipsis tanquam foundationes persolventibus competit ; portiones vero tam ecclesiis quam organistis, aedituis, a liis personis aliquo modo cooperantibus, pauperibusque assignatas pro iisdem retinere possint.’

Quoad preces Emi. Episcopi haec mihi, de more, advertenda videntur.—Equidem patet, quamlibet stipis distractionem in alium usum licet pium, mentis offerentium commutationem secumferre ; eodem modo quo commutatio adest cum celebratio in loco ab oblatoribus haud designato perficitur. Ne a piis elargitionibus erga Ecclesiam fideles semoverentur, ob frequentes voluntatem defunctorum commutationes, Canones solemniter praeceperunt, pias foundationes vel ultimas morientium voluntates religiose servandas esse ; Can. *Ultima volunt. dist.* 13 q. 2 ; Clement. *Quia contingit 2 de relig. domib.* ; Caput *Si haeredes et Tua nobis de Testam.*

Cum tamen ob effraenatas hominum cupiditates innumeris incommodis Missarum stipendia occasionem praeberint, plures ad haec removenda ab Ecclesia sanctissimae leges ac decreta diversis temporibus lata fuerunt ; quae diligenter a Benedictio XIV. *Instit. Eccles.* 56 ; *De Synod. Dioeces. lib.* 5 cap. 9 ; *De Sacr. Miss. lib.* 3 cap. 21 recensentur. Item Conc. Trid. Sess. 22. *Decret. de observat. et rit. in celebrat. Miss.* decretum : ‘ Cum multa.’ Huic Concilii decreto accesserunt celebres illae H. S. Cong. declarationes seu Decreta *de celebratione Missarum Urbani VIII* auctoritate editae die 21 Iunii 1625 per Const. quae incipit ‘ *Cum saepe contingat*,’ ac postea additis aliis resolutionibus ab Innocent XII, decimo Kal. Ian 1697 edita est Const. quae incipit ‘ *Nuper innovata et confirmata*’ ; et Epistola Encyclia a Bened. XIV. quae incipit ‘ *Quanta cura*,’ diei 30 Iunii, 1741 ; et nuper, ut alia omittamus, Decretum datum est ab H. S. C. die 25 Maii 1893, ita conceptum :

‘Vigilanti studio convellendis eradicandisque abusibus missarum celebrationem spectantibus . . . Ad cohibendam pravam quorundam licentiam qui ad ephemerides, libros aliasque merces facilius cum clero commutandas missarum ope utebantur . . . Propositis namque inter alia sequentibus dubiis :

‘III. An, huiusmodi eleemosynarum collectiones et erogationes tunc etiam improbandae, et coercendae, ut supra, sint ab Episcopis, quando lucrum, quod ex mercium cum eleemosynis permutatione hauritur, non in proprium colligentium commodum, sed in piarum institutionum, et bonorum operum usum vel incrementum impenditur ;

‘IV.—An liceat Episcopis sine speciali S. Sedis venia ex eleemosynis missarum, quas fideles celebrioribus Sanctuariis tradere solent, aliquid detrahere, ut eorum decori et ornamento consulatur, quando praesertim ea propriis redditibus careant : In peculiari conventu an. 1874 S. C. resolvit : Ad III. Affirmative. Ad IV. Negative, nisi de consensu oblatorum.

‘Sed cum postremis hisce annis constiterint salutare huiusmodi dispositiones ignorantia aut malitia neglectas fuisse . . . Emi. Patres S. C. . . . in duplici generali conventu officii sui esse duxerunt, quod pridem decretum erat in plenam observantiam denuo apud omnes revocare . . .

‘Praeterea iidem Emi. Patres inhaerentes dispositionibus a Romanis Pontificibus, ac praesertim ab Urbano VIII et Innocentio XII in Const. *Cum saepe*, alias datis, sub gravi obedientiae praecepto decernunt ac mandant ut in posterum omnes et singuli ubique locorum beneficiati et administratores piarum causarum aut utcumque ad missarum onera implenda obligati, sive ecclesiastici sive laici, in fine cuiuslibet anni missarum onera quae reliqua sunt, et quibus nondum satisfecerint propriis Ordinariis tradant iuxta modum ab iis definiendum.

‘Denique, revocatis quibuscumque indultis et privilegiis usque nunc concessis, quae praesentis decreti dispositionibus utcumque adversentur, S. C. curae singulorum Ordinariorum committit, ut praesens decretum omnibus ecclesiasticis . . . notum sollicitè faciant . . .’

Epistola Circularis H. S. C. diei 28 Aug. 1897 ad Ordinarios Italiae directa, denuo inculcat strictam observantiam anterioris decreti, necnon decretorum (Urbaniani et Innocentiani) iam citatorum. Allata testimonia licet de missis manualibus intelligi videantur, attamen ex rationis identitate etiam ad pias missarum foundationes referri debent.



Hisce in iure praeiactis, cum Emus. Episcopus ad Pontificem confugerit, videndum est an causae adsint ut eius preces admittantur. Tales causae non apparent eo magis in themate in quo cum agatur de absolutione quoad praeteritum et de dispensatione quoad futurum, ea agendi ratio videtur opposita allatis constitutionibus, ideoque tolerari haud posse.

Etenim Rectores ecclesiarum et sacerdotes eisdem addicti, non solum habent ius celebrandi missas in respectivis ecclesiis fundatas; sed imprimis, nominatim Rectores, habent strictam obligationem illas celebrandi aut curandi ut per alios celebrentur, et hac conditione praesumuntur ab initio acceptae.—Missae fundatae, non sunt ordinatae ad supplendum defectui missarum adventitiarum, sed hae potius acceptari possunt ad supplendum illarum defectui; ita ut si Rectores ecclesiarum illis, sive per se sive per alios, satisfacere non possint, has non licet illis acceptare, nisi sub conditione easdem tradendi aliis cum integro stipendio accepto. Clara hac in re est citata Const. Innocent. XII ubi ita legitur: ‘Eleemosynas vero manuales et quotidianas pro Missis celebrandis ita demum iidem accipere possint, si oneribus antea impositis ita satisfecerint, ut nova quoque onera suscipere valeant, alioquin omnino abstineant ab huiusmodi eleemosynis, etiam sponte oblati, in futurum recipiendis.’ Et hoc consonum esse videtur fundatorum menti, tum quia in his stabiliendis legatis piis non aliter intenderunt implicite vel explicite quandam portionem ex fructibus foundationum ecclesiae fabricae assignare, nisi mediante missarum applicatione in eadem; tum quia semper, iuxta effatum, qui prior est tempore potior est iure. Igitur, cum reddituum portio alicui Ecclesiae ob Missarum celebrationem assignata consideretur tamquam accessorium propter principale, si missae fundatae ob aliquam iustam causam ad alium locum transmittantur, praeter stipendia missarum (quod est principale) transmitti etiam debet portio ex foundationis fructibus fabricis seu Ecclesiae ministris assignata, quod est accessorium. Nam valet contractus *do ut facias*, dum contrarium non constat.

Sed a converso in themata favore supplicantium animadvertendum est bonam fidem illis suffragari ut condonationem quoad praeteritum consequantur, uti passim S. C. Congr. indulgere solet, si pia opera absque culpa non fuerant impleta, neque superest ex quo impleri possint.

In puncto autem dispensationis quoad futurum advertendum est Trid. Synod. Sess. 23 cap. 6 de Ref.; H. S. C. Conc.

in *Taurinen.* 1 Martii 1878, et *Lucana* 14 Decembris, 1893, nos edocere, ad voluntatis commutationem concedendam generatim sufficientes causas esse *necessitatem* vel *evidentem* Ecclesiae *utilitatem*, maxime si commutatio voluntatis fuerit temporanea; neque raro contingit ut legata pia seu missae reducantur aut suspendantur, quando prospici debeat templi reparationi aut domibus beneficiarii aliisque beneficiorum necessitatibus, ut penes S. C. Conc. In *Viterbien.* 2 Martii 1765 et 1874; in *Leodien.*, 18 Maii 1776; in *Syracusana* 8 Febr. 1773 et passim. Ob Ecclesiae utilitatem non reduci tantum sed suppressi etiam missarum onera monet Amostazus *De causis piis libr. 1. cap. 14 n. 1.* Et merito quidem; quia haec missarum legata praeter rationem suffragii, habent rationem eleemosynae et subsidii pro ecclesiae necessitatibus et ministris.

Unde, cum in casu non agatur nisi de quadam portione detrahenda quamvis inibi Missae non celebrarentur, uti hucusque factum est, in subsidium divini cultus, ministrorum, pauperum loci, aliarumque spiritualium necessitatum ob parochorum impotentiam ea satisfaciendi, videtur adesse causa iusta ut Emi. Episcopi petitioni annuat.

Tandem iniquum videretur parochis invitis contra praxim hucusque observatam quae plurimi facienda est uti optima mentis fundatoris interpres, (*Lotter. de re benef. l. 7. q. 11 n. 125; Rota decis. 62 n. 3 part. 10*) novum onus imponere dictam portionem solvendi, ob impotentiam celebrandi missas fundatas sive in festis diebus in quibus pro populo sibi concredito offerre debent, sive in pauperum fumeribus, aliisque solemnitatibus quae aliter cum populi scandalo forsitan non celebrarentur, sive ob aliam rationabilem causam, non ex desiderio pinguioris stipendii ut patet, promanantem, sed potius ex penuria sacerdotum, et ex proprio officio.

Quare si fundatores id praevidissent, aliter de sua substantia disposuissent, Reiffenstuel *De testam n. 804*, et S. H. C. in *Sutrina, Transl. 10 Sept. 1803*. Hinc valida concedendae gratiae causa ex praesumpta oritur fundatoris voluntate.

Hisce hinc inde pro meo munere animadversis, Sapientia EE. PP. deliberabit an locus sit condonationi aut cuique alii provisioni.

Quare etc.

Emi. Patres rescripserunt: *Praevia sanatione quoad praeteritum pro facultate iuxta petita, et ad mentem.*

## NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE SCIENCE OF THE SAINTS IN PRACTICE. By John Baptist Pagani, second General of the Institute of Charity. 4 vols. R. and T. Washbourne, 4, Paternoster-row.

THE feeling which led the author to the compilation of the present work, was that 'the sacred maxims contained in Holy Writ, and the bright examples of virtue recorded in the lives of the saints, are at once calculated to please, instruct, and edify all such Christians as sincerely desire to live up to the spirit of their holy calling.' The truth of this belief will not be questioned, and if the author has given effect to this idea at somewhat great length, the manner in which he has done so is well defined and commendable. The virtues of which the saints of God gave evidence in their daily lives, are distributed over the months of the year; and then, for each day of the month, there is a short, familiar discourse, generally of only a few pages, in which the allotted virtue is explained and illustrated from Scripture, the writings, and, above all, the attractive and forcible examples of the lives of the saints.

Thus, it is evident that the work is well called '*The Science of the Saints*.' The manner in which it is divided makes it eminently suitable for meditation or spiritual reading. And those who use it for this purpose will certainly not miss the absence of full references to the numerous quotations with which the work abounds.

J. W. M.

THEOLOGIA DOGMATICA. Auctore F. Reginaldo Fei, O.P., Professore in Alma Universitate Friburgensi in Helvetia. Romae: Marietti.

THE publication of a Dogmatic Theology in which questions of the day would be treated, has for some time past been desired by many students. The well-known works by Perrone and Pesch are in this respect of comparatively little use, being more or less antiquated, while those by Scheeben and Heinrich, though eminently scientific, are not much read in this country.

Not to mention the discussions and the decisions in recent years, with which everyone is familiar, at the present time several questions of great importance are engaging the attention of theological professors, and information about the *status* of these questions and the arguments employed will be welcome to priests on the mission as well as to students in ecclesiastical seminaries.

The present work, of which two parts, viz., Vol I., *De Deo Uno et Trino*, and Vol IV., *De Sacramentis in genere*, etc., have appeared, deals with theories as new as those of Schell and other living writers. The learned author is evidently conversant with the most recent developments of theological thought, and he makes excellent use of the results attained by contemporary scholars in the various branches of knowledge that are subsidiary to theology. We may notice in particular his masterly exposition of some of the deepest questions in the treatise *De Deo Uno*, and his remarks on the nature of the sacramental character. In his explanation of the Decree of the Holy Office (Jan. 13, 1897), Father Fei quotes Arendt with approval. The nature and scope of the Decree is still a disputed question, but it seems to us that Arendt's explanation is correct.

R. W.

THE ART OF LIFE. AN ESSAY. By F. C. Kolbe, D.D.  
The Catholic Truth Society of Ireland. 1903.

THE Catholic Truth Society of Ireland has not hitherto published many volumes of size larger than the penny pamphlets, which are sold at our church doors; but it is most desirable that such volumes should be produced, if the Society can keep up to the standard it has already set for itself. Some months ago we welcomed a volume from the pen of Dr. Sheehan, of Doneraile, which was an excellent contribution to our devotional literature; and we are glad to notice here a valuable work of a philosophical and quasi-controversial nature. Its author is Dr. Kolbe of Capetown, well known throughout South Africa, not merely as a doughty champion of the faith, but as an original thinker, and fearless writer on many subjects. *The Art of Life* is evidently the outcome of wide reading, of deep and mature thought, and (we think we could justly add) of steadfast prayer. For the essay deals with the higher interests of the Christian life; and though the treatment is analytical rather

than emotional, it betrays throughout a mind steeped in devotion and with a strong tendency to the contemplation of the sublime. The main thesis running through the nine chapters of the essay is the analogy existing between the laws regulating the fine arts and those of the spiritual life ; but it is impossible here to give the barest outline of Dr. Kolbe's theories, some of which we might take exception to, but which he never fails to enforce by lucid and weighty argument. There is so much real thought compressed into the short compass of a little over a hundred pages, that the book will repay more than a single perusal. It will have a double utility, as indeed all good theology ought to have—that of stimulating the mind and of directing its activity into a practical groove. As being calculated to deepen the spiritual life, we consider *The Art of Life* specially suited for those whose function it is to guide souls towards the true end of their being.

ST. MARGARET OF CORTONA. THE MAGDALEN OF THE SERAPHIC ORDER. By Rev. Leopold de Chérancé O.S.F.C. Translated by R. F. O'Connor. Dublin : Sealy, Bryers and Walker, 1903.

WE welcome with very sincere pleasure this admirable translation of the *Life of St. Margaret of Cortona*. It is a revelation to us not only of the virtues of the great Saint, but of the wealth of piety and devotion to the Church that exists amongst our Catholic laity, in such pointed contrast with the noisy antagonism of a few.

The period in which St. Margaret lived is one of the most interesting in the annals of Italy and of the world ; and as in all periods of storm and stress, when the Church was assailed from within as well as from without, great servants of God arose to confound by their virtues the calumnies of her enemies, so it was at the end of the thirteenth century when the bark of Peter was strongly buffeted by the waves, and seemed on the very point of being submerged. The appearance of St. Margaret was then like the silver lining of the cloud, like the break that indicates an abatement of the storm. The author of this work introduces us to those Apostolic Brothers, to the Fraticelli, who, like the furious revolutionists of France professed their intention of bringing back the Church to the simplicity of Apostolic times. The notorious Fra Dolcino, in whose welfare Dante

makes Mahomet take such an interest from his bed in the *Malebolge*, was preaching the community of goods and the plurality of wives. The court of Naples was a regular hot-bed of rationalism and vice. The republics of Italy were devastated by war, and the Pope was driven by Roman factions to fix his abode at Avignon. With great lucidity and attractiveness the author tells the story of St. Margaret and of her influence on the life and movements of her time. We sincerely congratulate Mr. O'Connor on having given us in English so interesting and edifying a book; and we hope that what he has done for St. Francis of Assisi and St. Margaret of Cortona may be only the beginning of a long series of works equally useful and necessary.

J. F. H.

#### NEW REVIEWS, PERIODICALS, AND JOURNALS.

*Le Monde Catholique Illustré* (Paris: Poussielgue, 15 Rue Cassette); *Razon y Fe* (Madrid: Calle Isabel la Católica, 12); *España y América* (Asilo de Huerfanos, Juan Bravo, 5); *Review of Catholic Pedagogy* (Chicago: 637 S. Harding avenue); *The Messenger* (27-29 West 16th-street, New York); *The Rosary Magazine* (871 Lexington-avenue, New York); *The Homiletic Monthly and Catechist* (103 Fifth-avenue, New York); *La Rassegna Internazionale* (Florence: Via Tanabnoni, 6).

WE have to express *in globo* to the editors and managers of the various Reviews mentioned above our sincere gratitude for the courtesy with which they have sent us their valuable publications. Most of these reviews and periodicals are still in their infancy; but as they all show promise of a graceful, and several of a vigorous, future, we should like to give them a cordial welcome, and express a hope that they may safely weather the storms of youth, and in due time make their way through a useful and active career.

To our friend the Marquis M'Swiny of Mashanaglas we offer our hearty congratulations on the appearance and style of the *Monde Catholique Illustré*. It is undoubtedly the finest illustrated paper in the Catholic world, and reflects the highest credit on the publishers as well as on the editor. The descendant of an old Irish stock that took root in Portugal and Spain

and spread itself over France and Bavaria, the Marquis inherits that devotion to the Holy See which was characteristic of the best of the Irish magnates of former days. He lives in Rome, where he does duty as a 'Cameriere Segreto,' at the Vatican; but he is in close touch with the leaders of thought all over the world, poets, artists, historians, archæologists. He is one of the most zealous organisers of the 'Congress of Catholic Scientists' that has met in different European countries since the first was called together in Paris by Mgr. d'Hulst, in 1889. Few men could command the services of so many distinguished collaborators. The result is an artistic periodical, beautifully illustrated, and full of interesting articles. The *Monde Catholique Illustré* has made its way all over Europe into the homes of wealthy Catholics. Let us hope that the country of the editor's ancestors may not be an exception. The subscription is 22 francs a year.

Notwithstanding the recent outburst of anti-clericalism in Spain we are happy to notice many signs of renewed and re-awakened life amongst Spanish Catholics. This is particularly the case in the Press. Of the many Catholic publications that have come recently into existence, by far the most important is *Razon y Fe*, the new organ of the Spanish Jesuits. This periodical will be to Spain what the *Civiltà Catholica* is to Italy, the *Etudes* in France, and the *Stemmer aus Maria Laach* in Germany, *Razon y Fe* promises to be a splendid Review. It is well written. Its contributors are able men who have a wide outlook. Philosophy and Theology are ably represented by F. Z. Urrâburu and L. Murillo. The article of V. Minteguiaga, in the second number entitled, 'Los Dos Fanatismos,' and the article of L. Murillo in the first number on 'La ciencia libre y la Revelacion en el Siglo XIX.' are quite up to date, whilst the articles of J. Thomás 'La Histologia Comparada de las Glandulas Pepsicas,' and of B. Merino, 'Viajes de Herborizacion por Galicia,' show that the secular sciences are represented by men who are experts in their departments. A very valuable and useful article is that of P. Villada, entitled, 'Por que se odia a los Religiosos.'

The most recent of the Spanish Reviews is entitled, *España y América*. It is edited by the Augustinian Fathers, and published at Madrid. The following sentences from its programme will indicate its spirit.

'Ante todo, la Revista ESPAÑA Y AMÉRICA, que profusamente

ilustrada aparecerá los días 1.º y 15 de cada mes, estará casi exclusivamente escrita y redactada por los hijos de San Agustín, invicto *leader* de la ortodoxia cristiana, que ilumina con los resplandores de su genio incomparable los últimos quince siglos de la brillante historia del Cristianismo.

‘La convicción de que los grandes errores aniquilados por la poderosa pluma de ese insigne adalid de la causa católica vuelven a resurgir de su sepulcro galvanizados por el soplo de las pasiones, nos recuerda á todos los que vestimos su glorioso uniforme el deber en que estamos de continuar, en la modestísima esfera de nuestro exiguo valer, la obra gloriosa y la labor fecunda del insigne Doctor de la gracia. Conducidos, pues, por la mano de ese gladiador invencible, descienden hoy sus hijos á la candente arena del combate, para pelear como soldados de última fila, y á la sombra de ese glorioso caudillo, las grandes batallas de la fe cristiana.

‘Todo nos induce á creer que la época presente es tal vez la fase más importante de la gigantesca y titánica lucha iniciada á las puertas mismas del paraíso, y que el siglo XX será un siglo de lucha, y de lucha porfiada y tenacísima, entre los principios cristianos, y los funestos errores engendrados por cerebros desequilibrados y enfermos y sostenidos por la fuerza brutal é inconsciente de las pasiones humanas. Nuestra debilidad que es grande, y que empezamos por reconocer, no nos desalienta; puesta nuestra confianza en Dios, no queremos que falte nuestro insignificante grano de arena en la gran obra de la regeneración social y cristiana; y si sucumbimos en medio del fragor del combate, tendremos al menos la satisfacción que engendra en la conciencia la firme convicción de no haber dejado indefensa en medio del arroyo la verdad, ni incumplidos nuestros deberes de sacerdotes cristianos. Si triunfa, como indefectiblemente ha de triunfar la causa de la verdad, del bien y de la justicia, poco importa que sean arrollados algunos de sus más débiles defensores, pues no puede haber deshonor ni mengua en el vencimiento de los soldados inexpertos y bisoños que no han ido precisamente al combate como una fuerza sino como un ejemplo.’

To the *Review of Catholic Pedagogy* we desire to extend a specially warm welcome. Edited by our former colleague, Father Judge, it can scarcely fail to make its mark amongst American Reviews. We are only sorry that Father Judge has confined himself to the subject of ‘Pedagogics.’ We should have preferred a more general title under which pedagogics might have been made a speciality; for we think that with his acute mind and ardent temperament Father Judge could edit a magazine of general ecclesiastical interest with great success.



Pedagogics is a subject which may excite interest for a time amongst a limited class of readers, but we doubt if the interest can be maintained, and if the number of readers amongst Catholics will be sufficient to keep the periodical in existence. In most of the German universities there are chairs of pedagogics ; but opinions differ as to their value. Last summer in Germany we asked a professor in one of the German universities, himself a fine Latin scholar, what he thought on the question. He smiled and said that one good practical teacher was worth all the professors of pedagogics in the country. If, however, scientific investigation has been beneficial in other departments, we fail to see why it should not yield good results here also. The pedagogues, of course, often complain that their instructors are men of no experience or proficiency in the art they claim to teach, relying on the principle which Dr. Johnson attributed to a certain school of critics,

‘ Drivers of fat cattle must themselves be fat.’

There is no man more likely to get into a rut than the pedagogue ; and there are few men more capable of shaking him out of it than Father Judge and Father Yorke. We hope they may succeed. The very discussion of the practical questions with which they deal cannot fail to be useful.

The *Homiletic Monthly and Catechist* is edited from the Seminary of New York, and specially intended for priests on the mission. It is in its special line an exceedingly useful magazine, and is ably edited. The *Messenger* comes also from New York, and is the organ of the American Jesuits. Its notes on the condition of the Church in foreign countries are a special feature and are exceedingly interesting. We should like, however, to see a fuller and more systematic treatment of questions relating to Church affairs in European countries. The *Rosary Magazine* is the organ of the American Dominicans. It is already well established. It is illustrated, and deals with matters of general interest to Catholics. Its review of reviews is a special feature, and it has come well to the front amongst the enormous number of new Catholic publications in America.

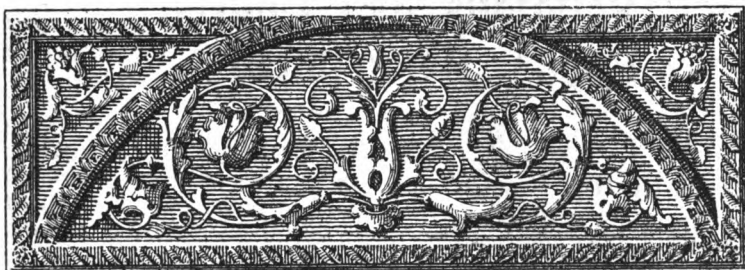
The *Rassegna Internazionale*, which must not be confounded with the *Rassegna Nazionale*, is a review which, though not, as

far as we can see, professedly Catholic, is written by Catholics in a liberal spirit. It devotes special attention to literature. Its review of French poetry is particularly good. The confession of Charles Guérin, the disciple of Verlaine and of Lamartine is thus rendered in Italian.

‘ L’iniquità fu la mia amante. Ed eccomi  
Gli occhi che il peccato del mondo sigillò  
Mi bruciano con le loro lagrime di sangue.  
O Signore, abbi finalmente pietà del tuo figliuolo ! ’

We should like to devote more time and space to the labours of our brethren ; but for the present they must take these few lines as the expression of our cordial appreciation and thanks.

J. F. H.



## LIBERALS AND CONSERVATIVES IN THE CHURCH

**T**HE Catholic who at the present day moves through the world, reads newspapers and reviews, hears the opinions of all kinds and classes of men, endeavours to keep abreast of what is thought and written abroad as well as at home on questions that lie at the root of all knowledge, and frequently finds those principles challenged on which the whole conduct of life depends, cannot but feel thankful to Providence that in the midst of doubt and obscurity he may yet feel secure and trust to the light that shines for believers to guide him safely on his destined course. We know what the effect of the chaos that reigns in the world must be on those who depend on their natural powers to cleave a way through the forest of confusion. Never, perhaps, did it get more vivid expression than in that passage in the *Apologia* in which Newman tells us how it affected him :—

To consider the world [wrote the great Cardinal] in its length and breadth, its various history, the many races of man, their starts, their fortunes, their mutual alienation, their conflicts and then their ways, habits, governments, forms of worship ; their enterprises, their aimless courses, their random achievements and acquirements, the impotent conclusion of long-standing facts, the tokens so faint and broken of a superintending design, the blind evolution of what turn out to be great powers or truths, the progress of things as if from unreasoning elements, not towards final causes, the greatness and littleness of

man, his far reaching aims, his short duration, the curtain hung over his futurity, the disappointments of life, the defeat of good, the success of evil, physical pain, mental anguish, the prevalence and intensity of sin, the pervading idolatries, the corruptions, the dreary hopeless irreligion, that condition of the whole race, so fearfully, yet exactly, described in the Apostle's words, 'having no hope and without God in the world'—all this is a vision to dizzy and appal, and inflicts upon the mind the sense of a profound mystery, which is absolutely beyond human solution.<sup>1</sup>

The contemplation of this realistic picture led Newman to acknowledge that there was something radically wrong with the human race, that there was something out of joint and out of gear in man's most intimate nature. It led him to the doctrine of *original sin*, and from this drew him step by step to the conclusion that some infallible authority established from on high was necessary for the guidance and salvation of mankind.

On the other hand there have ever been in the Church itself men born and nourished under its protecting shadow, who, like the prodigal, would go forth into a far country, and depending on their own finite powers, would attempt to explore the forest and face those elements from which greater than they were compelled to seek shelter. Such expeditions usually end in disaster; and happy are those who are privileged to return, to don the first robe and the ring, and sit at the father's banquet after they had hungered amongst the swineherds and tasted of the husks.

But if we confine our view to the Church itself, to the household of the faith, to the great mystic family, do we find no strife, no contention, no diversity of opinion, no clashing of interests? In the great work of fortifying the Church, of securing the positions she has won, of driving back the enemy where a breach has been made or an advantage gained, of bearing forward her banner and extending her domain, of carrying the torch of faith into the dark places and establishing order and harmony amidst confusion and contradiction, are there no divided counsels amongst her children? Is there no diversity of plan amongst her leaders? Is her whole

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<sup>1</sup> *Apologia pro Vita Sua*. Edition 1864, pp. 377, 378.

policy cast in a mould and her line of action dictated without any reference to the plans and intentions of her enemies?

Well indeed has the Church on earth been called the *Ecclesia Militans*. Her life is a warfare of every day and of every hour. It is carried on simultaneously in every quarter of the globe. We hear a good deal at the present day of the greatest empire the world has ever seen. That empire undoubtedly exists; but it is not confined within any earthly boundaries. It is co-extensive with the human race. It knows no mountain frontier, no river that delimits it. Abstracting from time and space it embraces the soul in all its manifestations and activities. The whole range of human thought comes under its sway. The touchstone of its moral standard is applied to the deeds, the passions, the weakness and the strength, the virtues, the commonplaces, and the crimes, that make up the life of humanity.

The Church has subjects everywhere, and everywhere she has to watch over their interests. In art and science and literature, in the university and the senate, in monarchies and republics alike, her claims are everywhere challenged, everywhere contested. The hand of the world is against her as it was against her Founder. Her enemies are numerous, powerful, aggressive beyond all precedent. They are skilful, patient, well disciplined, well equipped, ever resolute and persevering in their attacks. What wonder then that her children and her champions should have their hands full? And in such a variety of contending interests, in the solution of problems so complex and frequently so urgent, what wonder, that there should be divergent opinions, that even those who most ardently pursue a common object should differ as to policy, to methods, and to action?

And in fact this is the case to such an extent that the variety of plans, projects, and proposals put forward in the interests of the Church is truly endless. In theology, philosophy, Biblical criticism, systems of education, social organisation, there is a life, an activity, an eagerness which is full of interest, which is not without its dangers, but which is on the whole healthful and attractive.

If even in fancy the foremost champions of Catholicism

at the present day were brought together into one of those continental houses of parliament where the benches range in semicircles and rise in tiers before the president, they might be divided like present-day legislators into the right wing and the left, the centre, the right centre, and the centre-left. But in each of these divisions there would be numerous subdivisions and groups, with now and then an isolated individual, 'a party to himself alone,' whose views would not fit in with those of any school or of any party. All acknowledge the authority of the ruler who takes counsel with them, but whose power is independent of theirs and is not derived from them. All give allegiance and support to the executive and administrative power without which no commonwealth could hold together. All, however, do not observe the same decorum, nor conduct their discussions with the same grace, nor yield to the deciding voice with the same good will, nor easily divest themselves of the notion that by clever devices they may be able to snatch a decision in favour of their views.

In the centre and its wings we recognize the great assemblage of well-balanced minds, who, yielding neither to reaction nor to innovation, hold a steady course between the extremists on either side. They gravitate to the right or to the left according as they are influenced by what they conceive to be the dangers or the needs of their time.

Conscious and convinced that the Church is a divine institution, the depositary on earth of whatever supernatural power and authority the Saviour of the world was pleased to vouchsafe to mankind, they loyally accept its formularies and decrees. They are proud of the inheritance that has been transmitted to them by the Fathers, the Councils, the Pontiffs of the past. They are conversant with the methods that have been employed against the Church in every age. They recognize with the insight of experts the snares of the heretic, the intentions of the apostate, the incipient manifestations of schism. From a life-long study of theology they have no difficulty in tracing the course of the great stream of tradition. They know, too, that where theological science does not live and flourish religion starves away and dies; that where the deep soil is seldom stirred the crop is often smothered by

tares and weeds, or runs to seed as the result of superficial cultivation.

From a study equally persistent of the Bible they have become familiar with its spirit; but they have also become familiar with the never-ending efforts of rationalism to discredit inspiration and to naturalise the Scriptures. They feel more than ever the necessity of guarding the treasures of revelation as they are being abandoned by those who so long and so loudly proclaimed themselves their only keepers, but they are not averse to an examination of anything they contain in the light of genuine scientific discoveries.

Knowing how religion is brought home to men and made a living and ever-active force, how its purifying influence ennobles life, how surely eternity depends upon it, they attach proportionate importance to its practical side, to the celebration of its mysteries, the preaching of its doctrine, the dispensing of its sacraments, the upholding of its authority; but they are far from ignoring the necessity of meeting the difficulties that arise from the progress of science and from the ever changing conditions of the world. They know full well that a miser who buries a treasure in a napkin can retain it for a life-time without increase or loss, but also without profit or advantage. They are aware that nature is impotent in the work of salvation unless it is *informed* by grace, and that the results of the best efforts of men who have not a good foundation to their will can shrink and wither like a sapless tree; but they also know that the definitions of the Church need to be impregnated with the thought that gave them birth and shape—that they must not be aimed with mechanical indiscretion against forms of opinion that may indeed be wrong but that differ materially from those against which they were framed. None know better than the experienced theologian that gems of the brightest hue in the hands of one who understands their value may be converted indeed into ‘lustreless pebbles’ by the manipulation of dull or shallow minds.

As in other days they defended reason in its own domain against those who would make of it the merest *ignis fatuus* of the marsh in the search for truth and condemn to imbecility the unguided efforts of man’s noblest faculty, so now they

would erect a bulwark against those champions of reason who seek to extinguish the divine light without whose illumination it could have effected so little for the welfare of humanity.

They are fully alive to the necessity of applying the test of scientific investigation to the records of history, and of setting forth in impartial honesty the result of their labours ; but they would set about their work in the Catholic spirit of a Lingard or a Janssen and feel it no part of their duty to lay special and disproportionate stress, for the gratification of a scoffing world, on those evidences of human weakness which now and again darken the page, making of the history of the Church a mere accumulation of scandals, fishing in the mud-pools whilst they had the pure stream and the noble river, winning a reputation for independence and learning by repeating the gossip of prejudiced and malignant scribes.

They would, therefore, confront the thought and the systems of the twentieth century in the spirit in which St. Paul approached the Athenians, in which St. Augustine met the Neo-Platonists and Manicheans, in which St. Thomas dealt with the Gentiles and rationalising Christians of the West. They would meet the disciples of Kant and Harnack, of Comte and Spencer, as Bossuet and Fénelon confronted Spinoza and Jurieu. They would follow the spirit of Sir Thomas More in his controversy with Erasmus, and of Cardinal Wiseman with the Anglicans of his time. And whilst they would allow no single iota of divine teaching to be minimised or obscured, they would examine with open minds what the world has to offer with a disposition to accept and assimilate what is in keeping with its principles, and to reject without hesitation what cannot accommodate itself to the spirit of the Gospel.

Thus will the doctrine of faith get full scope for its vitality and, acting on the minds and lives of men, will it become fruitful in the accomplishment of its Author's merciful design. Its expounders must do their work under the ægis of authority ; but their obedience will be the obedience of love and duty. They are the sons of light and of liberty, and are not required in their father's house to adopt the attitude of slaves.



If now we turn our attention to the benches on the extreme right we see a multitude plentifully dowered with faith, whose spiritual vision is so keen that they require no argument to convince them of the truths of religion. To them these truths are practically self-evident. They require none of the demonstrations that are so highly valued elsewhere. One thing alone they prize beyond all others, and that is the simple practice of a Christian life. They have no patience with their talkative opponents on the left, amongst whom they are convinced there is much vanity, much pride, a disposition to come to terms with the world, to adopt its ways and habits, and so to truckle with the enemies of the kingdom of God. On that side, they tell us, they had seen many come forward with fine programmes, with loud professions of devotion to the Church and to the Pope, with great flourishes about the advance of science, the progress of the world, the inventions of the age; and when their programmes were put to the test and rejected or not accepted in their completeness, they fell away and made common cause with the enemies of the faith.

There, they tell us, sat Lamennais, Loyson, Froschhammer, Döllinger, Friederich, Reusch, Michelis, Reinkens, Gioberti, Passaglia, Curci, Blanco White, Hoensbroeck, Brentano, Muller, Daens, Mivart, and their followers. There, too, sat others who went to the verge of the abyss and were rescued with difficulty—Champollion, Lenormant, Maret, Gratry, Acton, Hecker; and there to-day are their successors Schell, Ehrhard, Houtin, Loisy, Blondel, Klein, Martin, Spahn, with a regular host of democratic Abbés and rationalising critics. There, they say, is the real danger. These men are the friends of the world, the friends of the lords of mammon, the admirers and companions of our enemies. See how they adopt their costume and what a figure they cut in the borrowed garb! See too, save for a few exceptions, how full they are of themselves, how little modesty in their mien, how little regard they show for the seasoned leaders in the strife! Look at Huysmans who has been spending his life in debauchery, who for a decade has been defiling the air of France with the breath of his turpitude!

He is now converted ; but instead of going to hide himself in a desert for fifty years, he comes here from a fortnight's retreat in a Benedictine monastery, and straightway proceeds to lecture us on the heavenly beauties of plain-chant, on the divine symbols of Christian art, on the self-annihilation and ecstatic love of the servants of God, on the most elementary rules of common decency! Look at all these men on the extreme verge! In a few hours, when they leave this place, you may see them in various disguises hastening off to the camps of the enemy with their treacherous information and disreputable tales. They are known as 'Romanus,' 'Verax,' 'Ignotus,' 'Calchas,' 'Voces Catholicae,' 'Spectator,' 'Tibur,' 'Lucens,' 'Gerontius,' 'Xenos.' They are in league with the powers of journalism all over the world. They are hailed as deliverers by that noisy band of youngsters who go about with their scraps of learning and tags of philosophy repeating the catch-words of every enemy of the Church to which, in name, they belong. Remark, too, how distasteful to them are our practices of piety, our innocent devotions, those strengthening exercises of faith which foster the supernatural spirit amongst our people, bring them into the company of their Master, make them gentle in their homes, patient in adversity, diligent at labour, tender of conscience and pure of heart. A taper offered at the shrine of St. Anthony, a flower laid at the feet of our Lady of Lourdes, a penny contributed to the Treasury of St. Peter, excites their derision and their anger ; but we have never heard that they had any of their scorn to spare for the 'mahatmas' of theosophy, the 'spooks' of 'borderland,' the 'demonstrations' of 'Christian Science,' the thousand and one freaks of credulity and superstition that are associated with Protestantism. These strong-minded Christians who speak out so boldly against what they call the 'accretions' of Christianity, the devotions and practices that have the approval of their Church, have scarcely a word to say against the 'accretions' of philosophy, against the follies and absurdities that issue in such profusion from the temples of Minerva. They look on with complacency at the practices of *clairvoyants* and palmists and at the mechanical manipulation of the powers of heaven by all kinds of charlatans ; but these are the results .

of free inquiry and private judgment and deserve all our tenderness. At the worst they are but the poetic remnants of past beliefs, the

Fair humanities of old religion.

You may notice, again, with what practical unanimity they frown at any proposal to restore the patrimony of St. Peter which made the expansion of Catholicism a matter of such certainty in former days, and added so much to the dignity and preponderance of the visible Church. Finally, you may remark how it grates upon their ears to hear that the doctrine of faith which God revealed, is not, like philosophy or any human science, capable of being developed or brought to perfection by the ingenuity of man's intelligence, that it is not a matter either of deduction or induction, of germination or development, subject to expansion or decay, but a sacred deposit entrusted to the Church to be carefully guarded and taught with authority; that it is not dogma that grows or wanes or declines through the course of ages, but the Church that proclaims the truth from the treasure that she guards, making as the occasion demands what was *implicit explicit*, and recalling where necessary the explicit teaching of the past which has not changed and can never change.

Those who remind them of these things are narrow-minded, ignorant, reactionary, obscurantist, out of touch with the culture and the progress of their time. They are neither scientific in their methods nor up-to-date in their information. They are living in the Middle Ages with their heads stuck in the sands of scholasticism. On the other hand, those who love to dwell on the simplicity and poverty of the primitive Church, like Talleyrand and Grégoire during the great revolution, like Arnold of Brescia in the days of St. Bernard, like Giordano Bruno, Fra Dolcino, and all their kind; those who apply to revelation the laws of vicissitude and change that mark the caducity of nature, and that sooner or later bring to naught the works of human skill, all these are men of incomparable gifts. There is no sounding the depths of their knowledge. There is no compassing the extent of their learning. They are prodigies, and the world must know them as such.

Thus you see their black sheep are jet-black, without a single redeeming shade. On the other hand their geese are all swans, and their swans are the swans of *Lohengrin*. They, too, are the knights of the legendary bark who have set out to rescue the princess, now a widow and a captive, and deliver her from the keeping of the tyrants who persecute and degrade her.

Having listened patiently to the criticism so freely and candidly expressed by the members of the right, we should like for a moment to turn the searchlight on themselves and let them be seen as they appear to others. Here is how they are described by Mr. Wilfrid Ward, a man whose signal services to Catholic literature entitle him to be listened to with respect, and one also who, we think, would not object to be classified as belonging to the centre-left :—

But who are the members of the extreme right? They are a motley phalanx, not strictly a party. They include certain types not so much of Catholicism as of human nature. They include the mere lovers of the existing state of things—who are to be found in any polity, civil or ecclesiastical. They include also the fanatical devotees of ancient forms and those who are unable to look beyond the interests of their party or order—not the Dominics and Loyolas or their true representatives in our own time, but those who fossilise their words and lose their spirit—the Dominican who resents the addition of a word to the teaching of St. Thomas Aquinas ; the Jesuit who burlesques the splendid military discipline to which great saints, a Xavier and a Borgia, owed their character and their victories, by attachment to the minutiae of an intellectual drill, whose rules were made for the warfare of three centuries ago. And closely allied to these are the Professors who treat a stereotyped neo-scholastic text-book as the final and exhaustive expression of the teaching of the Catholic Church. There are also the born obscurantists who love to believe the incredible ; the martinets whose pleasure it is to crush genius or originality ; the petty tyrants who look jealously at promise in the young ; the devotees of sheer absolutism—some characterised by heroism and piety, but blind to modern conditions ; some the flatterers of the powers that be. This collection, heterogeneous but powerful, divided locally, gravitating towards each other morally, is not the Ultramontane party. It is not the Jesuit party. It does not include the best type of Ultramontanism—the successors of Fénelon and Newman, nor the best students of scholasticism, nor the best exponents of St. Thomas Aquinas. It includes types differing in

character and motive, but agreeing in this—that they are all sworn foes to novelty, and that each is concentrated on a limited horizon of its own. Thus they cannot see the facts which are the *raison d'être* of the aspirations of those distinguished Catholics who are alive to the conditions of the time. But they can see that these men have one point in common with the restless and the disaffected—in that they are the enemies of red-tape, and the friends of life and movement in the Church. This common element in the two groups they trumpet aloud and call it 'liberalism,' a word steeped in an anti-Catholic connotation. Consequently while the ill-conditioned on the left, dimly conscious of their excesses and absence of weight, claim the wise few as their own, the indiscriminate and uncompromising enemies of progress vigorously re-echo the claim.<sup>2</sup>

Turning now our attention to the left itself what do we see? There, undoubtedly, we find a large number of brilliant and devoted scholars, orators whose eloquence has charmed the world, historians who have made the past to speak with a voice that appeals to the heart as well as to the intellect, artists who have called forth from the depths of history and of nature and of the soul the divine harmonies of the faith; scientists, philosophers, *savants*. Some of these men have explored secular knowledge in branches hitherto neglected. Others have gathered up the results of secular effort in many sciences and brought them here for analysis and investigation. All have this in common that perhaps more than their brethren they have pity on the crowd. They burn with a desire to light up the way for those who are groping in the dark. Some of them know from sad experience the perils of the wilderness. Many are spurred on by the example of Him who came to seek and to save 'that which was lost.' Of a vast number of these it would assuredly be criminal to question the motives or throw doubt on the loyalty. Who would think to-day of denying the services of Lacordaire and Montalembert? Leo XIII. himself has but recently sent his wreath to the tomb of Mgr. Dupanloup, who in his time was regarded as a consistent and uncompromising liberal.<sup>3</sup> Mgr. Darboy sealed with his blood his devotion to that faith which he was sometimes accused of

<sup>2</sup> *The Nineteenth Century*, June, 1900, p. 968.

<sup>3</sup> We speak, of course, of liberalism in the orthodox sense, not of the *liberalism* that has been condemned by the Church.

minimizing and betraying.<sup>4</sup> Who does not bow down with reverence before the venerable figure of John Henry Newman over whom the 'cloud' not indeed of suspicion, but of some vague uncertainty, had hung so long? And if Isaac Hecker transgressed, as he undoubtedly did, the limits of prudence and of orthodox rule in his efforts to build the mystic bridge who can impugn the charity of his intention or entertain a moment's doubt as to what his attitude would have been had he lived to hear the judgment of the supreme tribunal on his words and works?

There is also, we imagine, but very little desire on any side to return to the methods employed in the religious wars of former ages. All is not evil in the new world; but it would be still more absurd and foolish to suggest that all is for the best. Nor can it be denied that one of the dangers amongst the advanced guard of the defenders of religion in our own times is a tendency to introduce the spirit of the world into the Church rather than the spirit of the Church into the world, a tendency to accept the testimony of our enemies rather than what has been handed down to us. People speak flippantly of the bigotry and intolerance of the past, of the narrow-minded exclusiveness of the present, of the stores of good things that the modern world has accumulated and placed within our reach, but which we have persistently rejected and left at the disposal of our enemies. These are the apologists who provoked the eloquent denunciation of Louis Veuillot some forty years ago, but are still amongst us. The words of the great French polemist are worth recalling now:

Some very orthodox Catholics [he wrote] who loudly profess their attachment to the Church, appear nevertheless inclined to lend an ear to the demands of what is at one time called the 'human mind,' at another the 'spirit of the age.' What they understand by that is never clear. Where is this spirit? Is it in Paris or in

<sup>4</sup> At the very time when the martyred Archbishop was most vehemently attacked for what was represented as his opposition to the Roman See, he made his will, which began with these memorable words:—

'Je meurs dans la foi de l'Eglise Catholique, Apostolique et Romaine, croyant tout ce qu'elle croit, condamnant tout ce qu'elle condamne. Je remercie Dieu d'avoir permis que je fusse attaché à son service comme Prêtre et comme Evêque; je le prie de me pardonner mes fautes et de recevoir mon âme dans le sein de sa miséricorde.'—*Histoire de Mgr. Darboy* by Cardinal Foulon, p. 581.

Rome? Is it less in Rome than in Paris? What is this spirit? The answer is not clear. What does it want? A great many things, if we are to believe those who put themselves forward as its representatives, without at the same time presenting their credentials. But what are those Catholics willing to concede to it who call themselves its champions? Nothing that will ever satisfy it, you may be sure. And yet these Catholics reproach us for meeting with an irritating refusal almost everything it demands.

It is freely asserted at the present day that humanity has grown out of its leading strings, that it is emancipated, that it can no longer be treated as a child. But it must be remembered that humanity was not very old when it cherished this ambitious notion. It was in the terrestrial paradise itself that the modern spirit first introduced itself to our race. It offered to show us how we might equal God Himself. We listened to the obliging doctor, and did what he recommended. Our leading strings fell off. Humanity had hitherto been led by speech and sustained by love. It has since been led by the rod and restrained by death. This was what was gained by humanity, and what is still gained by every man who renounces his leading strings.

In order to attain its end the modern spirit assumes several disguises. The principal one, and the most deceptive, is an assumption of piety, of intelligence, and of philanthropy. It shows us learned men, honest and benign of aspect, behind whom a multitude of ignorant people is ranged, ready to follow them wherever they go. Here, they say, is a crowd of catechumens. They only asked to be allowed to enter the Church. Break down those odious barriers you have set up; modify your antiquated discipline; erase from the creed a few insignificant articles; make the concessions which the *spirit of the age* demands, and they are yours. To this language there are always amongst Catholics hearts that yield, heads that give way. We speak of what generally takes place without denying that generous sentiments may have something to say to their decisions. Allowance must be made for the warmth of youth, of eloquence, of early studies, for impetuosity of character, and for that ill-timed charity that in order to increase the flock, forgetting the existence of the wolves, would suppress the shepherd, the watch-dog and the fold.<sup>5</sup>

Veillot goes on to say that the liberals are always loud at the commencement in their profession of loyalty and submission to the Church; but according as they find adherents and supporters their loyalty is less insisted upon. They soon begin to have an opinion of themselves, to feel that they

<sup>5</sup> *Mélanges Littéraires*, vol. i., p. 417.

must be counted with. They think they are a power in the world; and when the supreme authority of the Church intervenes, they are sometimes found woefully deficient in the virtues that they claimed as almost exclusively their own.

Yesterday [they say] they brought, not a new truth, for they were still Catholics, and could not believe in *new truths*, but new developments and new applications of the truths of all time. To-day, when their pretended discovery is pointed out to them in the *detritus* of old errors, and when the torch of the Vatican points it out, lying in the depths of gehenna, with its date and its anathema attached to it, these innovators are not satisfied till they construct a new genealogy for themselves. They go back through the ages, seeking as they go their elders in perversity, finding in all of them something which they had in common with themselves. Thus, they make it clear enough, it was not the modern spirit, but the ancient spirit, that was troubling them, and what they wanted to press on their contemporaries was nothing new, but some tissue of old errors which the world had long since tested and cast aside. They should not stop, however, in their pursuit. If they go back far enough they will reach the first heresiarch, from whom all others proceed, and who has given to the world the first and the last formula of heresy 'non serviam.'

In the depths of all these errors, the degrading burthen of the human mind, which assume each one in its turn the name of 'modern spirit,' there is the soul—the soul that hungers for truth, the soul that is naturally Christian. And as long as Christ shall deign to preserve a voice upon this earth which shall be the voice of truth, so long shall it proclaim to men that they must bear the yoke. And this yoke will never be fashioned or softened by the hands of pride. It will be austere and burdensome; but the love of Christ will make it welcome and sweet—that love which has drawn to itself the finest intellects and the noblest hearts that have shed lustre on the history of humanity. The Christ of the soul will be till the consummation of the world the Christ who spoke to the simple, who loved the humble, who confounded the proud, who saw the publican justified in his confession and the Pharisee condemned in his prayer; who said to the infirm: 'Your faith has made you whole,' and to sinners, 'Your faith has saved you,' and to the doctors, 'Be like little children.' To the end of time the Christ of the human soul will be the Christ of poverty, of tears, and of neglect; the Christ surrounded by the ignorant, the Christ who was flouted and scourged and betrayed, the Christ of the Pretorium, of Calvary, of the Cross. Look well upon Him. There He is, and there is no other. 'Christus meus,' cried out Tertullian. It is the cry of the human soul



for ever. That livid and lacerated corpse, hanging from an infamous tree, was the grandest spectacle that heaven and earth could offer to the eyes of an angry Father. It has conquered the love of the human soul for nineteen centuries, and as long as the soul is capable of the flame of love, so long will the spectacle of Calvary secure within it the preference to all others. Now, as Christ was, so is the Church. As in the naked severity of the cross lies the charm that vanquishes the heart, so in the naked severity of doctrine lies the charm that vanquishes the mind.<sup>6</sup>

The advanced apologists of the present day would undoubtedly resent an attack of this kind as vehemently as it was resented by their predecessors forty years ago. Whether there are many to whom it would apply is a matter that is by no means easy to determine. *Homo enim videt ea quae parent, Dominus autem intuetur cor.* That in the intellectual crisis through which many Catholics are passing in France, Germany, and England, there are some who have lost their bearings and are floundering about in difficulty is evident. Their number, however, is small, and their trouble chiefly arises from the fact that whether in the desire to do full justice to the scientific spirit of the age and make things smooth for others, or to justify their own 'rationabile obsequium' they have made a 'tabula rasa' of Christian teaching, and with reason alone as their guide have sought to meet philosophy and criticism on their own ground, with, if anything, a prejudice in favour of rationalist methods as against the authority of the Church. It is to some extent a reaction against *Diana Vaughan* and her dupes, but in a few cases it has gone beyond all bounds.

The two great systems of modern philosophy that influence the movement against Catholics are the subjectivist theory of knowledge expounded by Kant, and the evolutionist theory as applied to religion by Herbert Spencer and his followers.<sup>7</sup> The former is represented in France chiefly by M. Blondel,<sup>8</sup> a Lycée professor, and M. Lechartier,<sup>9</sup>

<sup>6</sup> *Mélanges Littéraires*, vol. 1., pp. 429, 430.

<sup>7</sup> See *Les Infiltrations Kantiennes et Protestantes* of the Abbé Fontaine, 151-162.

<sup>8</sup> 'Les Exigences de la Pensée Contemporaine en matière d'Apologétique.'—*Annales de Philosophie Chrétienne*, Jan. 1896.

<sup>9</sup> *Ib.*, March, 1901.

professor in a State university, and by the Abbé Mano<sup>10</sup> and the Abbé Martin<sup>11</sup> amongst the clergy. The object of these men is to establish an *eirenikon* between the Church and the universities; for the philosophy of Kant has invaded the great seats of learning to an extent that cannot be ignored. No one can deny that an *eirenikon* is desirable if it be possible, nor can anyone gainsay that in the system of Kant, as in almost all great systems, there are large fragments of truth and many things that everyone can admit. It is another thing, however, to attempt to impose its fundamental principles as dogmas that are not to be questioned, to substitute its *categories* for the eternal law, to deny the very principle of causality as applied to external objects, to restrict liberty to the *noumenal* and deny it to the *phenomenal* operations of the soul. These are but a few of the theories that Kant's disciples would force upon the world, and that certain Catholic philosophers have shown a disposition to accept. What wonder that they should have led some of them to deny the objective reality of the Resurrection and of Transubstantiation in the sense in which they have always been accepted in the Catholic Church?

The evolutionist theory is adopted with more or less qualification by the Abbé Loisy<sup>12</sup> in France, as it was some years ago by Père Leroy<sup>13</sup> in Belgium, and by Father Zahm<sup>14</sup> in America. It is almost useless to speak of the Abbé Houtin<sup>15</sup> as a Catholic apologist, a man whose tenderness is all reserved for the enemies of the faith and whose rancour is lavished on its friends, or of the author of the articles in the *Contemporary Review*<sup>16</sup> on the 'Pope's Policy' and various questions affecting the Bible, as anything but an independent critic, apparently more anxious to expound to Protestants what he conceives to be the shortcomings of Catholicism than to hold up the Church of which he declares himself a member to the respect either of friends or enemies.

<sup>10</sup> *Le Problème Apologétique.*

<sup>11</sup> *Démonstration Philosophique* and *St. Augustin.*

<sup>12</sup> *Les Mythes Babyloniens* and *L'Eglise et L'Evangile.*

<sup>13</sup> *Evolution Restreinte.*

<sup>14</sup> *Evolution and Dogma.*

<sup>15</sup> *La Question Biblique.*

<sup>16</sup> See *Contemporary Review*, Oct., 1892, April, 1894.

It is easy enough for anyone fairly acquainted with the apologetic literature of the past to recognize those who are sincere in their desire to serve the Church and Christianity, and to distinguish them from those who are actuated by other motives. Nobody, for instance, would think of comparing the tone of writers like Baron Von Hügel, Dr. Clarke, Father Zahm, Père Lagrange, or Mgr. Duchesne, with the intemperate hectoring of a Mivart or an Abbé Houtin, or with the sarcastic style of the author of 'The Policy of the Pope.' There is also a dryness running through the works of the Abbé Loisy which, in addition to many other objections, we fear, does not portend much good, and which is not characteristic of the works that have ever been effective in the service of the faith. We should be loathe, at the same time, to utter a harsh word against a man of great ability whose cause is just now in the balance, and whose motives for aught we know may be lofty and pure.

Everyone who has any conception of the difficulties that have been raised within the past twenty years must sympathise with those devoted Catholics who, placing at the service of the Church not only their great stores of acquired knowledge but the penetration and acumen of well trained minds, have, in language becoming dutiful and loyal sons, represented to ecclesiastical authority the actual condition of scientific thought in reference to such questions as the Mosaic Cosmogony, the Deluge, the authorship of the Pentateuch, the historical accuracy of the Bible, the traces, if such there be, of ancient beliefs influencing the narrative of inspired writers, the sense in which miracles like the falling of the walls of Jericho and the stoppage of the sun and moon over the valley of Ajalon are to be accepted, the authenticity of the text of the three heavenly witnesses, and many others of the same kind.

It is undoubtedly one of the greatest glories of the reign of Pope Leo XIII. that in his extreme old age he should have gathered together in Rome from all parts of the world men versed in every department of human knowledge and familiar with every phase of Biblical controversy to report to him on the difficulties that are urged against the traditional explana-

tion of many of these questions. When the Commission has done its work we may expect from the venerable Pontiff a pronouncement that will put an end, as far as Catholics are concerned, to most of these troubles. There may still be grumbling and criticism and controversy; but the great mass of Catholics over the world will remember that it is not to critics, nor to scientists, nor to university professors they owe the blessings of Christian faith. They will recall to mind that as a warning against the pride of place and intellect the Founder of the Church condescended to be an humble tradesman, to make tables and ploughs and cattle-yokes, and that of His chosen Apostles four were fishermen, one a petty tax-collector; two were husbandmen, one a market gardener; that they were all practically illiterate men of the poorer sort.

That their converts were of the same rank as themselves [wrote Cardinal Newman]<sup>17</sup> is reported in their favour or to their discredit by friends and enemies for four centuries. 'If a man be educated,' says Celsus, in mockery, 'let him keep clear of us Christians; we want no men of wisdom, no men of sense. We account all such as evil. No; but if there be one who is inexperienced, or stupid, or untaught, or a fool, let him come with good heart.' 'They are weavers,' he says elsewhere, 'shoemakers, fullers, illiterate, clowns.' 'The greater part of you,' says Caecilius, 'are worn with want, cold, toil and famine: men collected from the lowest dregs of the people; ignorant, credulous women' . . . 'unpolished, boors, illiterate, ignorant even of the sordid arts of life; they do not understand even civil matters, how can they understand divine?' 'They have left their tongs, mallets and anvils to preach about the things of heaven,' says Libanius. The author of *Philopatris* speaks of them as 'poor creatures, blocks, withered old fellows, men of downcast and pale visages.' As to their religion, it had the reputation popularly, according to various Fathers, of being an anile superstition, the discovery of old women, a joke, a madness, an infatuation, an absurdity, a fanaticism.' The Fathers themselves confirm these statements so far as they relate to the insignificance and ignorance of their brethren. Athenagoras speaks of the virtue of their 'ignorant men, mechanics, and old women.' 'They are gathered,' says St. Jerome, 'not from the Academy or Lyceum, but from the low populace.' 'They are whitesmiths, servants, farm labourers, woodmen, men of sordid trades, beggars,' says Theodoret. 'We are engaged in

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<sup>17</sup> *Grammar of Assent*, p. 486.

the farm, at the batlis, wine shops, stables and fairs ; as seamen, as soldiers, as peasants, as dealers,' says Tertullian. How came such men to be converted? and, being converted, how came such men to overturn the world? Yet they went forth from the first *conquering and to conquer*.

It is in such as these that the Church has ever put her trust and hope. If others will only give their allegiance and prove themselves worthy of enlightenment, they will discover very soon that she favours culture, refinement and learning now as she has ever done through the roll of centuries. But to her own ideal she must remain ever true. She can never yield to those who call upon her to sacrifice what is essential for the transient satisfaction of feeling that she has gained a momentary triumph by adopting as her own theories and systems that change with the passing years.

J. F. HOGAN, D.D.

## ‘THE INDIVIDUALITY AND WORK OF OUR NATIONAL APOSTLE’

**I**T is saddening to think that after all that has been written during the last century there should exist now a necessity of writing under the above heading. Yet so it is. An article has appeared in a late number of the I. E. RECORD which has been written for the purpose of countending our national Apostle with Palladius who preceded him on the Irish mission.<sup>1</sup> The writer of the article states that the account of Palladius in the *Book of Armagh* ‘is vague and lays the foundation of a new legend.’ Not an additional word of explanation is given about the legend. But in a few days subsequently I read a book written by a German Professor of Celtic in the University of Berlin, who, like the writer in the I. E. RECORD, confounds Palladius with St. Patrick: he goes further by asserting that our so-called apostle Palladius-Patrick did nothing worthy of the title, that Ireland had been Christianised before him, and that his mission was an utter failure. This book is only a reprint of a contribution to a Cyclopædia of Protestant Theology and Church History; and this fact accounts for the sectarian bitterness and reckless statements of the author.<sup>2</sup>

The theory of Zimmer and other writers is nothing new. In the year 1845 a remarkable article was written in the *British Magazine* by the Hon. A. Herbert, under the title ‘*Palladius Restitutus*.’ He argued on the slender and negative grounds of no mention having been made of St. Patrick during the sixth century in Continental countries, that his history was a forgery. However, he afterwards acknowledged that when writing the article referred to he had never read Dr. Lanigan or any of the Irish writers on his subject.

The renewal of exploded theories or the broaching of groundless new ones about St. Patrick is saddening and

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<sup>1</sup> ‘The Double Personality of St. Patrick,’ by William J. D. Croke, LL.D. Rome.

<sup>2</sup> *The Celtic Church in Britain and Ireland*, by Heinrich Zimmer.

mischievous. For the general reader is disposed to adopt a plausible theory if not contradicted; and if it be contradicted and exposed the general reader is often disposed to consider that nothing certain can be known on the subject.

Herr Zimmer states that the spirit of 'deliberate falsification appears in the Irish Church only after its union with Rome,' as if, indeed, it was not always united to Rome. Again: 'Once the evil principle had been adopted that in the interest of the Church faith might be broken, lies invented, and fiction resorted to, the historical faith was violated.' All this prepares us for his historical positions, and they are maintained in his answers to these two questions:—

Firstly, how is the historical Patricius related to Prosper's Palladius?

Secondly, what part did he play in the Irish Church of the fifth century?

Firstly, that our historical Patricius is different from Palladius is quite certain. In fact, as truly observed by Cardinal Moran somewhere, 'that to Patrick and not to Palladius was given the apostolate of Erin' passed into a proverb with Irish writers. In the year 429 the chronicle of Prosper of Aquitaine, who was in Rome then and on friendly terms with Pope Celestine, contains this statement:—

Agricola, a Pelagian, son of Severianus, a Pelagian bishop, corrupted the Churches of Britain by the insinuation of his doctrine; but at the suggestion of Palladius the deacon, Pope Celestine sends Germanus of Auxerre in his own stead to displace the heretics, and direct the Britons to the Catholic faith.

And in the same Chronicle, under the year 431, we read the following statement:—

Palladius was consecrated by Pope Celestine, and sent to the Irish believing in Christ.

After the death of Pope Celestine in 432, Prosper, who had left Rome and wished to exalt the deceased Pope, dwelt on his zeal against Pelagianism, and added the following statement:—

By ordaining a bishop for the Irish, while he laboured to keep the Roman island Catholic he made also the barbarian island Christian.

Prosper in thus writing anticipated that the scattered knots of Christians in Ireland to whom Palladius was sent would, under his leadership, become a Christian, flourishing Church.

The venerable *Book of Armagh* briefly describes the conduct of our Apostle after his escape from captivity in Ireland, and tells us of his studies and preparation for ordination during many years in the famous school of Germanus, who had been employed by Pope Celestine to defend the faith in Britain. The departure of St. Patrick from home to Germanus in order to prepare himself for the Irish mission is thus described in the *Book of Armagh* :—

When the proper time had come, with the divine assistance he enters on his journey for the work of the Gospel, for which he had prepared for a long time. Germanus sent with him the venerable priest, Segetius, as a companion and witness ; because he had not been consecrated bishop by his lordship Germanus ; for Palladius, archdeacon of Pope Celestine, bishop of Rome, the 25th in succession to the Apostle Peter in the Apostolic Chair, had been already consecrated and sent to convert this island, bound in wintry rigour. But he did not succeed ; for no person can acquire on earth what is not given from heaven. Nor did these uncultured and savage people willingly listen to his teaching, nor did himself wish to spend his time in a strange land ; but returned to him who sent him. On his returning home, having crossed the first sea, and begun his journey by land, he died on the confines of the Britons.

Having heard of the death of Palladius in Britain, for his disciples, Augustine, Benedict, and others, while returning, reported it in Ebmoria, Patrick and his companions interrupting their journey, turned aside to a certain wonderful man, a chief bishop named Amatus, who lived in the neighbourhood ; and there St. Patrick, knowing all that was to happen to him, received consecration from the holy bishop, Amatus.

Without following the account of St. Patrick's journey to the coast and across to Britain, can any person, without abdicating his reason, doubt that our national Saint was a different person from Palladius ? Since the entry in Prosper's work in reference to Palladius there is found no reference to him at home or abroad till the notice in the *Book of Armagh*.

But if uncontradicted by any writer, you may ask on what authority has the statement been made. The Life containing



this reference to our national Saint was written at the dictation of Aedh, Bishop of Sletty, who died in the year 698. The writer informs us that many previously had written Lives of our Apostle, and narrated 'what they learned from their fathers, and what was handed down from those who were witnesses of the Word from the beginning;' and therefore the writer Muirchu had the use of these materials which touched the age in which our Apostle lived. Nor was Bishop Aedh, by whose direction the Life had been written, an ordinary man. The *Martyrology of Donegal*, noticing his death, states, that Aedh was an anchorite, and was among the saints whom Adamnan found as security to free the women of Erin from every slavery that was on them.' St. Aedh, then, was no ordinary saint.

Every subsequent Life of our national Saint follows the *Book of Armagh* in differentiating him from Palladius. If prejudice could have influenced the holy Bishop of Sletty it would tend to have confounded them. For though the consecration of St. Patrick, with the consent of Pope Celestine, was as valid as if actually performed by himself, yet it would be more gratifying to the national vanity of the Irish to have their Apostle consecrated actually by the Pope himself or in his presence; and this would be the result of identifying St. Patrick with Palladius who was ordained and sent directly by Pope Celestine to Ireland. But the consecration of St. Patrick with the consent of the Pope given through Germanus or Palladius whom he was to succeed, was substantially Papal. All the Lives endorse the statement of the *Book of Armagh*, and contrast the shortness of the mission of Palladius with the length of that of St. Patrick—the failure of the one with the wonderful success of the other. I now proceed very briefly to answer the objections of Herr Zimmer.

1. He says it is incredible that two persons should be sent to Ireland within a year, each charged with a different mission.

Why, from the statement in the *Book of Armagh*, the second came as bishop only when the first missionary had died. St. Patrick was on his way to Ireland when he heard of the death of Palladius, but he was coming only as a helper and subordinate to the chief. The mission of each was the same.

The evangeliser of pagan countries received the fullest powers from the Pope. He had powers to unite and break up districts, and to mould all elements into a harmonious whole. His Faculties were limited only by the divine law or the general discipline of the Church. St. Patrick might possibly have been left by Palladius to work as a simple priest for a time as Archbishop Carroll, first Bishop in North America, had, as parish priest, his appointed successor working under him. Such, too, were the powers received by St. Augustine. He could appoint and consecrate his successor lest, as Bede says, the Church should be for a moment without the necessary aid.<sup>3</sup> We learn from the 'Confession' that our Apostle's elevation to the episcopacy was talked of for some time previous to his consecration.<sup>4</sup> The missions of Palladius and St. Patrick present not the least difficulty to any person acquainted with the discipline of the Church.

2. Herr Zimmer grounds the identity of Palladius with our Saint because one was said to be *ordained*, and the other *appointed* bishop for Ireland.

Why, this scarcely deserves an answer. If a half dozen of bishops were appointed these terms *ordination* or *appointment* would be employed.

3. Herr Zimmer says that 'owing to the inferior position of a deacon in Rome Palladius could not be supposed to have been appointed bishop if he were not a Briton and on intimate terms with Germanus.'

(a) No conclusion favourable to him can be drawn by Herr Zimmer from his supposed premises. Several could be Britons and on friendly terms with Germanus without being identical.

(b) If the *Book of Armagh* be appealed to in order to prove there was an understanding entered into at Auxerre between St. Patrick and Germanus, that same Book establishes the identity of Palladius as distinct from our Saint.

(c) I object to the supposition of Palladius being a Briton.

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<sup>3</sup> 'Ne se defuncto status ecclesiae tam rudis ad horam pastore destitutus inciperet vacillare.'—Lib. 2, ch. 8.

<sup>4</sup> Intimation to St. Patrick of his contemplated consecration and their opposition to it afterwards from those in Britain prove that the consecration did not take place in Rome.—*Vide Confession*.

I remember only one person who makes such a supposition. Many writers maintain that Palladius was an Egyptian; others that he was a Greek; very many claimed him as a Gaul; while the Bollandists claim him as an Italian. The probabilities then, amounting to a certainty, are opposed to the *supposition* of Zimmer on which his theory rests and therefore is groundless.

(d) It is asserted that the promotion of a person in such an *inferior* position as that of deacon presupposes a connection with Britain or some private understanding with Germanus.

To suppose a deacon's position in the fifth century to have been of no account betrays ignorance. The power and influence of deacons were incalculable owing to the fact that they had the custody and distribution of the property of the Church. Does Herr Zimmer forget, if he ever heard of, St. Laurence in connection with Pope St. Xystus? On the deacons also devolved the powers of absolving from censures and inflicting punishment while public penances were in use. Who is not acquainted with the correction administered to the lady Lucilla by the deacon Cæcilian of Carthage? So overpowering was the influence of deacons, and overbearing was their conduct even to priests, that Pope Innocent I., in the year 398, had to check the insolence of the deacons and the undue resentment of the priests. Deacons sometimes represented even Popes at General Councils, and by and by became themselves Popes. The deacon John became Pope, who, but a few days previously, addressed 'the holy and apostolic' Bishops of Ireland on the Paschal question. Only ignorance of the history of the early Church could have made Herr Zimmer rest an argument on the supposed inferior position of a deacon in Rome.

(e) The last argument used by Herr Zimmer runs thus: *if* Palladius was a Briton and lived in Rome, his Romanized name was *probably* formed from his barbarian name; and the Lives state that Patricius was called Succat, which signifies warlike, therefore Palladius was Patricius.

Alas! for the reasoning of the Berlin Professor, who tries to help it by still more unreasonable explanations. He states that our Saint as being ignorant got his name changed by others into the equivalent Roman name *Palladius*.

Why, all this wild talk is only begging the question. Does not all this suppose that Palladius and the unclassical author of the 'Confession' are one? And even though we were to admit that Palladius was a Briton, which he was not, may not his name, a very common name, have been his real, original name without any change?

Furthermore, the supposed change of Sucat, our Saint's *baptismal* name, is changed by our imaginative historian into the *family* name Palladius; and if he rejects the account of Palladius in the *Book of Armagh*, he cannot consistently quote it for an account of Sucat on which his argument rests.

But the most ridiculous part of our writer's explanation is reserved for the name *Patricius*. In this particular, as in every other portion of our Saint's career, the writer differs from the old Lives. They assure us that our Saint received this name at his consecration; but the writer from Berlin assures us it was assumed by himself. For, we are told, the 'Saint had a good dose of arrogance,' and that 'he was proud of his alleged aristocratic descent, which was not as distinguished as he would have us believe, and that he was narrow-minded in applying Roman conditions to the small town of his birth,'<sup>5</sup> and then felt himself justified in assuming the *Patricius*.'

This foul and false picture of our Saint is worthy of a sectarian writer. He states that the name Palladius recommended to our Saint as an equivalent for his barbarian name was used by him going to Rome, and that on leaving Rome and coming to Ireland he dropped the Palladius and called himself *Patricius* or *Sucat*, without telling the Irish that he went by the name of Palladius in Rome; and when the writers of the *Book of Armagh* in the seventh century learned from Prosper's Chronicle of a Palladius being sent to Ireland they made two persons out of one, Palladius-*Patricius*! The writer of the above rubbish adds, as a reason for our Saint's concealment of the adoption of the name Palladius from the Irish, their jealousy of imperial Rome.

(a) Now, did not the name *Patricius* suggest imperial

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<sup>5</sup> Placing the town near Daventry is another of the countless blunders the Berlin Professor

authority and aggression as much as Palladius; for it was assumed by the representatives of the emperors? The ordination of Palladius at Rome, mentioned by Prosper, did it not suggest aggressive possibilities? If our Saint concealed from the Irish his having adopted the name Palladius in deference to their jealousy of Rome, how had he the boldness to tell them to be Romans as they were Christians?

(b) Having, as is admitted, Gaulish and British helpers with him coming to Ireland, how could our Saint expect that they would keep as secret the fact that he was known only as Palladius till he came to Ireland?

(c) The Saint states in his 'Confession' that he was faithful and candid in his dealings with all, even with the heathens among whom he lived (Zimmer states that he never mentions a heathen); and is not this declaration inconsistent with his supposed wanton and capricious assumption and dropping of names, and with their concealment from his dearest converts. (*amicissimi*)?

It is trifling with a serious subject to say that the entry in the chronicle or letter of Prosper led to any mistake about St. Patrick. Prosper merely states of Palladius that he was sent in the year 431 to Ireland by the Pope. No attempt is made to prove that the Irish writers ever saw Prosper's statement, which the wildest of theories postulates. Of course the mission of Palladius as distinct from St. Patrick was well known to the writer of the *Book of Armagh*, who had the use of the writings and tradition 'of those who were witnesses of the Word from the beginning.' The Irish writers accordingly carefully defined the limited circuit within which Palladius' brief and unsuccessful career was confined, while they dwell on the long, long stay, and the national, triumphantly successful progress of St. Patrick in Ireland.

Finally, we find the name of St. Patrick in the Roman Martyrology. Is this reconcilable with the supposition and reckless assertion that this name was never known in Rome, but assumed by an 'arrogant,' 'proud,' and 'untruthful' man?

Perhaps I should notice some remarks of Zimmer on the name *Patrick*. In allusion to the term *Cathraige* applied to our Saint by all the Lives on account of his reputed four-fold servitude in Ireland, Herr Zimmer asserts it was a fifth century

form for Patrick, as the Irish employed the letter *C* for *P*, but did not know the meaning of the word they used. Now there is reason for doubting this, and for believing that as *Patricc* was the Irish form in the eighth century so it was in the fifth.

(a) It is a general rule that a loan-word from the Latin dropped the suffix or the declined part, so that in Irish a syllable was cut off: thus we have from the Latin *oblatio* in *oblaid*, *infernus* in *ifferrn*, *offerenda* in *aiffrin*, *sacrificium* in *sacerbac*, *sacerdos* in *saggart*, *altare* in *altoir*; such instances could be indefinitely multiplied; so that *Cathraige* as an Irish form for Patrick would be at variance with the general rule.

(b) It is not true that *P* in proper names was changed into *C*: thus we have Peter (Pedar) Paul (Pol) Pontius (Phoint) Pilatus (Pilat). Tirechan in the *Book of Armagh* gives the Latinized equivalent of *Cathraige* by 'Cahirtiacus,' and not Patricius; and with all respect for Herr Zimmer I believe the Irish scholars of the seventh century are more to be relied on than he for an Irish expression of the idea which they associated with our Apostle. The Celtic professor would have us believe that as the Irish scholars in the seventh century 'ignorantly differentiated' Patrick from Cathraige, so, too, did they make two persons out of Palladius and Patricius. The development of his wild theory is worthy of Baron Munchausen.

Secondly; we come now to the supposed legend: it is this: 'That Ireland was pagan at the coming of St. Patrick and that he converted it in a short time.' Herr Zimmer continues and says, 'he *thinks* the legend thus arose: that the Irish on seeing Columba honoured as the apostle of the Northern Britons, and Augustine as apostle of the Saxons, naturally wished to have an apostle for themselves.'

Now, no person maintains that Ireland was entirely pagan at the coming of St. Patrick. Even the *Book of Armagh*, to which the legend is attributed, states that St. Patrick pointed out some spots where glass chalices were hidden, and removed crosses which he found placed over unworthy objects. But at the same time we contend that our Apostle found Ireland virtually pagan and left it substantially Christian.

(1) In order to have his legendary theory accepted Herr Zimmer would give St. Patrick only twenty-seven years of missionary life, and have him die in 459; whereas all the Irish annals assign his death to the year 493. St. Patrick himself tells us he commissioned a priest whom he trained from infancy to excommunicate Coroticus. The priest was at least thirty years when ordained; he may have been long ordained before receiving the commission; and St. Patrick lived a long time after the excommunication, judging from the fire displayed in his Epistle, before he wrote the 'Confession,' and he lived for an indefinite time after his 'Confession'; and yet we are asked to believe he was only twenty-seven years on the Irish mission!

Herr Zimmer appeals to the writings of our Saint, but not in a fair spirit or truthful language. He has the temerity to state that 'our Saint threatened to turn his back on Ireland because he recognised the failure of his work.'

Nothing could be more untrue. These are the words of our Saint:—

May God grant that I may never lose my people whom He has acquired at the end of the world. I beseech God to grant me perseverance and make me a worthy witness for Him to the end of my life, and the grace to shed my blood with my proselytes and captives for His sake, even though I should be deprived of burial, and my body torn limb from limb by the beasts of the field or birds of the air; for I am certain that should such happen me I would save my soul and body.

Does this look like a desire to turn his back to Ireland?

(2) Zimmer finds another proof of failure in that the Saint says, 'although now I am despised by some men,' and in his 'Confession' says, 'I am despised by most men.'

St. Patrick, referring to his being 'despised by some men,' spoke of Coroticus who slaughtered or took away those who were lately baptised, and who was excommunicated because he did not restore the captives.

As regards the other phrase, that of being 'despised by most men.' This is not an honest translation. The Saint does not say, *contemptus*, but *contemptibilis*, in a spirit of profound humility. His words are:—

I, Patrick, a sinner, the most rustic, the least of all the faithful and *worthy of contempt*.

There are abundant proofs that the Saint did not represent himself as despised by all. He says :—

I ask not honour from man. Sufficient for me is the honour founded on truth. And now I see I am exalted beyond measure in *this world* by the Lord of which I am not worthy.

(3) Herr Zimmer asks (page 31), how could the Irish Church be founded by such a rustic?

He thinks that the high culture exhibited by the Irish Church in the sixth century is inconsistent with such a founder as St. Patrick. However, he ought to remember that St. Ignatius of Loyola was advanced in manhood before he mastered a Latin grammar, yet every path of science and literature was familiar to, and illuminated by his illustrious disciples.

It is forgotten by Herr Zimmer that the humble St. Francis, comparatively uncultured, had followers who were synonyms for knowledge. Such were the 'irrefragable' Hales, the 'seraphic' Bonaventure, the 'subtle' Scotus, the 'wonderful' Antony, and our own countryman, the 'illuminated' de Moronis.

Furthermore, it is not culture of the mind so much as the disposition of the heart and spiritual gifts that lead to conversion. The weak things of this world were chosen to confound the strong; the foolish, to confound the wise; and those of no account, to bring to nought those that are.

While a message or appeal touches only the mind of one man it affects also the heart of another. The judgment of others on the writings of St. Patrick, in contrast to that of Herr Zimmer, illustrates my meaning. The learned Tillemont (*Memoires Eccles.*) speaking of the writings of our Apostle, thus proceeds :—

It must be admitted that the Latin of the saint is very bad. But on the whole this work is full of good sense, and even intellect and fire, and what is better, it is full of piety. The saint exhibits throughout the greatest humility without however lowering the dignity of his ministry. He had also a great desire of martyrdom, even though his body was destined to be eaten by birds and beasts. In a word, we see in the tract much of the character of St. Paul.



Let us now look to the impression left on Herr Zimmer's mind by the writings of the Saint. It was this:—

Celestine, not of his own free-will, but rather yielded to his incessant appeals, and ordained the *eccentric* Briton, Palladius (Sucat), who was arrogant, and his descent was not as distinguished as he *would have us believe*.

Nor is it merely pride or ignorance that is laid to the charge of our Saint. In page 43, he is represented 'as young Sucat who gave himself up to worldly pleasures, and himself owns to have sinned against the sixth commandment in his fifteenth year.'

For these untrue and shocking statements there is no authority. I challenge him to produce any for the alleged youthful habits. The reference given for the other charge does not allude at all to the Saint; but the real reference is found in the passage where our Saint alludes to the opposition to his consecration as he was leaving Auxerre for the Irish mission. 'They came,' he says, 'after thirty years and brought against me *a word* which I had confessed before I became a deacon.' Here, or in any other place, there is no mention of the sixth commandment. It may have been a word of impatience, of indeliberate falsehood, or of a resisted temptation against faith. This is not unlikely; for the Saint added that, notwithstanding the charge against him, 'my faith was approved before God and man.'

(4) The next argument against the apostolate of our Saint shall not long detain us. It is that Pelagius is supposed to have been an Irishman, which proves that cultured Christianity prevailed in Ireland before St. Patrick; therefore Ireland was then Christian.

St. Jerome is the only person who insinuates Pelagius to have been of Irish descent; but St. Jerome was not a good geographer and was away in Bethlehem when he wrote his Preface to the Commentary on the Prophet Jeremias. Moreover, Pelagius is maintained to have been a Briton by Prosper, by Gennadius, by Orosius, by Mercator, and by St. Augustine, the successful antagonist of Pelagianism. And even if we were to allow that a bright youth educated in Christian knowledge on the Continent had come from Ireland, it would not

avail against a volume of historical evidence and solid tradition.

(5) The last argument against our Apostle is founded on the tradition of four bishops having been in Ireland previous to him. These were, as stated, Saints Ailbe, Ciaran, Ibar, and Declan.

In his *St. Patrick*, Dr. Todd shrewdly observes that the tradition of the pre-Patrician Bishops was set afloat about the eleventh century, in order to have a Metropolitan Bishop in the south as in the north of Ireland. It was thought natural, as national supreme authority was established in Munster through Brian Boru, that there should be a spiritual provincial chief in Munster. The alleged pre-Patrician Bishops claimed to have been ordained in Rome and entitled to supremacy as St. Patrick.

I cannot enter into the details of these eleventh-century apocryphal Lives, but shall merely touch on a few salient points.

The first line in the Life of St. Ailbe tells us<sup>6</sup> that he was 'father of all the saints of Munster and another *Patricius* of all Ireland.' This proves that Patrick preceded Ailbe. Fintan, Declan, Colman, Kevin, Bridget, Sampson, are represented as his contemporaries; Pope Clement is represented as unworthy to consecrate him, and then sent him to be consecrated by the angel Victor—Victor, by the way, is described by the *Book of Armagh* as St. Patrick's guardian angel. All these saints mentioned in connection with St. Ailbe belonged to the sixth century, and are commemorated only after St. Patrick in the Stowe Missal of the Mass belonging to the seventh century.

As to St. Ciaran of Saigir, he is represented as consecrated by Pope Celestine, though a contemporary of St. Brendan and of Kieran of Clonmacnois. The compiler of this rubbish, in order to guard against chronological objections, gave three hundred years to the life of St. Ciaran!

In like manner St. Ibar is made the contemporary of Saints Bridget (p. 167), Declan, Ailbe, and of Abban, the nephew of St. Ibar and companion of Patrick Senior (p. 518); and yet all

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<sup>6</sup> Salmanticensian copy, p. 236.

these holy people lived in the sixth century. These worthless Lives, full of self-contradictory statements, are dishonestly appealed to as against authentic history.

I now shall produce direct proof, though probably unnecessary, of the substantial conversion of Ireland by our Apostle. I do not appeal to the venerable *Book of Armagh* which is charged as the source of the alleged legend. I appeal to the Saint himself who alludes to his work, though incidentally, as his object in writing was to defend himself against the charges of presumption or selfishness.

To meet the charge the Saint indignantly asks: ‘Did I expect or receive the smallest coin for the so many thousands whom I have baptised and for the clergy (which includes priests and bishops) whom my littleness ordained everywhere.’ (*ubique*). The sending missionaries everywhere for the work of the Gospel and the countless thousands of people left to St. Patrick for baptism, would not this statement alone be proof that the backbone of paganism was broken by him.

The Saint in the ‘Confession’ exclaims, ‘Whence comes it that in Ireland those who never had a knowledge of God, and who worshipped idols and unclean things have *lately* become the people of the Lord, and are named children of God?’

Does not this clearly prove that the Irish were not Christianised at the coming of our Saint? They made sticks, and stones, and unclean things objects of worship; and this state of things prevailed in Ireland (*Hiberione*) without qualification.

And in continuation the Saint says:—

The children of the Irish and daughters of princes appear as monks and virgins of Christ. There was a very beautiful Irish lady of noble birth whom I baptised; and after a few days she came to me, and said she received a heavenly intimation that she should become a virgin of Christ and draw near to God. God be thanked! within six days with greatest eagerness and edification she received what all the virgins of God receive, not with the wish of their parents; for they suffer false upbraidings from their parents, and yet their number still increases: and besides widows and observers of continence the vast numbers of virgins born here of our own race are beyond counting; but those in slavery have the most to suffer, yet even these, despite threats and terror, have persevered.

I have given without a break this long passage in order to show that not only the commandments, but the counsels of Christianity were observed not merely by the high-born dame, but by the lowly slaves. The passage anticipates an objection made by Herr Zimmer which I did not think worthy of notice: the objection raised is that the monastic spirit in the sixth century in the Irish Church was inconsistent with the episcopal spirit in the fifth.

In another fine passage the Saint meets an objection reproduced at this very moment, founded on his want of learning:—

I ought to give thanks to God for having even me, *ignorant* as I am, undertake in these latter days so pious and wonderful a work, and thus imitate some of those whom God foretold would be preachers of His word, as a testimony to all nations before the end of the world. This indeed, as we have witnessed, has been accomplished. For we are witness that the Gospel has been preached here at the end of the world.

These passages prove that the conversion of Ireland by our Saint was no legend.

Passages might be multiplied in proof that Ireland was substantially converted from a pagan state by our Apostle. Thus again:—

God has bestowed on me the grace of having the many born again for God through me, and that clergy have been ordained (*ubique*) for a people *lately* come to the faith, whom God has adopted at the end of the world, according to the promise of the prophets, 'The Gentiles shall come to thee and say our fathers have made false idols.'

Our Apostle felt justified in stating that the state of things brought about in Ireland verified the rapturous prophetic description of future conversions.

If it were not 'gilding refined gold' to strengthen the testimony of St. Patrick, we would add that of the neighbouring Britons. In order to hinder his coming to Ireland they said amongst other things: 'Why does this man throw himself into danger among enemies *who know not God?*' (*Deum non moverunt*). These men who might, any bright morning, have caught a glimpse of Ireland from their Welsh mountains were

better acquainted with the state of Erin then than is now our professor in the Berlin chair, and were, I believe, more disposed to tell the truth.

The tradition of heathenism prevailing in Ireland, and afterwards disappearing through the ministry of St. Patrick, was embodied in Irish Missals. In the Canon written fifty years before the Life in the *Book of Armagh* and found in the Stowe Missal, the priest offers the Sacrifice for 'the preservation of the founder of this Church and all the people from *the worship of idols*.' In this Canon St. Patrick is the first Saint commemorated after the Roman Martyrs and Saints.

From another Missal found in Cambridge Library, Corpus Christi College, I translate and heartily echo the following prayer:—

O, God, Who chose St. Patrick, apostle of the Irish, for the purpose of bringing them from darkness and the errors of heathenism (*gentilitatis*) to the true light of the knowledge of God, we beseech Thee through his pious intercession that we may hasten the quicker to do what is right.

SYLVESTER MALONE.

## THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF HIGHER CRITICISM

A STAGE has now been reached in our enquiry, where it is not only desirable, but in fact necessary, to consider the origin, probable pronunciation, and meaning of that divine name popularly known as Jehova.

As we saw,<sup>1</sup> the starting point of all higher criticism was the discrimination of alleged Jehova passages from Elohim ones, and around the former group the literary and theological battle still wages at the present day. A hotly contested point is whether the sacred name itself (JHVH), or as in the course of this article it will be called simply *the name*, was first revealed to Moses. The critics almost to a man hold that it was, and their arguments for this amazing assertion will be considered in due season. In this preliminary article, however, our attention may profitably be confined to the three questions already mentioned, which are regarded as the external aspects of the case; afterwards we shall be in a position to examine the two momentous texts of Scripture<sup>2</sup> that are misinterpreted by the critics.

Reverting, therefore, to the first question under consideration at present, it is evident that *the name* or its equivalent in another language is of pre-Hebrew origin.<sup>3</sup> Its use at a very

<sup>1</sup> I. E. RECORD, December, 1901.

<sup>2</sup> Exod. iii. 14; vi. 3.

<sup>3</sup> The time is gone when Hebrew or any other of the Semitic tongues could be regarded as the oldest language in the world. Collectively they form but one family among many, and that family is by no means either the largest, or the most perfect, or the most fundamental. Scholars of the present day, when a thousand different languages are known to exist, have abandoned the hope that was formerly cherished of being able to account for all these varieties, although it is certain that they all come from one stock. The ablest philologists while aware of the common origin of all languages have to be content with well established connections and analogies between the Aryan, Semitic, Turanian or Ural-Altaic, Hamitic, and other great divisions.

Then as regards the Semitic group, and in particular that member of it with which we are concerned, *viz.*, Hebrew, it is certain that when the Semites entered the plain of Sennaar or southern Babylonia (Genesis xi. 2) they found there a people that spoke a non-Semitic language, or to put it positively, a Turanian one. Thousands of inscriptions in this agglutinative

early period in the history of mankind is attested in Genesis iv. 26. It belongs, as we shall see, to a period when as yet the Semitic dialects (Assyrian, Hebrew, Phœnician, Aramaic, Samaritan, and Arabic) had not been differentiated, and existed only potentially in some parent form of speech.

But wherever *the name* came from originally, one thing is certain, it was in course of time preserved only in Hebrew. A great many attempts have recently been made to show that it could be found in the language of the northern cuneiform inscriptions, but as a writer in *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible* truly says: 'The occurrence of this name or of a similar one in Assyrian cannot be regarded as certain.' Assyriologists, or at least the orthodox ones, agree on this, so it may be sufficient to give the relevant words of the Oxford Professor of Assyriology.

language, dating approximately from 4500 to 2500 B.C., have within the last twenty years been dug up in the country that lies between the Euphrates and the Tigris. We designate the people as Sumerians, from Sumir, their name for their own country, which the Hebrews called Sennaar. From this people the Semites borrowed the system of cuneiform writing or syllabary which is used in the Babylonian and Assyrian inscriptions, though as belonging to an agglutinative tongue, it does not suit their own Semitic which is inflectional. They also borrowed words, one of which, as we shall see just now, is preserved in Genesis. Here, however, it should be observed that neither instance of borrowing shows conclusively that the Semitic language was of later origin than the Sumerian, though a presumption exists that the Sumerians were the more cultured race in one respect, and the less cultured in another.

The word preserved in Genesis, one of great importance in the history of the human race, is 'Eden,' the name of that region in which the garden of Paradise was situated. The word Eden though found also in Assyrian (*edinu* = a desert, or a plain) is originally not Semitic, but Sumerian. On the bilingual tablets (Sumerian-Assyrian), the Assyrian word '*seru*,' which means 'desert,' is the translation of '*edinu*.' Of course many people imagine that Eden is synonymous with Paradise, indeed a Hebrew word exactly resembling it does mean delight and is used in the later books; but that is not the Eden of Genesis. There, ii. 8, we read of the 'garden in Eden,' and *ib.* v. 10, of the river which flowed from Eden into the garden. In addition to this it may be said that though other proper names occurring in the beginning of Genesis, *vis.*, Adam, Eve, Abel, Seth, can be shown to have a suitable meaning if they are interpreted by Hebrew (red [?], life, son, placed) and one of these meanings is attested by Scripture, still if these words be taken as Sumerian, a meaning will be obtained which is equally in accord with Holy Writ. Thus, Adam (*Sumerian*, Ada-mu, my father, or Ada-me, *our father*. Ball however explains A-dam as 'side-spouse'; see his *Light from the East*); Eve (*Sumerian*, Ama, *mother*. M in Sumerian becomes V in Semitic, thus Ava is easily got. In Hebrew Ava is our first mother's name); Abel (*Sumerian*, ibila, *son*). It is true that though no Hebrew stem appears to be connected with this word, it can be explained by the Assyro-Babylonian 'aplu' = a son; *cf.* Assur-bani-pal = Assur-begot-a-son; nevertheless the

Sayce makes the following observations<sup>4</sup> :—

The name of Yahveh, which is united with Elohim in the second account of the creation in Genesis, and by which the national God of the Hebrews was distinguished from the gods of the heathen, is a name upon which oriental archæology has yet shed but little light. Even its meaning and origin are obscure, though we now know that the full form Yahveh, or rather Yahavah, and the shorter Yeho, Yo, existed side by side from an early date. In the cuneiform texts, Yeho, Yo, and Yah, are written Yahu, as for example in the names of Jehu (Yahu-a), Jehoahaz (Yahu-khazi), and Hezekiah (Khazaqiyahu). But there are also contract-tablets found in Babylonia, on which the names of Jews occur, and these names are compounded not with Jahu, but with Ja(h)ava(h). Thus we have Gamar-Ya'ava or Gemariah, and Ya'ava-natanu or Jonathan.

Such names prove that in the time of the Babylonian exile there was as yet no superstitious objection to pronounce the name of the national God, such as had become prevalent before the Greek translations of the Old Testament were made.<sup>5</sup> The substitution of *Adonai* or Lord, for Jahveh, was the work of a more modern age. It was a substitution which had curious consequences when the study of Hebrew was revived in Western Europe.

The employment of either form of the name by any other people than the Israelites is a matter of doubt. It is true that in the time of Sargon, there was a King of Hamath who was called Yahu-bihdi, and since the name is also written Ilu-bidhi in one of Sargon's inscriptions, where Ilu or El takes the place of Yahu, it is plain that Yahu here must be the Yahu or Yeho of Israel. But Yahu-bidhi was an ally of the Jewish king, and it is therefore quite possible that he may have been of Jewish descent. It is also quite possible that his earlier name was Ilu-bidhi, which

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prototype of the word is not Semitic but Sumerian. Seth (*Sumerian*, Sesh *brother*). Sh in Babylonian is constantly changed into Th in Aramaic, through which, perhaps, the name Seth passed into Hebrew. (See the article by Sanda, in the *Zeitschrift für Kath. Theologie*, Jan., 1902.)

If these names were Sumerian and have been made Semitic as they now appear in the Hebrew Bible, so that in Semitic they bear a meaning, may it not be possible that the name (JHVH), is not the earliest word to embody the idea which it expresses, but only a Semitic translation? May not Genesis iv. 26, 'Then began men to call upon the name of the Lord,' refer not to the enunciation of JHVH, but of a word belonging to Sumerian, or perhaps to the primitive language itself? May it not be that this little text of Scripture carries us back to a time before Semitic was spoken?

<sup>4</sup> *The Higher Criticism and the Monuments*, p. 87 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Sayce might have added that a contemporary of Isaias, Mess, the idolatrous King of Moab, shows that he knew the name of the God of Israel, for in the 18th line of his famous inscription on the 'Moabite Stone' (discovered in 1868, and now preserved in the Louvre), he says, 'I took the . . . of JHVH.'



was changed to Yehu-bidhi after his alliance with Juda, just as the name of Eliakim was changed into Jehoiakim after his accession to the throne.<sup>6</sup> It would seem that this had really happened in the case of another Hamathite prince.<sup>7</sup>

Apart from the names of Jews and Israelites, and that of Yahu-bidhi, the cuneiform inscriptions, in spite of the wealth of proper names which they contain, show us none that are compounded with the name of the God of Israel. Until, therefore, evidence is forthcoming, we may conclude that it was not used beyond the limits of Israelite influence. That it was known, however, is evident from the cuneiform tablet now in the British Museum, which gives a list of the various equivalents of 'ilu,' god. Among them we find 'Yahu.' The Babylonian scribe has attempted an etymology of the name, which he has connected with words signifying 'myself' in his own language. Such etymologies, however, have no scientific foundation, and are in consequence valueless.<sup>8</sup>

We may now pass on to the second part of our enquiry: what is the probable pronunciation of *the name*? In order to answer this question it will be necessary to enter into details which are in themselves rather uninteresting, so the indulgence of readers is craved while these technicalities are being explained, and it is promised that the explanation shall be as short as possible.

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With occasional exceptions in the case of certain letters, it may be said that all the letters of the Hebrew alphabet are consonants. Or, to put it in another way, the written word represents only the consonantal sounds of the spoken word. This is due partly to the peculiar structure of the Hebrew language (and of course of the other Semitic ones) in which consonants are of paramount, indeed almost of exclusive importance, and partly to the radical imperfection of the Hebrew alphabet itself, which was made at a time of rudimentary knowledge, and never afterwards altered or improved. To

<sup>6</sup> 2 Kings xxiii. 34.

<sup>7</sup> Sayce wrote this eight years ago: it should be mentioned that recently grave reasons for doubting the existence of this Ilu-bidhi have been given. See *Encycl. Bibl.*, iii., 3322. On the other hand, Schrader refers to Yehu-bidhi and other alleged instances, in the new edition of his monumental work *Die Keilinschriften und das A. T.*, p. 66.

<sup>8</sup> Delitzsch also in his *Babel und Bibel*, June, 1902, says that Jahve and Javu were known in Babylon, and that the proof is found in the proper names, Ja-ah-ve-ilu and Ja-hu-um-ilu. (See *Revue Biblique*, July, 1902.)

read Hebrew script correctly, or in many places even to understand it, a knowledge of the vocalization is of course indispensable, but that information was imparted orally at first and continued to be so as long as Hebrew was a living language. It began at a much later date to be represented by means of lines and dots collectively known as vowel-points. These written signs which indicate the phonetic complement of consonants in speech or of the letters in the script, were invented in the sixth and seventh centuries of our era by the Jewish doctors called Masorets (*i.e.*, possessors of tradition), in order to denote authoritatively and to fix for ever the traditional pronunciation of the books of the Old Testament. The whole collection of these proto-canonical books is indeed so small, that the correct reading could have been, and was down to that time, preserved by memory alone. With reference to the vowel points it is particularly to be observed, that these subsidiary helps as not being part of the sacred text—or Scripture materially considered—are regarded by the Jews as profane. They are consequently not admitted into the MSS. destined for liturgical use. They may be found in private copies, but the reader in the synagogue has to depend for his pronunciation altogether on his acquaintance with the consonantal text. So much by way of introduction.

Our next introductory remark is this. In Hebrew there are several names for God (in fact six, besides metaphorical appellations), and the most expressive of them all, not only most appropriate but incommunicable, the so-called *tetragrammaton*, is thus written in the original, JHVH (Jod, He, Vau, He).<sup>9</sup> It is found no less than 6,823 times. The pronunciation is however unknown; at some remote period it was either deliberately kept secret or accidentally lost; and since that time wherever JHVH occurs alone, another divine name 'Adonai' (*Lord*) is read instead by the Jews, both in the synagogue and outside it. This practice of substitution is very ancient, traces of its existence being found long before the Christian era. It explains why the Septuagint version (begun about 250 A.C.)

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<sup>9</sup> Consonantal Jod is always pronounced as Y; in diphthongs it corresponds to 'i.' For convenience JHVH is used here instead of the Hebrew mn.

almost invariably represents JHVH by *ο κυριος* (the solitary exception being *ο δεσποτης*, Prov. xxix. 26), and what is more significant still, why the Peshitta, which was apparently made by a Jew,<sup>10</sup> uses in the same way the word 'marja,' as if it were an equivalent. The Syrian translator, in contradistinction to the Greek, could not have experienced the slightest difficulty in forming in his own Semitic language a word that would correspond letter for letter to JHVH, be derived from the same stem by the same process, and have the same meaning. It would have been easy for him to make a word that would correspond to it more closely than the Syriac 'Alaha' corresponds to the Hebrew 'Elohim.' He must have acted as he did solely for extrinsic reasons. So, too, Origen did not transliterate JHVH, but put Adonai in the second column of his Hexapla (*i.e.*, the column in which the pronunciation of the Hebrew was indicated). Our own Vulgate shows that St. Jerome too was influenced by the practice of his Jewish masters in this, as he was in many other things.<sup>11</sup> For JHVH the Vulgate has Dominus almost everywhere.<sup>12</sup> Indeed the only place in the Pentateuch where Dominus is not thus employed is the all-important text, Exodus vi. 3, but here St. Jerome surpasses his customary loyalty, for the conventional substitute is actually retained. The Vulgate has: 'Et nomen meum Adonai non indicavi eis. In the original JHVH is still to be seen, but true to the teaching he had received, St. Jerome reproduces in the middle of his Latin version, the Jewish pronunciation of the tetragrammaton. This he did presumably on account of the supreme importance of these words in the Book where everything is important, or in order to emphasize and we might say to italicise the narrative of a revelation made to

<sup>10</sup> See *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*, s.v., or *Kaulen's Einleitung*, p. 122.

<sup>11</sup> See *Revue Biblique*, 1898, p. 564.

<sup>12</sup> With reference to the other divine name which is so irreverently bandied by the higher critics, viz., Elohim, it may be useful to some readers to know that St. Jerome translates it almost everywhere by Deus. Hence, nearly all the so-called J, E, JE, passages (*i.e.*, those respectively characterised by the use of Jehova, Elohim, or Jehova Elohim, as the name of God), may be identified in the Vulgate, by means of Dominus, Deus, Dominus Deus. (N.B.—For sake of perspicuity, the popular pronunciation of JHVH may be tolerated here.)

Moses that had not been vouchsafed to Abraham, Isaac, or Jacob. We shall have occasion elsewhere to refer to the consequences of this departure from his habitual practice.<sup>13</sup>

It may also be mentioned that in one of his epistles to Pope St. Damasus, St. Jerome retains the customary Adonai even in his transliteration of a Hebrew sentence. He says, 'In centesimo decimo septimo Psalmo, ubi nos legimus "O Domine saluum me fac, O Domine bene prosperare: benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini," in Hebræo legitur, Anna Adonai Osianna, Anna Adonai aslianna, baruch abba basen Adonai.' In the three places where St. Jerome writes Adonai, the text has JHVH.

The last step in our investigation is the examination of

<sup>13</sup> The only other place in the Vulgate where Adonai occurs is Judith xvi. 16: 'Adonai Domine, magnus est.' This book was translated from the Aramaic or Chaldaic, but as the original text is no longer extant, it is not possible to know which divine name or names St. Jerome had before him.

Adonai occurs in the Hebrew, or the protocanonical books of the Old Testament, 131 times (*Dict. de la Bible*) or 134 times (Gesenius). For instance it is found in Genesis eight times (being used seven times by Abraham, and once by Abimelech), and in Exodus in three places (being used by Moses) before the passage vi. 3, where, as we saw, it does *not* occur, though a person dependent on the Vulgate would be led to think it did. The word itself is a plural of excellence, for it literally means 'my lords.' It is used by men in reference to God, as Gesenius says, 'precipue (atque in Pentateucho, ni fallor semper) ubi Deum submisce alloquuntur.' Adonai is, so far as we know, always translated in the Vulgate by *Dominus*, and no word could convey its meaning better. But for this very reason, where *Dominus* is made to do double duty, it fails. Where it is employed to represent JHVH, it obliterates the marked distinction that exists between the two Hebrew words and thus prevents many people from knowing the significant antithesis that in some places is to be seen in the original. One such instance will suffice. 'Dixit Dominus Domino meo' stands for 'JHVH said to my Lord (*Adoni*),' but it does not perhaps convey to everyone that reads it, the meaning which David expressed and which our Lord explained in His argument (St. Matthew xxii. 44). David means that Jehovah, God Eternal as such, said to God Incarnate, Adonai, David's Lord (in the sense in which He, Jesus of Nazareth, is our Lord, but neither the Father nor the Holy Ghost is) to sit at His right hand. There is, therefore, in these few words of the Psalmist a complete Messianic prophecy.

In many similar passages, to understand the sense, it is necessary to read the original. As Vigouroux says well (*Dict. de la Bible*): 'Il faut consulter l'original en plusieurs endroits, pour savoir quel est le nom divin dont s'est servi l'auteur inspiré, parce que les traducteurs n'ont pas rendu les appellations bibliques d'une manière qui permette de les distinguer les unes des autres. C'est ainsi qu'on peut savoir seulement par l'hébreu si le terme original, rendu par Dominus, est Adonai ou Jehovah; la Vulgate, en effet, n'a que le mot *Dominus* pour ces deux dénominations divines. Voir Abdias, i, ou *Dominus Deus* correspond a "Adonai Jehovah," et Habacuc iii. 19, ou *Deus Dominus* traduit Jehovah Adonai.'

this very word Adonai. In Hebrew it consists, as *the name* JHVH does, of four letters; namely, Aleph (the light breathing, or *spiritus lenis*), Daleth, Nun, Jod. Its traditional vowels are, *a, a, o*, and in a Masoretic Bible their corresponding 'points,' for which we will here substitute italics, are combined with the consonants thus: 'aD<sub>o</sub>N<sub>a</sub>I.

Now to conclude. As we saw above, the original or proper vowels of *the name* are no longer known, and the word, whatever its true sound may be, has now to be conventionally pronounced—Adonai; therefore in Masoretic or vocalised copies of the Hebrew text, the vowel-points of this name are joined to JHVH, but simply and solely as a mnemonic. By a rule of Hebrew orthography, however, the 'a' which belongs to the Aleph must first be changed into 'e' to suit the letter Jod. Thus, instead of J<sub>a</sub>H<sub>o</sub>V<sub>a</sub>H we see J<sub>e</sub>H<sub>o</sub>V<sub>a</sub>H, the first vowel-point of which must nevertheless in consequence of a law of orthoepy be read as 'a,' because the whole artificial combination has to be pronounced as Adonai. In Masoretic editions this occurs no fewer than 6,518 times<sup>14</sup>; the 'Kethib or written word being J<sub>e</sub>H<sub>o</sub>V<sub>a</sub>H, and the 'Keri perpetuum' or pronounced word invariably being 'aD<sub>o</sub>N<sub>a</sub>I, or Adonai, so that to mark it on the margin would be superfluous.

When both these divine names occur together, as happens in 305 places (216 of them being in the Book of Ezechiel), JHVH has to borrow the vowel-points of another divine name, Elohim. There it appears to the eye thus J<sub>e</sub>H<sub>o</sub>V<sub>i</sub>H, and the compound appellation is read as Adonai-Elohi, or where the order of the names is reversed, as it is once in the Book of Habacuc, and thrice in the Psalter, Elohi-Adonai. If our readers have had the patience to master these details, they must see that the Masorets were aware that *the name* had no longer its own inalienable vowels, and acted in conformity with this knowledge, by supplying it with different sets of vowels according to different circumstances.

There are two other very interesting facts which show just as conclusively as the variable phonetic complement, that the vowels, *e, o, a*, generally combined with the letters of *the*

<sup>14</sup> Oxford Heb. Lex., s. v.

*name*, are not considered its own, and consequently that the fixed pronunciation which it must have had at one time is lost, but the arguments based on these facts are rather too technical for use here, and the proofs given above will, it is hoped, be deemed sufficient.

Nevertheless, though it was contrary to all the laws of Hebrew grammar and to analogy, as well as to the clearly expressed intention of the Masorets, some unknown individual *did* combine those consonants and vowels, the result being the barbarous word JeHoVaH.

It is, sad to say, now so firmly established in popular usage, that any, even the most heroic, efforts to dislodge it, would certainly prove unavailing. It has a poetic sound, and the ears of the people are attuned to it. On the part of scholars, however, there is no desire to attempt its removal, and in all probability it will never be set aside, nor outside scientific circles is it worth while even to allude to the speculative advantages that might result from an approximation to the correct pronunciation.

No one can tell who invented Jehovah, but it is found for the first time in a celebrated work, the *Pugio Fidei* of Raymond Martini, O.P. (1278). The author, who is thought to have been a convert from Judaism, shows in his great controversial treatise a most intimate and extensive acquaintance with both Jewish usages and Rabbinical literature, and parts of the literature quoted by him are not extant elsewhere. It is quite possible that he saw Jehovah in some book that is no longer to be found. The next writer to bring this mispronunciation, as we must call it, into prominence was P. Pietro Galatini (better known as Galatinus), a Franciscan, and confessor to Leo X. In his famous work, *De Arcanis Catholicæ Veritatis*, he used it and recommended it, though at the same time he did not quite approve of its being uttered. He says: 'Sed sic omnino debet et scribi et pronuntiari (si tamen pronuntiandum est.)' Luther adopted the new form, and the great popularity it enjoyed among the early Reformers is doubtless due to the currency of Luther's version.

On the other hand, scholars like Drusius (who is however mistaken in saying that Galatinus fabricated it), Capellus who

was the adversary of Buxtorf, and Genebrard, O.S.B., who was St. Francis de Sales' professor and afterwards became Archbishop of Aix, condemn Jehovah as an ignorant innovation. Speaking of the passage in which Diodorus Siculus calls the God of the Jews Iao, Genebrard observes:—

Conatus est exprimere tetragrammaton, sed satis incommodè. Nam literæ quidem ad hunc sonum (Jao) inflecti possunt, ut ad illum quem hodie multi novitatis cupidi efferunt, *Jova*<sup>15</sup> vel *Jehova*, verum aliena, imo vero irreligiosa, nova et barbara pronuntiatione, ut contra Calvinianos et Bezanos multis locis docuimus.

Elsewhere he expresses himself thus:—‘Impii vetustatis temeratores et nominis Dei ineffabilis profanatores atque adeo transformatores Jova vel Jehova legunt, vocabulo novo, barbaro, fictitio, irreligioso et Jovem gentium redolente.’ Genebrard erroneously attributes the innovation to Sanctes Pagninus:—‘Qui vocem peregrinam Jehovah primus confinxit ac irreligiosa profanaque novitate novatores istos imbuunt.’ We have looked through Sanctes Pagninus’ Latin version of the Old Testament (Lyons, 1527), but found Dominus everywhere; and a careful examination of the great scholar’s *Thesaurus Linguae Hebraicae* has been made, but nothing that would substantiate this charge was found. A writer in *Hastings’ Dictionary of the Bible* states that the form Jehovah is not older than the Reformation. This mistake could have been avoided had the writer consulted (Archbishop) Smith’s work on the Pentateuch (1868) in which it is stated that the word was used by Raymond Martini.

We may here sum up what we have said by observing

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<sup>15</sup> This attempt to connect Jehovah with Jove has been in recent times again made by De Wette, Gesenius, etc. Scholars such as many of them were should have known better. Jove is a contracted, or to speak more precisely, an apocopated form of Djovis which comes from the Sanscrit *diva* (heaven), of which the Sanscrit word, *deva*, (god), deus, Zeus, Tiu, Tuesday, are also derivatives.

Many are the tentative or suggested pronunciations of the name. Clericus proposes *Jahavoh*, Delitsch *Jahavah*, Böttcher *Jahvah*, Fürst *Jihveh*, Robertson Smith *Jahaveh*. Some modern scholars, however, still defend *Jehovah*; the ablest among them being Leusden, Fuller, Michaelis, and Drach. The last named was a convert from Judaism to Catholicity, and his work, *L’harmonie entre l’Eglise et la Synagogue* (1844) is a masterpiece of erudition. The pronunciation, however, which at present, for reasons both intrinsic and extrinsic, commands most respect is ‘*Yahwe*’ which was first proposed by the great Hebraist, Ewald.

that whatever doubt may exist with respect to the original and correct pronunciation of *the name*, one thing is certain, viz., that Jehova is not it. The *Encyclopædia Biblica* utterly ignores the conglomerate, apparently because it considers it beneath notice. As Sanday truly remarks: 'It is a conflate form, with the consonants of one word and the vowels of another.' Almost all competent judges condemn it, as being a mispronunciation. From the grammatical point of view it is incorrect and inadmissible; moreover, it has no meaning, and it could never have got into currency but that the pronunciation of *the name* is lost. Few facts in history are more significant than this, and none perhaps more clearly indicative of the rejection of the Jews. They have neither altar, nor sacrifice, nor knowledge of *the name* of God.

We know, however, that the ark of the covenant and the altar of incense are still preserved, but that no man shall see the place where Jeremias deposited them, till God gather the congregation of His people and receive them to mercy. On that day perhaps *the name* of God, pronounced of old before the ark by Moses and Aaron and Aaron's successors in the priesthood, will be heard once more as the token of reconciliation and peace. But in the present circumstances all that can be hoped for is a tentative reconstruction of the word. We can attain no more, and therefore a pronunciation that will satisfy the requirements of the case, so far as we understand them, may be provisionally accepted.

JAHVE (*pronounced* Yahwe) is as near the true form, as antecedently we are likely ever to get. It is recommended by a large body of eminent scholars, and it has a meaning;<sup>16</sup> besides, it has in its favour analogy, and what is more—the ancient transliteration of the Hebrew word. St. Epiphanius, who was well versed in the language, mentions among the six

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<sup>16</sup> The grammatical analysis of this suggested form discloses a meaning which, as we shall see, when we come to consider Exodus iii. 14, is that expressed by Almighty God. He says there, 'I am who am,' and declares that this is signified by His name. This metaphysical truth of the unity of God, and of the identity of essence and existence in God alone, which is familiar to students of the *Summa*, is so clearly explained in Vigouroux, *Dict. de la Bible*, that it seems we cannot do better than quote the passage. 'Dieu ne peut se définir que par l'existence, car il est l'Etre, l'Etre tout court, rien de plus, rien de moins; l'Etre concret, l'Etre absolu, l'ocean de l'Etre substantiel.'



names of God *Ιαβη*, which he explains as *ὅς ἦν καὶ ἐστὶ καὶ αἰὶ ὧν*.<sup>17</sup>

Theodoret on his part informs us that the Jews of his time pronounced *the name* as *Ατὰ* or *Ια*, but that the Samaritans [who were apparently not restrained by superstitious fear], as *Ιαβε*.<sup>18</sup> It should be added that the cognate forms *Ιαουε*, *Ιαη* are given by Clement of Alexandria and Origen respectively. And an Ethiopic MS. now preserved in the Bodleian,<sup>19</sup> gives as one of the names of our Lord, Jahve, which according to it means 'faithful and just.' It must, however, be acknowledged that the MS. is not said to be of Jewish provenance, and also that the list it contains was confessedly drawn up for use in magical rites. Nevertheless, if Jahve here be due to genuine Jewish tradition, the MS. affords an additional argument.

Next to 'Jahveh,' the form 'Jehjeh' is, perhaps, the one most entitled to consideration. It is that given by St. James of Edessa (✠ 708). As he was so well qualified to speak on this subject, being thoroughly conversant with the rules of comparative Semitic orthoepy of which indeed he made a special study, and being, moreover, the inventor of an improved system of Syriac vowel-points, his statement is authoritative and the pronunciation which he gives has a claim to respect.

It is obvious, however, that the pronunciation just suggested cannot be the archaic one, but is due to the change of 'v' into 'j' (JHJH for JHVH), an alteration caused apparently by the desire of assimilation to 'Ehjeh asher ehjeh' ('I am who am,' Exodus iii. 14): the modified pronunciation current in the time of Moses. We shall in the next

<sup>17</sup> He says:—'Ατὶνα καὶ ἐνταυθα σπουδασθησονται ἐρμηνευθέντα κεισθαι τὸ Ἰσραὴλ Θεός. τὸ Ἐλῶειμ Θεός αἰὶ, τὸ Ἡλὶ Θεός μου, τὸ Σεδδὰι ὁ ἰκανός, τὸ Ραββῶνυ ὁ κυριός, τὸ Ια κυριός, τὸ Ἀδωναι ὁ ὧν Κυριός, τὸ Ιαβη ὅς ἦν καὶ ἐστὶ καὶ αἰὶ ὧν: ὡς ἐμνηνεύει τῷ Μωϋσῃ, ὁ ὧν ἀπεστάλκε με εἰς πρὸς αὐτοὺς (Migne, P. G. xli. 685).

<sup>18</sup> Τούτο δὲ παρ' Ἑβραίοις ἀφραστον οὐνομίζεται, ἀπειρητοῦ γὰρ παρ' αὐταῖς διὰ τῆς γλωττῆς προσφέρειν. Τρηφεται δὲ διὰ τῶν τεσσάρων στοιχείων, διὸ τετραγράμμον λεγούσι. Καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτὸ Σαμμαρεῖται μὲν Ιαβε, Ἰουδαῖοι δὲ Ιαω.

<sup>19</sup> See Driver's article, 'Recent Theories on the Origin and Nature of the Tetragrammaton,' *Studia Biblica*, i.

article have occasion to revert to this point, so at present it may be said that St. James of Edessa is not the only one to attest the existence of this mode of writing *the name* in the Christian era. It is a very interesting fact that the very same consonants (JHJH) written in the ancient or pre-exilic Hebrew character have been found in a recently recovered fragment of Aquila's version (given in Swete's *Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, p. 39), and that even here, as Burkitt has ingeniously shown, these letters are to be read as *ο κυριος*. St. Jerome was evidently aware of this method of writing *the name*, for in an epistle to Marcella<sup>20</sup> he mentions a curious consequence of thus retaining the four letters in a Greek MS. 'Nonum, τετραγραμματον quod ανεκφωνετον id est ineffabile putaverunt, quod his literis scribitur, Jod, He, Vau, He. Quod quidam non intelligentes propter elementorum similitudinem cum in Græcis libris reperint *IIII* legere consuerunt.'

Though he mentions JHVH, it is obvious to anyone who knows Hebrew that the mistake he speaks of almost requires that JHJH should be in the MS. And writing to Pope St. Damascus he indirectly shows his own use of the form JHJH, for he speaks of the 'quod proprie in Deo ponitur, Jod, He, jod, He, id est duobus Ja, quae duplicata ineffabile illud et gloriosum Dei nomen efficiunt,' but as appears from his words he pronounces it somewhat differently and derives it from the repetition of another divine name, Ia (which occurs, e.g., as the last component of Allelu-ia = Praise ye the—Lord).

In both these passages St. Jerome speaks of *the name* as 'ineffable.' It is well known that the rabbins tried to find a reason for their avoidance of *the name* in Lev. xxiv. 16 ('He that blasphemeth the name of the Lord, dying let him die'), which they said meant that he who pronounced JHVH should die. There can be no doubt that 'nakab' the first verb here is sometimes equivalent to 'to manifest,' but it has not this meaning here: and it is equally true that it often signifies 'to blaspheme,' and this is the meaning it has here. The context (v. 11) proves this conclusively. Hence the Vulgate 'Qui blasphemaverit nomen Domini, morte moriatur' is right, and

<sup>20</sup> *Epistola de decem nominibus Dei*, Migne, P.L., xxii., c. 429.

the Targum, the Peshitta, and the Septuagint) *ονομαξων δε το ονομα κυριου θανατω θανατουσθω*) are, with due respect to them, all wrong. Reinke quotes<sup>21</sup> some passages of the Talmud which go so far as to assert that he who dares to utter *the name* will not have eternal life.<sup>22</sup>

The Jews' painfully anxious observance of self-imposed precepts, their minute attention paid almost exclusively to externals, their erroneous substitution of their own traditions for the law of God could hardly be exemplified in a more striking way. 'Behold Israel according to the flesh.' Their Scriptures attest that the patriarchs had addressed God by this His holiest name, He Himself uses it and commands Moses to use it when before Pharaoh and in the presence of the people. Not only this, God also declared that it was His name for evermore, and declared that His purpose in leading the people out of Egypt was that 'His name might be spoken of throughout the whole earth.' The prophets and the psalmists never tire of proclaiming the glory of that name and of calling on the people to praise it. But notwithstanding it all, that people misled by their Scribes and Pharisees, deem

<sup>21</sup> *Beiträge*, iii., p. 25.

<sup>22</sup> This Jewish practice of not pronouncing *the name* was known to ancient ecclesiastical writers. Theodoret, as we saw already, remarks that *the name* is *αφραστον*, and Eusebius that it is *αρητων*. This is quite in agreement with the statement of Philo, who says that the golden frontlet or the plate which the high priest wore on his forehead had inscribed on it the four letters of *the name* 'which may be uttered and heard in the holy place, by those only whose mouth and whose ears are purified by wisdom, and may not be spoken elsewhere by anyone whomsoever' (*Life of Moses*, Bk. III.): χρυσουν δε πεταλον ωσανει στεφανος. εδημιουργειτο, τετταρας εχον γλυφας ονοματος, ο μόνος τοις ωτα και γλωτταν σοφια κεκαθαρμενοις θεμις ακουειν και λεγειν εν αγιοις, αλλω δουνδει τοπαρταν ουδαμων. If the statement in the Jerusalem Talmud, tract Joma iii. 9, quoted by Scholz (*Die hl. Alterthümer*, ii. 84), be correct, on the Day of Expiation or Atonement the high priest when with his hand laid on the head of the victim in the holy place he confessed his sins aloud (Lev. i. 4; v. 5), thrice uttered *the name*, and each time the priests, Levites, and others present, knelt and praised it. Philo also says that to pronounce *the name*, which by the way he was the first to call the *τετραγραμματον*, at a wrong time was a crime deserving capital punishment. Clement of Alexandria also says *το τετραγραμмон ονομα το μυστικον, ο περιεκειτο οις μονοις το αδυτον βασμιον ην*. The Babylonian Talmud states that the name was not uttered even in the holy place by a high priest, after the time of Simeon the Just (*circa* A.C. 270): in this, it is opposed to the Jerusalem Talmud, Philo and Josephus. As we have spoken of the golden band or plate worn by the high priest (often called a crown or diadem) we may add that it is mentioned in Exod. xxxix. 6, also in xxxix. 29, where we read that on it was engraved 'The holy of the Lord,' or literally 'Holy to Jahveh' (קדש יהוה) but, of course, in the archaic characters,

it a crime to utter *the name* which summed up and recalled all the mercies of the Covenant. But it is time to pass on to the third question.

Without entering into details that must be reserved for the following article, we may now explain the meaning of the name. Jahve comes from 'havah,' a Hebrew verb, the infinitive of which signifies 'to be.'<sup>23</sup> Havah is, to speak accurately, the third singular masculine perfect, which is considered by grammarians as the stem, and Jahveh is the corresponding part of the so-called future, or imperfect tense. It should be noted that neither 'perfect' nor 'future' possess in Hebrew the special signification they have acquired in Latin or in Greek; neither of them indicates the order of time (past, present, future), they express on the contrary only the kind of time (incipient, progressive, complete). The Hebrew future or imperfect must often be rendered by our present. Jahveh means 'the one who is' (*i.e.*, the absolute and everlasting one), and its explanation<sup>24</sup> 'Ehjah asher

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Josephus, too, speaks of this inscription: in the *Antiquities* he says, 'τελαμων δ' ἐστὶ χρυσεος, ὃς ἡτοῖς γραμμασι τοῦ Θεοῦ τὴν προσηγορίαν ἐπιτετυμῆμενος ἐστὶ,' and in the *Wars of the Jews* he adds, 'χρυσὸν στεφανὸς ἐκτυπωμα φερὼν τὰ ἑα γράμματα.' (Cp. S. Jerome's words about the high priest in one of the most valuable letters he ever wrote, 'Habet cidarim et nomen Dei portat in fronte, diademat ornatu est regio.'—*Epist. ad Fabiolam*). It may be interesting to know that the identical golden plate made by Moses was preserved not only down to the time of Josephus (*Antiquities*, viii. c. iii., 8, 'The crown upon which Moses wrote the name was only one, and has remained to this very day,' *ἡ δὲ στεφανὴ εἰς νῦν τοῦ Θεοῦ Μωϋσῆς ἐγράψεν ἡν καὶ διαμένειν ἀχρὺν τῆσδε τῆς ἡμέρας*), but even to the time of Origen (Reland, *De Spoliis Templi*, iii.).

There is presumably some connection between the practice mentioned above and a statement in the Mishna, tract Sota, (quoted by Scholz, *Die hl. Alterthümer*, p. 76) to the effect that when giving the blessing of Aaron (Numbers vi. 24-26) the priest uttered the ineffable name if he were in the temple, but Adonai if he happened to be elsewhere, for instance, in a synagogue. Josephus, though he was a priest, when describing the revelation of the name to Moses, stops short and merely remarks 'concerning which it is not lawful for me to say any more'—*περὶ ἧς οὐ μοι θεμιτὸν εἰπεῖν*. (*Antiquities*, Bk. ii., xii. 4.) He has a similar scruple about making known the exact words of the Ten Commandments (*ib.* Bk. iii., v. 4). As however Josephus himself was by no means an exemplary individual, his external respect may be due to the servile traditions of his nation and to his having been for a time a Pharisee.

<sup>23</sup> It means also 'to live'. From it, as was said above, the name of one of our first parents is derived—Eve, in Hebrew 'Havah,' given to her because she was the mother of all the *living*.

<sup>24</sup> Exod. iii. 14.

chjeh' means 'I am who am.' As Fürst quoted by Reinke says:—

*Jahveh* factum est ex futuro verbi *Havah*, ad similitudinem formarum *Jitsaak*, *Jahakob*, quibus status perpetuus, continuus et in infinitum durans exprimitur. Quare *Jahveh* vertendum est *ens æternum*, explicatioque nominis qua æternitas illa tanquam tres in eones discinditur (ο ων και ο ην και ο ερχομενος, Apoc. i. 7, cf. xi. 17) non in vocabuli tanquam compositi tripartitiendi etymo, sed in futuri vel potius imperfecti, quod statum diuturniorem limitibusque temporis non circumscriptum denotat, emphasi maxime fundata est.

In the next place, it may be useful to say that the J in Jahveh, as in the two personal appellations (Isaac, Jacob) which Fürst refers to, is an indication that the bearer of the name possesses as his characteristic quality whatever is denoted by the verb that forms part of the word itself. For instance, Isaac (from *tsaak*, to laugh) means 'the laughing one,' Jacob (from *kahab*, 'to supplant') 'the supplanter': and so Jabin (*bin*) 'the intelligent man,' Jebsem (*basem*) 'the amiable,' Jephthe (*patah*) the deliverer, etc. Hence the verbal noun Jahveh means 'the One who is, the Existent in a sense in which nothing else exists.'<sup>25</sup> Many scholars are of opinion that St. John paraphrases the name of Jahveh in the Apocalypse, where he calls God ο ων και ο ην και ο ερχομενος<sup>26</sup> (i. 4, 8; iv. 8) and ο ων και ο ην (xi. 17), where the Vulgate adds, 'et qui venturus es.' St. John's ο ων may be a reminiscence of the Septuagint which has Εγω ειμι ο ων and ο ων απεσταλκε με (Exod. iii. 14). The same idea is expressed in αιωνιος, which occurs in the Septuagint of Baruch (iv. 10, 14, 20, 22, 35; v. 2.), and as Hebrew was the language of the original, it is morally certain that Jahveh was the word used in all these places. It should be mentioned also that the *Græcus Venetus* usually translates Jahveh by by one of these words, οντωτης, οντουργος, ονσιωτης.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Oxford *Heb. Lex.*

<sup>26</sup> It is conjectured that ερχομενος, which is found in these two passages has, in preference to εσομενος, been used by St. John on account of its being a Messianic title in the Gospels and in order to indicate that Christ will come to give the victory to His Church militant, the trials of which are foretold in the Apocalypse.

<sup>27</sup> Swete, p. 57.

The verb 'havah' in this form is quite common in Syriac and Aramaic, but rare in Hebrew.<sup>28</sup> In the Old Testament it occurs only ten times. The form used there is 'hajah,' which is found in very many passages (3,570 according to Oxford *Heb. Lex.*). Havah was the original or first form, and apparently belonged to the parent Semitic language or stem of which Hebrew and Syriac are offshoots. The word survived in one, and became almost obsolete in the other, being found in Genesis and then perhaps as an archaism after a long interval in some of the later books, viz., Ecclesiastes, Isaiah, and Nehemias.

The following is the explanation of the name given in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*. The statement in the first paragraph is correct, but in the second and third there are some errors, which will, however, easily be detected.

A much more difficult point to decide is the original meaning of the word Yahwe. In E. of the Pentateuch, JHVH transposed from the third person into the first, is explained by God Himself first by 'I am that I am' (Ehjah asher ehjah) and then by the simple 'I am' (Ehjah). YHWH is here obviously regarded as the third person imperfect of the archaic stem HWH (to be), in the sense of 'he is (and manifests himself) continually,' with the additional connotation of remaining the same, so that the name would express both the attribute of permanence and that of unchangeability, and especially unchangeability in keeping promises, *i.e.*, faithfulness.

This explanation, offered in the Old Testament itself has been felt by many modern scholars (beginning with Ewald) to be only an attempt to explain a primitive name that had long since become unintelligible, and, further, to be simply the product of a religious-philosophical speculation, and far too abstract to be by any possibility correct. Increased importance is given to these considerations by the observation that the name is in no sense peculiar to the Hebrews [*sic*], and on other soil it must originally have had a much simpler, and in particular a much more concrete signification.

<sup>28</sup> Hommel's remarks on this subject are worth quoting. 'I may here mention that Yahveh does not mean "He who strikes down" (*i.e.*, the God of battle or of lightning), as the higher critics fondly imagine, but is an Arabic rather than a Hebrew (Canaanitic) form of the ancient verb "*hawaya*," Hebrew, "*hayah*," "to be, to come into existence," and belongs to the very earliest language of the Hebrews, as spoken in the time of Abraham and of Moses, prior to the epoch of Canaanitic influence. The names of the witnesses in the ancient Babylonian contract-tablets of the time of Abraham bear witness, therefore, to the correctness of the traditional Biblical explanation of the All-holy name of Yahweh.'—(*Ancient Hebrew Tradition*, p. 102.)

Then comes a list of fanciful and irreverent etymologies and interpretations suggested instead of the Scripture one, by Wellhausen, Schrader, etc.: all which the writer in the *Encyclopædia Biblica* has the good common sense to condemn. He then continues:—

It is not to be denied that JHVH may have had originally a much more concrete signification than that given in Exodus iii. 14. Nevertheless, it seems precarious to suppose that while Hebrew was still a living language, the people should have been so completely deluded as to the meaning of the most important the sacred name. The objection that Exodus iii. 14 rests on a piece of too subtle metaphysical speculation, falls so soon as we cease to force into it the abstract conception of 'self-existence,' and content ourselves with the great religious idea of the living God, who does not change in His actions.

There is, however, an explanation in *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*, which, inasmuch as it is subsidiary to this one, and at the same time brings out prominently the idea of faithfulness which is implied or connoted here, should be mentioned, though it is not to be understood that mention is unqualified approval.

With regard to the verb 'havah,' *first*, it does not mean 'to be' essentially or ontologically, but phenomenally; and *secondly*, the imperfect has not the sense of a present (am), but of a future (will be). In Exodus iii. 10 ff, when Moses demurred to go to Egypt, God assured him saying, *Ehyeh immak*, 'I will be with thee.' When he asked how he should name the God of their fathers to the people, he was told *Ehyeh asher ehyeh*. Again, he was bidden to say '*Ehyeh* has sent me unto you'; and finally, '*Yahweh*, the God of your fathers, has sent me unto you.' From all this it seems evident that in the view of the writer 'Ehjah' and 'Yahweh' are the same: that God is *Ehyeh* when speaking of Himself, and *Yahweh* 'he will be,' when spoken of by others. What He will be is left unexpressed—He will be with them, helper, strengthener, deliverer.

This is called the 'historical' interpretation; in the opinion of some, the 'metaphysical' one is better; but this is a question that will engage our attention some other time.

REGINALD WALSH, O.P.

## THE IRISH RESIDENTS IN ROME

A SHORT time ago, the editor of the *Ulster Journal of Archæology* was good enough to send me a copy of that Journal, containing an article on the Irish in Rome in the seventeenth century. The reading of this article was to me a genuine pleasure, as, indeed, it could not fail to be to all those interested in the relations, past and present, of Ireland with the Holy See. It occurred to me at the same time, that some account of the Irish residents, and Irish influence in Rome in the twentieth century, would be very acceptable to a wide circle of readers. The migratory tendency of the race has been noted from the earliest times, and it may be accepted that, even now, in every country of the habitable world, Ireland's faith and nationality are represented in her children. If the Irish are to be found so universally in the world, whether by tendency or necessity, we are not to be surprised to find them in Rome, to which we are bound by a thousand ties. It has been calculated, that Ireland is represented in no fewer than fifty ecclesiastical institutions of the city; and not only in the Church, but the medical, literary, and social departments are fully and adequately represented; and so, I might go on grade by grade, to find an Irish cabman in the streets of Rome.

Of the Irish institutions in Rome, perhaps, the most interesting are the Irish College, St. Isidore's, and St. Clement's. The Irish College was founded by Pope Urban VIII., at the earnest request of the Irish Bishops, in 1626, who hoped thereby to keep in closer contact with Rome, and maintain uniformity of ecclesiastical teaching and discipline. Like many young institutions, it had its days of severe trial, and at various times occupied four different sites in the city, not to speak of its having, at times, to eke out a kind of wandering existence. In 1835, the present College, which had been until then utilised as a convent, was presented by Pope Gregory XVI., to the Rector, Dr. Cullen, subsequently



Cardinal Archbishop of Dublin. It is situated in the Via Mazzarino, adjoining the magnificent and gorgeous buildings of the Bank of Italy, and almost by the Via Nazionale, which is a new street, and now the great thoroughfare of Rome. At present its students number about forty, although heretofore, it accommodated more than seventy; but owing to improvements in the plan, and sanitary arrangements made recently, portions before occupied by students had to be utilised.

The Irish generally who visit Rome, call at the College, partly on account of its historic associations, and the position and influence of its Rector, who may be able to secure an audience, or permission to see the Holy Father, for such, at least, as are fortunate enough to reach the Eternal City, when such opportunities arise. Indeed, it happens, that many remain months in Rome, and are obliged to leave without seeing the Pope. This may arise from the fact that, at times, audiences and other facilities of seeing the Pope are suspended. In the church of St. Agatha, attached to the College, is enshrined the heart of O'Connell; and scarce a day passes during the tourist season that does not bring hither its quota of pilgrims. The students of the Irish College attend the Propaganda College for lectures, but there are private classes, which are attended to by the Rector, Vice-Rector, and Prefect of Studies, who is usually an Italian. The Prefect of Studies, now, is Don Massimo Massimi. Monsignor Murphy, and Rev. Father Byrne, both of the Diocese of Dublin, are, at present, Rector, and Vice-Rector respectively.

Very closely associated with the Irish College is St. Isidore's. Indeed, it may be said Father Luke Wadding, its founder, and first guardian, was also the founder of the Irish College. To his advocacy, aided by the princely Cardinal Ludovisi, nephew of Pope Gregory XV., the Irish Bishops entrusted their appeal to the Holy See, for its foundation. St. Isidore's was founded in 1625, and is now the chief educational centre of the Irish Franciscans. The community numbers about thirty, and all the studies, including lectures, are confined to the monastery. It is stated, the discipline is very rigid, and the original rule of the Order is as closely

observed as existing circumstances will allow. The coarse brown habit and sandals are worn, even, on the streets, with bare heads, and very broadly tonsured. There is the midnight Office, when all assemble in the choir, and nearly an hour is devoted to the divine chant. The fasts of Lent and Advent are most rigidly observed; and yet the health of the community is excellent. A common impression exists in the monastery, that the general health has considerably improved since the return and strict adherence to the original rule. St. Isidore's was originally a hospice belonging to the Spanish Franciscans. The property was purchased of them, by Father Luke Wadding, along with the church dedicated to St. Isidore (Agricola); and the church still retains its original name.

The façade has a statue life-size to the patron saint over the right entrance, and on the left is similarly a statue of St. Patrick. Exteriorly the church is not very imposing, but the interior is decorated with much taste and expense. Indeed, it is quite common in Rome to find churches whose exterior is anything but inviting, decorated within in the most elaborate and artistic fashion. There is also a valuable library attached to the College, with frescoes of Father Luke Wadding, Father Hugh MacCaghwell, Father John Colgan, and Father John Punch. Father Wadding was born in Waterford, 1588, and died in 1658. He was the author of many learned and interesting works. His bones have been transferred from the church and placed in a little oratory by themselves, in a carved wooden Sarcophagus, and are regarded with great reverence by the community. The Sarcophagus bears the inscription, "Ossa Waddingi Collegii Fundatoris." Curiously enough, in those days, the names and surnames were both translated into Latin. Father MacCaghwell was born at Saul, County Down, in 1572. He belonged to the Scotist school of Theology. He wrote several theological works, and was appointed to the See of Armagh, by Urban VIII., on the feast of St. Patrick, March, 1626. He was consecrated in Rome, 7th June of the same year, but died of fever shortly afterwards, and never reached Ireland. On the tablet in the church to his memory, his name is translated Hugo Cavellus. The name of Father John Colgan must not be omitted, who was also associated with

St. Isidore's. Father Colgan was born at Carndonagh, in Inishowen, County Donegal, in 1592. He was the author of several works, including the *Acta SS. Hib.*, published in Louvain, in 1645, and the *Trias Thaumaturga*, in 1647. His death occurred at Louvain, in 1658. Father John Punch was a contemporary of Father Wadding, and was born in Cork. He was for some time Rector of the Irish College. These names readily occur to me, and are among the most prominent of those associated with the institution. I had the privilege of knowing the late Guardian, Father Bonaventure Ahearne, a native of Kerry, and his assistant, Father Antony Clery, a native of Clare, who maintained all the traditions of St. Isidore's for learning and piety. The present Guardian is Father Patrick Cahill, and the Vicar is Father Francis Walsh. The monastery and church occupy a very elevated position, not far distant from the Propaganda, commanding a view of the entire city. Portion of the studies and novitiate are made at Capranica, a town of some 3,000 inhabitants, which is about twenty-five miles distant from Rome. Capranica is also the summer residence, where the community spends the vacation. Father Antony Clery is now in charge of the convent there. It will thus be seen that St. Isidore's is a valuable acquisition to the Franciscan Order, and, as it happens, 'tis immediately under the protection of the British Government, so that its appropriation by the Italian Government, under any circumstances, is impossible. It is stated, the Guardian, time and again, has been offered enormous sums by the municipality of Rome for portion, even of the recreation grounds. The good Father rightly, I think, refused the tempting offers. St. Isidore's possesses a beautiful original portrait painting of Hugh O'Neill, Baron of Dungannon. The face is youthful, but betrays a sadness in keeping with his visit to Rome. O'Neill's sword is also preserved there, and the Fathers are always pleased to exhibit this most interesting relic.

I purpose speaking briefly of St. Clement's, the monastery of the Irish Dominicans at Rome. Its record is better left to one or other of the many historians, and archæologists, for which the Order is so renowned. The church of St. Clement, situated in the Via di S. Clemente, is one of the

best preserved basilicas of Rome, and its history dates back to the days of the republic. Father Mullooly, who died in 1880, formerly prior of the monastery, did much in antiquarian research, causing excavations to be made, which resulted in most important historical discoveries for St. Clement's. Underneath the present church, which is unique for its sanctuary and mosaics, three different strata of masonry have been discovered. The Basilica under the church at present in use, is mentioned by St. Jerome as early as 392, and a Council of the Church was held here in 417. It is beautifully lighted on the feast of St. Clement, 23rd November, when it is visited by vast crowds. It may also be visited on the 1st February, and the second Monday in Lent. On these occasions it is illuminated and therefore seen with better effect, but the Fathers always endeavour to meet the wishes of visitors to Rome, who are anxious to see the Basilica. A variety of opinion exists as to the exact uses of the two strata of buildings, to be found beneath the Basilica; even the buildings immediately below the lower church are visited with difficulty, not to mention the lowest strata. The church is dedicated to St. Clement, the third successor to St. Peter, and is built according to tradition, on the site of his house. St. Clement's is in close proximity to the *Colosseum*, and about equidistant from the grand Basilicas of St. Mary Major, and St. John Lateran, not, however, in a direct line. The community numbers about twenty-five, the Prior being the Very Rev. P. Dowling, who, though exceedingly retiring, has the reputation of being a distinguished theologian. Father Costello, who has been for many years resident in Rome, and is noted for his researches on Irish history at the Vatican Library, where he is almost a daily student, is Sub-Prior. Father Lyttleton and Father Duggan are also connected with the institution. Father Lyttleton is one of the editors of *St. Thomas*, and it is understood that St. Clement's has the honour of giving an additional member to that staff in the person of Father Horn. The summer residence is at Tivoli, some eighteen miles from Rome, where is also the summer residence of the Irish College. From Rome there is a communication by train, and tramway, and here, not unfrequently, the students of the

Irish College and St. Clement's meet and sing on the hillsides overlooking Tivoli, some cherished Irish air, which is occasionally caught up by the Italian peasantry coming to town, and sung with the most ludicrous effect.

I cannot omit to say a word of San Pietro, in Montorio, even at the risk of departing from the original title of this paper. Here repose the remains of the princely O'Neills and O'Donnells. The church, which is now in the hands of the Spanish Franciscans, is on the Vatican side of the Tiber, near the gigantic monument of Garibaldi, and overlooking the entire city. The tombs are side by side, half way up the nave of the church, and except the arms of the O'Neills and O'Donnells, with the lengthened inscriptions in Latin, there is nothing to arrest the attention of the Irish visitor. They are placed horizontally, and form portion of the pavement, so that they are easily overlooked. It is hardly necessary to state that the O'Neills and O'Donnells were of the little band of Ulster Chieftains who sailed from Lough Swilly, in Donegal, 14th September, 1607, to escape from the hands of Sir Arthur Chichester.

The reigning Pontiff received them with open arms, and extended to them every consideration due to their rank and misfortunes, at the same time rendering them even pecuniary assistance.

The Pontiff rose, and took them to his breast,  
And, weeping, blessed, and welcomed them to Rome :  
' Here may the exiles of the world find rest ;  
Here, O my children, find a hearth and home—  
Religion is the host, and you the guest.  
Lord ! with thy sweetest consolations come  
To those who, firm through agony and shame,  
Contended for the glory of Thy name.'

Worn out with fatigue and anxiety, Roderick O'Donnell, Earl of Tyrconnell, died a year after his arrival in Rome. The date of his death is given as 28th July, 1608. On the 15th September of the same year, his brother Cathbar died, and soon afterwards his secretary, Matthew O'Multully, and his physician, O'Carroll of Moydristan, who are all buried in Montorio. In the same church there was a monument to Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, bearing the simple inscription,

'Here rest the bones of Hugh, Prince O'Neill.' The slab is no longer traceable, and probably has been defaced during the progress of the church's restoration. His death is recorded on the 20th July, 1616, and he was the last of the chieftains buried here. Hugh O'Neill, Baron of Dungannon, his son, pre-deceased him, his death occurring on the 24th September, 1609, and while yet in his twenty-fourth year. In 1610, his son Bernard was assassinated at Brussels, and his youngest son Con, who had been left behind in Ireland, was confined in the Tower of London, and nothing is known of his end. The slab and lengthened inscription are to the young Baron of Dungannon. The inscription details the sufferings for the faith, his relationship with the Earl of Tyrconnell, being his nephew, and the date of his death. As we have seen the monument to his father, the Earl of Tyrone, cannot be traced.

He died : Rome keeps his ashes evermore.

Of all his greatness, but his tomb remains—  
A fragment wreck upon a sainted shore.

The dawn breaks and the golden evening wanes  
Down crypt and aisle, and folds its splendor o'er

The sepulchres abloom with tender stains—  
The holy monuments, within whose space,  
Inurned, repose the chieftains of our race.

Thus it will be observed the Ulster Chieftains, notwithstanding the welcome and generosity so liberally extended to them by Pope Paul V., but survived their harsh treatment a few years.

Side by side with the O'Neills and O'Donnells repose the remains of Archbishop MacMahon, Bishop of Clogher, in 1609, and subsequently of Dublin, 1611. He founded the Irish College at Louvain.

From the days of St. Patrick, Ireland has ever been a source of spiritual solicitude to the Head of the Catholic Church, and in return the fidelity of the Irish has always remained unshaken. As in the late South African War, the Irish by their bravery, have popularised and legalised the wearing of the Shamrock, so, too, they covered themselves with glory, fighting bravely for the Papal States, against

unprincipled Victor Emmanuel, and his notorious emissary Garibaldi. It will be remembered that owing to the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War, the protection of the French Government could, or, at least, was no longer extended to the Holy Father. In 1870, the followers of the Sardinian King found it comparatively easy to turn to good account the war-cry of a 'United Italy.' Among the many Irishmen who distinguished themselves on the frontier, we find the names of Peter J. Byrne, Sergeant Shea, and Captain D'Arcy. On the 20th September, the Italian troops invested Rome, by some strange coincidence, the very day on which the German army invested the Capital of France, the city of Napoleon III., who had ordered the French troops to be withdrawn from Italy, thus, leaving the Holy Father practically defenceless. The bombardment commenced at five o'clock in the morning, and continued for five incessant hours. Perhaps the most destructive fire was directed against the Porta Pia, which was defended by Captain Delahoyd, an Irishman, with about 100 Zouaves, against 25,000 Italian troops having no fewer than 100 siege guns, and 40 light ones, pouring forth a flood of fire against the antiquated walls of the doomed city. The position was gallantly defended until the last moment, even until all hope of successful resistance had vanished. Throughout, Captain Delahoyd displayed the greatest bravery, and his conduct elicited the admiration of the army and people of Rome. Writing to the father of Captain Delahoyd, a resident in Rome on that occasion, stated, 'You may well feel proud of him. He defended the Porta Pia gallantly, against vastly overwhelming odds. Everyone in the army gives him the greatest praise. He carries with him into whatever other service he may enter a prestige few men attain as a good soldier, a brave officer, and a thorough Irishman, faithful to his country and the Pope.' Amongst those who held the breach and distinguished themselves for valour, may be mentioned Charles Lynch, James Egan, D. Sampson, Mr. O'Cleary, all Irishmen: Sheehan and Cronin, County Cork; Dooley, County Kildare; and Murray, Dublin, equally distinguished themselves, and were presented, after the fight, to their superior officers, in recognition of their gallant conduct.

The Irish, therefore, it will be seen, have stood by the Holy See in its greatest hour of trial, and for this reason, their devotion is, and shall always be remembered.

It is stated the present King of Italy, Victor Emmanuel III. was trained by an Irish governess, and from this source secured what English he has, which he is said to speak with something akin to a brogue. Let us hope he profited, in other respects by the example of his teacher. I have heard him spoken of variously. One account referred to him as the most thoughtful and considerate of men, with a strong religious tendency; and, again, I have heard him spoken of as more anti-Catholic and hypocritical than Victor Emmanuel or Garibaldi. Personally, however, I am inclined to believe, without giving any reasons here, he would be very pleased to have the Italian difficulty with the Vatican settled.

The late Apostolic Delegate to the United States, now Cardinal Martinelli, received his English education from the Irish Augustinians of Rome, being for some time connected with that community. The Cardinal speaks the language fairly well, but with a marked accent. His knowledge of English acquired during his connection with the Irish Augustinians, probably led to his appointment at Washington. Of the Irish Augustinians at Rome, the Very Rev. Robert O'Keeffe is now superior. The convent is at Sant Agostino. Father O'Keeffe is a native of Kilkenny, and, in appearance, might be on one or other side of sixty, but is strong, healthy, and cheerful. The relaxing Italian climate in no way lessens his energy. He has settled, with great difficulty, the question of St. Patrick's church and hospice, eliciting well-deserved and general praise. Most of the circumstances have been detailed recently in the public press. The Very Rev. A. Walsh is Assistant-General. He resides at Santa Monica, Via Sant Uffizio. The summer residence is at Genazzano, about thirty miles from Rome. There is attached to the monastery here a vineyard, while the monastery itself is an extensive pile of buildings, built in the Italian monastic style. Not unfrequently, the Irish Augustinians extend their hospitality to pilgrims to the famous shrine at Genazzano, where is the miraculous picture of the Madonna



of Good Counsel. Genazzano must not be confounded with Genzano, which is also a town somewhat of its population, and about equidistant from Rome. The mistake is sometimes made, and I have known visitors to Genzano who were privileged to see there a painting of the Madonna, leave with the full impression they had actually been to Genazzano, and seen its miraculous picture:

Among the most distinguished Irishmen now at Rome may be mentioned the Most Rev. Father David Fleming, Vicar-General of the Franciscan Order, since August 31st, 1901. It is noteworthy that Father David is the first Irishman who was elected to that position, and is one of the best-known of the illustrious sons of St. Francis. He was born at Killarney, some fifty-five years ago, entered the Order at an early age, and made his studies in Belgium, and returned to England, where he was appointed Lector of Theology. Subsequently he became Provincial, and in 1896, was selected with Father Gasquet, and Monsignor Moyes, as one of the best fitted to represent England in the Papal Commission on the Anglican Orders question. At Rome, he was appointed Professor of Sacred Scripture in St. Antony's International College of the Order, and Consultor of the Congregation of the Holy Office. At present his charge numbers over 16,000 friars, of whom 10,000 are priests. The Order is spread through every country in Europe. He is literary, and has taken part in most of the recent Scientific International Congresses, and in the various Congresses of the Third Order of St. Francis. It may be mentioned that, recently, he has been appointed one of the two Secretaries to the Biblical Commission, established by the Pope. Father David is somewhat more than the average height, physically strong, and brimful of good nature. His exceeding geniality causes his society to be very much sought after. The impression generally in Rome is, that there are yet greater honours in store for him.

The Irish Redemptorists at Rome, are represented by the Very Rev John Magnier. Father Magnier was born at Kildorrey, County Cork, June 9th, 1842, and while yet young was engaged in business pursuits at Fermoy. He felt called, however, to the religious life, and with a view to entering the

Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer, he studied at the Diocesan College, Fermoy, then presided over by the late Archbishop Croke. In 1866 he entered the Novitiate of the Congregation, at Bishop-Eton, Liverpool, England, and was professed on September 8th, 1867. His ecclesiastical studies were made partly at Wittem, Holland, and partly at Bishop-Eton. On the 20th September, 1873, he was ordained priest; three years later he was appointed Prefect of Studies, and Lector of Moral Theology, which duties he discharged for eleven years. Afterwards he was appointed, in succession, Consultor of the Very Rev. Father Rector, St. Mary's, Chapham, London; Rector of Mount St. Alphonsus, Limerick; Consultor of the Very Rev. Father Provincial, and since 1894, Consultor of the Most Rev. Father-General of the Order at Rome. The Italian climate ill-assorted with his constitution, at no time very robust, but, it is pleasing to know he is now fully recovered, and continues to represent the Order as formerly. He is noted at Rome, for nothing so much as his piety, and is the most gentle and unassuming of men. In everything connected with St. Alphonsus, he is a specialist, and has wonderful souvenirs of the Saint. Several of St. Liguori's works have been edited by him, and issued in a form to bring them within the reach of the poorest. 'Tis agreeable to have the Very Rev. Father Schwartz, the American representative of the Order, co-resident. Father Schwartz, though of German descent, is very sympathetic towards Ireland. The monastery is at St. Alfonso, Via Merulana, and Father Magnier, who is the only Irishman there, is glad of a visit from his compatriots. He is brother of the Rev. Father Michael Magnier, C.S.S.R., Clonard, Belfast.

I may be pardoned for introducing here and there, some of our Irish lay representatives at Rome. The name of Dr. John J. Eyre at once occurs to me, associated as he was with the Irish College. Dr. Eyre is one of the hardest workers in the profession, and all the moments he can spare are devoted to literature. He has translated several important Italian medical works, which have been published in London, and is the author himself of some publications. His *Hygienic Guide to Rome* is very interesting and instructive, and could be read

with profit by intending visitors. He is rightly accredited with bringing before the notice of the English-speaking people, the valuable spas of Italy, which contains more of them than any country of the same extent in Europe. At Salsomaggiore, in Northern Italy, near to Milan, he is the leading English physician, and has been largely instrumental in popularising its curative springs. Here he remains during the summer months, while the winter and spring are spent in Rome. Dr. Eyre is little over the prime of life, having been born in Shanagolden, Limerick, 1852. He studied medicine in Dublin, and practised in England, notably in London, where his medical skill was greatly appreciated. In 1893, he came to Rome, and, since then, has been of what is commonly known as the English Colony. The English Colony simply means those who speak the English language. Among the English-speaking residents and visitors, as a physician, Dr. Eyre is held in the highest esteem, having been the regular or consulting doctor for the Irish, English, American, and Scotch Colleges. He is much devoted to his family, on whose education he spares no pains. As a conversationalist, he is bright and entertaining, his long residence in England, and wide experience since, giving him a grasp of most of the leading and vital questions of the hour. Dr. Eyre is, I believe, one of the most interesting and intellectual men it has been my lot to meet. He lives at Piazza di Spagna, where he is accessible as a physician or a friend.

Rome is the last place in the world one might expect to find the propagators of heresy. But even Rome is not free from their incursions. Various methods have been devised to sap the faith of the young Roman. One while, the proselytisers have operated through the instrumentality of hospices for children; again, through money gifts to attend Protestant church service; and also through free schools. In these schools English was taught, and here there was exceptional opportunity for perverting the faith of the youth. The Protestant English Bible could be used as text book, while Protestant English literature was scattered broadcast. Of course, an interpreter for both was occasionally required, and, thus, poison could be judiciously intermixed with the honey. Not

only the English, but the Americans as well, worked with a zeal that would be highly commendable in a better cause. The American Methodists especially wreaked great havoc, and their dire work was only frustrated by the establishment of the Catholic English free schools. In this Father de Mandato, the distinguished Jesuit of the Gregorian University, and Mr. William Osborne Christmas heartily co-operated. Their best efforts were unable to cope with all the requirements of the case, and additional assistance was indispensable. The Sisters of the Society of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Via Nazionale, and also the Sisters, Via Sebastianello, did excellent work for the girls, and had already fully equipped their schools which were largely attended. Something more should be done for the boys. In 1896, one of the Irish Bishops transmitted to Cardinal Ledochowski, Prefect of Propaganda, the petition of Very Rev. Br. R. A. Maxwell, to establish a house in Rome with schools annexed, for the teaching of Commercial English. The matter was referred in due course to the Holy Father, and the decision was received June 11th of the same year. Permission was not, however, formally granted, but the wording of the document left good grounds for hope. For some time the matter was in abeyance, and in 1899, Monsignor Colletti, a distinguished Roman ecclesiastic, on meeting the Irish Christian Brothers at Gibraltar, urged the project, and promised them all his influence at Rome. A petition was now forwarded to Cardinal Jacobini, the recently appointed Vicar of Rome. The reply was favourable, but unfortunately his Eminence died a few months afterwards, and before any decision was arrived at. From the Propaganda the matter was, therefore, transferred to the Vicariate, and from this source eventually the Brothers received the requisite Rescript on the 20th March, 1900, in which the Holy Father granted them full permission to establish themselves at Rome, but, at the same time, owing to circumstances, not to expect from him any pecuniary assistance. The Brothers owe their indebtedness to Monsignor Checchi, Secretary of the Vicariate, who is the distinguished professor of Moral Theology at the Propaganda, and Father Sinibaldi, the ordinary confessor at the Irish College, both of whom

treated them with every consideration. Through the kind offices of Father de Mandato, suitable and commodious premises were secured, at 10 Via Firenze, with an entrance for students from the Via Napoli, at a yearly rental of £135 sterling; and the day-schools were formally opened 10th October, 1900. The night schools commenced 6th November, of the same year, embracing English and French. A small fee is exacted for the day-schools, but the evening classes are free. Both schools have been an unprecedented success, and the pupils are now counted by hundreds. The Institution is in charge of the Rev. Brothers Costen, Murphy, Mescall, and Thayne; and it was found necessary, at a very early stage, owing to the rapidly increasing numbers, to call in the assistance of lay professors. It is a coincidence that Ireland, which is accredited with maintaining and spreading the faith over the countries of Europe, in the sixth and seventh centuries, through her missionaries, should now, in the twentieth century, through the Christian Brothers, beneath the very shadow of the Vatican, largely contribute to protect the faith of the Roman youth from the vile inroads of American and English proselytisers.

D. F. M'CREA, M.R.I.A.

*[To be continued.]*

# Notes and Queries

## THEOLOGY

### CONDITIONS FOR ACQUIRING AND RETAINING A QUASI-DOMICILE

THE following decision in a matrimonial case given by his Eminence the late Cardinal-Prefect of Propaganda has been kindly forwarded to the Editor, with permission to publish it. The case involved a rather unusual set of circumstances, and it will have an interest for many readers of the I. E. RECORD.

BEATISSIME PATER.

N. ad pedes Sanctitatis Vestrae provolutus humiliter exponit casum matrimonialem.

Puella, cui erat maternum domicilium in quadam hujus Dioecesis paroecia, in aliam proxime conterminam ejusdem Dioecesis paroeciam tredecim abhuc annis se contulit eo fine ut rei domesticæ duorum coelibum avunculorum ibi simul habitantium curam in se susciperet. Clara, distincta et continua intentio tum puellae tum matris ejus circa durationem hujus commorationis in domo avunculi ea erat ab initio ut *quocumque die alteruter ex avunculis sibi uxorem ducturus esset (et hoc quidem quovis die contingere potuit)*, illa commoratio finem omnino acciperet et *puella in domum maternam reverteretur*. Hac mente et intentione puella officiis avunculorum domesticis incumbendo duos annos *diu noctuque* ibi commorata est.

Elapsis his duobus annis, unus ex avunculis mortuus est, altero nondum in matrimonio juncto. Deinde puella, consulente matre, pernoctare incipiebat in domo materna, quae, uti antea dictum est, etsi in diversa paroecia, non longe distabat a domo avuncularia. Ea consuetudo scil. transeundo mane in domum avunculi et revertendo noctu ad dormiendum in domum matris, stricte et fideliter servabatur per undecim annos. Quo omni tempore, omnino immutata perseverabat intentio puellae abeundi in toto e domo avuncularia et revertendi in domum maternam in quocumque die avunculus in matrimonium iniisset.

Quaeritur igitur 1° utrum, stante, uti describitur, puellae intentione quoad habitationem, illa acquisiverit quasi-domicilium in paroecia avunculi in ordine ad matrimonium his duobus annis in quibus permanenter diu noctuque ibi habitabat. Et 2°, Si primae questioni respondeatur affirmative, utrum puella amiseric

hoc quasi-domicilium in illis undecim subsequentibus annis, die operando in una paroecia et pernoctando in alia.

Addictissimus servus in Christo.

N. N.

March 7th, 1902.

Roma, 18 Marzo, 1902.

Per litteras datas die, 7 vertentis mensis Martii A<sup>o</sup>. Tu proposuisti dubium de quasi-domicilio in ordine ad matrimonium cuiusdam puellae istius Dioeceseos, quae post continuatam commorationem duorum annorum apud avunculos postea per successivos undecim annos quotidie se domicilio materno in alia parochia restituit ad pernoctandum. Respondeo quod licet puella praedicta per duos annos, quibus apud avunculos commorata est, quasi-domicilium in respectiva parochia acquisisset, illud tamen successive amisit, quum nonnisi per diem se illuc contulerit ad operam suam praestandam, ut solent qui officinis aut aliis cujusmodi negotiis incumbunt. Ego vero Deum precor ut Te diu sospitet.

A. T., Addictissimus Servus.

M. Card. LEDOCHOWSKI.

ALOISIUS VECCIA, *Secrius*.

Briefly the facts of the case are these. This girl had a parental domicile in parish A. Retaining meanwhile her parental domicile, she went to reside with her uncle in parish B. Her residence in parish B was to be terminated by the marriage of her uncle, which might have come off any day, but might also, as the event proved, be deferred for years. In this way, she resided in her uncle's house, day and night, for two years. Then she changed her mode of residence, and for eleven years she spent the night in her mother's house in parish A, and spent each day at household work in her uncle's house in parish B. At the end of all these years, she thought of getting married herself, and the question arose, Who was her parish priest? The parish priest of parish A, in which she all along retained her domicile, could, without doubt, have validly assisted at her marriage, and his right to do so was not questioned. But the parish priest of parish B also claimed that he was the girl's *proprius parochus*, on the ground that she had a quasi-domicile in his parish.

To clear up the whole matter two questions were sent to Rome :

1. Did this girl acquire a quasi-domicile in her uncle's parish by her residence there for two whole years night and day? The reason for doubting was suggested in the preamble to the question. Two conditions are assigned as necessary to acquire a quasi-domicile—(a) *factum habitationis*, et (b) *intentio manendi per majorem anni partem*. This girl might seem not to have had the requisite intention. She intended to remain until her uncle's marriage, which might have taken place before the lapse of six months.

2. If the girl did acquire a quasi-domicile during her first two years' residence with her uncle, did she lose that quasi-domicile, when she ceased to remain at night in her uncle's house? There was reason to think that she did lose it. A quasi-domicile is lost when one leaves the quasi-domicile without any intention of returning to it, as to one's place of residence. When this girl ceased to sleep at her uncle's house she left her uncle's parish with no intention of returning to that parish again as her home. For the next eleven years her uncle's house was her place of work, but it was not her residence or her home any longer.

To the second of the questions put, the late Cardinal-Prefect of Propaganda returned, as we see in the reply above quoted, a clear and decisive answer. If the girl ever had a quasi-domicile in her uncle's parish, she lost it, we are told, when she changed her mode of residence and ceased to remain in that parish at night. From which, of course, it followed that the claim of the parish priest of the uncle's parish to assist at the girl's marriage as her parish priest could not be maintained.

The reply to the second point settled the whole practical difficulty, and hence, perhaps, no direct reply was given to the first question.

It has been suggested, however, that the form of the reply conveys that, in the opinion of the Cardinal-Prefect, the girl had not acquired a quasi-domicile during her first two years' residence with her uncle. The use of the pluperfect subjunctive, *acquisivisset*, seems to imply, it is suggested, that the



girl had not acquired a quasi-domicile. We cannot accept that interpretation, and for the following reasons. In the first place, we are not to expect the niceties of classical latinity in ecclesiastical documents. And in any case, the use of the indicative mood, *amisit*, seems rather to convey the opposite suggestion, viz., that the girl had actually acquired a quasi-domicile; otherwise why say absolutely that she lost it. Moreover, we should be slow to interpret this reply of the Cardinal-Prefect of Propaganda in a sense that would conflict apparently, with the now well-known decision of the Congregation of the Holy Office. The Congregation of the Holy Office decided, in a case submitted a few years ago, that actual residence for six months complete was sufficient to acquire a quasi-domicile irrespective of one's intention.<sup>1</sup> And though that decision was given for a particular case, it must have been based, as far as we can see, on a general principle, which would equally apply to the case we are just now considering.<sup>2</sup> For these reasons we cannot see our way to accept the suggestion that the reply above quoted conveys that this girl did not acquire a quasi-domicile by her first two years' residence in her uncle's parish.

D. MANNIX.

## LITURGY

### USE OF GRAMOPHONE IN CHURCH CHOIRS

REV. DEAR SIR,—I was asked lately a rather embarrassing rubrical question *re* a gramophone in a Catholic Church. A gentleman was in possession of a very expensive gramophone, and had a record of a Mass rendered at the Sistine Chapel. Would he be allowed—for the edification of the faithful—the use of the same during divine service. The query was a novel one, and I thought that as long as the manipulator did not put on the wrong record, say, one of Sims Reeves, I could not see any objection to its use. However, I promised to submit the same

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<sup>1</sup> *Vide* I. E. RECORD, May, 1899, p. 475.

<sup>2</sup> *Conf. Feije, De Imped. et Dispens. Matrimonialibus*, 4 ed., p. 133, n. 213.

to the Rubricians of the I. E. RECORD, and bow down to their opinion.

May I ask the Rev. Editor for an answer in the I. E. RECORD, and oblige

YOUR CONSTANT READER.

The idea mentioned in our correspondent's question is, indeed, a novel one. We have considerable misgivings, however, as to the lawfulness of putting it into practice. The Mass as a composition may be quite suitable, and the only question that concerns us is the propriety of rendering it in the manner proposed. The method seems to us to be open to grave objections.

In the first place, the very extensive legislation dealing with the subject of Church music contemplates a choir in which the living human voice plays the most important part, by rendering the ecclesiastical chant with becoming gravity, solemnity and reverence. The laws of the Liturgy prescribing the duties to be fulfilled, and the ceremonies to be observed by the singers were not intended for a counterfeit choir such as would be constituted by the gramophone, which merely reproduces the sounds of various musical instruments including those of the human voice. Then there would, we fancy, be great incongruity in having the responses to the celebrant at the various parts of the Divine Service returned by a mere automaton. Again, the character of Church music ought to be such as to edify the faithful and stimulate their devotion. 'Cantus iste ille est,' says Benedict XIV.,<sup>1</sup> 'qui fidelium animos ad devotionem et pietatem excitat.' Our very limited acquaintance with the gramophone does not warrant us in believing that its introduction into the Church would help towards these ends. The instrument referred to by our correspondent may be very perfect and not in the least conducive to distractions, but we feel the other reasons alleged are fatal. The duty of honouring God by 'psalms and hymns and spiritual canticles' is an act of supreme worship. Surely such an exalted act ought to spring from the noblest faculties of man, who is born, as St. Chrysostom says, to yield to the Creator the

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<sup>1</sup> Bulla 'Annus qui,' 19 February, 1749.

homage of his praise. 'Ad hoc enim creatus est homo ut laud et Deum.'<sup>2</sup> To have recourse, for the performance of this sublime duty, especially during Divine Service, to a vicarious mechanical contrivance, seems to us a grave deordination.

**INDULGENCE ATTACHED TO BLUE SCAPULAR FOR  
VISITATION OF THE SICK**

REV. DEAR SIR,—Those who wear the Blue Scapular can gain an indulgence of twenty years whenever they visit the sick and help them corporally or spiritually (*corporaliter vel spiritualiter*).

The question has been raised as to whether this indulgence can be gained either once a day or *toties quoties* by Mary and Elizabeth, whose circumstances are described below.

Mary is a nurse in a nursing institution: she may visit her patient or patients every hour.

Elizabeth, living in her own home, has to attend frequently to a bed-ridden sister.

These two persons doubt whether they can gain the indulgence, and have referred the case to me. Would you kindly give me the benefit of your opinion.—I remain, etc.,

Gamma.

The Indulgence of which our correspondent speaks is a Partial Indulgence, and may, therefore, be gained *toties quoties* by those fulfilling the requisite conditions.<sup>3</sup> Now, in the present instance, these are, in the words of the *Summarium* of Schneider's collection,<sup>4</sup> 'Ut quis infirmos invisat et eos corporaliter vel spiritualiter aliquo modo coadjuvet, aut si impediatur pro eis recitet 5 Pater, Ave, et Gloria Patri.' There is no exception made here. Everyone performing the works enjoined may gain the Indulgences, and we see no reason why Mary and Elizabeth may not gain them several times each day as long as either can say to herself that she has fulfilled the requisite conditions. But here is the difficulty. Both are in such close contact with their patients that they may visit them frequently each day, and perhaps it may not be easy to differentiate the visit paid for the purpose of gaining the Indulgence from other visits made with different objects

<sup>2</sup> St. Chrys. In Psalm 116.

<sup>3</sup> Beringer, tom. i., p. 96.

<sup>4</sup> Rescr. Auth. S. C. Indulg., p. 577.

in view. Nevertheless, we are of opinion that each time Mary goes to see her patient, exclusively, or at least primarily, with the intention of gaining the Indulgence, and ministers some corporal or spiritual assistance at the bedside, she gains the Indulgence. The same may be said of Elizabeth, with the remark that as she is in much closer communication with the invalid, the differentiation we spoke of would be more difficult, perhaps, in her case. Points might be raised as to what part of the house, for instance, Elizabeth should start from in order that she might be able to say she performed a real visit. We may not go into these except to say, in a general way, that such questions must be answered in the light of the common estimation of men. Now, as to reasons for the opinion we advance. The first is we see nothing to the contrary. Again, those hindered by distance or other causes from performing the visit may gain the Indulgence by reciting the prayers mentioned, and they may gain the Indulgence as often as they recite the prayers with the necessary intention. Now, why should Mary and Elizabeth be in a worse position? And they would be if they could not gain the Indulgence frequently during the same day. It is, then, their good fortune that they are so circumstanced, and the work of paying a visit in either case may be almost as onerous as it would be in the case of a next-door neighbour to Elizabeth, about whose qualifications to gain the Indulgence *toties quoties* there can be no doubt.

#### REQUIEM MASSES IN 'CORPSE HOUSE'

REV. DEAR SIR,—Kindly say in next issue of I. E. RECORD if the altar erected in a private house, on the occasion of a Corpse Mass, may claim the privilege of a private oratory with regard to Requiem Masses.

The altar is erected in the room where the corpse is, or in an adjoining room, and may be there for one or two days, and of course with the approval of the Bishop. The books and some of the decisions given at Rome seem to speak of a private oratory and a portable altar in a private house as one and the same.—I remain, faithfully yours,

SACERDOS.

For all practical purposes we may regard the house in

which Mass is said on the occasion of a death as a Private Oratory for the time being. It certainly has, as regards Requiem Masses, all the privileges enjoyed by the latter. That is to say, granting that there is authorization for saying Mass at all, you can say a Requiem Mass in the corpse-house in the same circumstances and subject to the same conditions under which it is lawful to say it in a Private Oratory. With regard to the phrase 'praesente cadavere,' this is verified even though the remains are not actually present in the *room* in which Mass is celebrated. It is sufficient if they are present in the same *house*. In this connection the words of the Congregation of Rites are, 'praesente cadavere in domo.'<sup>5</sup>

**MASS TO BE SAID AT MONTH'S MEMORY OFFICE HELD  
AFTER THE THIRTIETH DAY**

REV. DEAR SIR,—In making arrangements for a Month's Memory Office it sometimes happens that the 30th day falls out to be an inconvenient one, and the Month's Office is postponed to a convenient semi-double of a later date.

Will you kindly say, in your 'Notes and Queries,' which of the four is the correct Mass to be sung on this semi-double, and with what prayer, or prayers.—I am, Very Rev. Sir, faithfully yours,

PAROCHUS.

The Office being postponed not for rubrical reasons, but from motives of general convenience, the special privileges attached to the *thirtieth* day cease, and consequently the Mass to be said on the next suitable semi-double will be the *Missa Quotidiana*. In this Mass the prayers shall be three in number. The first will be taken from the *Orationes Diversae* and proper to the quality and dignity of the deceased: the second is *ad libitum*: and the third must be *Fidelium*.<sup>6</sup>

PATRICK MORRISROE.

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<sup>5</sup> S.C.R., April 3, 1900.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Decr. Sac. Rit. Cong., 30 June, 1896.

## CORRESPONDENCE

## 'KNIGHTS OF FATHER MATHEW'

REV. DEAR SIR,—Since writing the article which, by your courtesy, appeared in your February issue, under the above heading, I have received the subjoined communication, which, I trust, will be deemed of sufficient interest to claim publication :—

' Supreme Council,  
' St. Louis, Mo., *January 27, 1903.*

' DEAR FATHER O'BRIEN,—

' I trust you will excuse the delay in answering your kind favour, but I have been so crowded with work at this season of the year that I have been unable to give prompt attention to correspondence, not however that I am not pleased to have the honour of a favour from you, and I will be glad to give you any information I may have in regard to our organisation.

The Knights of Father Mathew being an insurance organisation, and having a financial department, is incorporated by the several States in which we operate, and we must receive license each year that we are in sound financial condition to pay our death claims, which is shown by sworn reports which we submit to the State departments each year. *We have found, after 21 years' experience in America, that the only way in which you can make total abstinence successful among laymen is to give them a financial interest in an organisation.* We boast the proud fact that we have to-day the strongest and largest Catholic total abstinence and fraternal insurance organisation in the world bearing the name of the great Apostle of Temperance. We are increasing splendidly. We make a special feature of the boys and young men, as our experience has taught us that the success of the cause is with the young. The idea of reforming drunkards is an exploded theory : it cannot be done with any success. The place to begin is at the foundation—the *Boy*. We have, of course, many of mature years, and we do not refuse anyone who desires to join us : we are pleased to have them do so. We also admit those who are over the age (50 years) to be admitted to insurance, as honorary members. As regards insurance in Ireland, I am not, of course, well enough informed to say whether it would be successful with you or not—that is a matter for you to decide on—however, form organisations at all hazards. Many of your young men will come to America, and they will be easily got into temperance

organisations here when they have begun it at home. No young Irishman need fear to come to America who is sober ; the destruction of our race in America, as elsewhere, has been *Drink*. You will pardon me in saying that in this the Irish priest has a work at home that will prepare the way to success in the New World for the men of our race. We are proud of our sober Irishmen in America, and any disgrace or shame that has come to us, of Irish blood, has been through the curse of drink. I am glad to know that the Irish priests are taking up this work ; we, too, are receiving noble support from our young priests.

‘ You ask me how we began our organisation. The first step taken was that a few who were interested in the work called a meeting to which each one invited a friend ; the beginning was small—only fourteen. At this meeting it was decided to organise, and to apply to the State for incorporation. The State, after going through the necessary legal process, granted us a charter, the same as it does to other corporations. Next, meetings were called in the several parishes, and what we call “ Councils ” were organised, and these are under the jurisdiction of the Supreme Council or the supreme officers. We have an office, and these subordinate councils report each month those admitted, expelled, etc.

‘ It is hard for me to explain in a letter all the details, but you will find them in the Constitution I sent you. I hesitate to advise you how you should proceed—as I said before, I am not familiar with local conditions in Ireland—but, if you think it advisable, organise the young men, make them pay some small amount each month, and in case of sickness you could pay them so much a week. I don’t suppose you could organise on our plan, as I am fully aware the poor people of Ireland cannot find money so easily.

‘ Now, Father, I have tried to make up for my delay by this long letter, and if there are any other matters you desire explained, or printed matter, I will be pleased to give it at any time. We in America want to see those of our blood at home and abroad sober, and, if they are, *they will lead the world*.

‘ With sincere regards and best wishes for your success in the cause, believe me, sincerely yours,

‘ THOMAS S. BOWDERN, Supreme Recorder.’

For myself, I cannot see why such an organisation should not be perfectly practical, and feasible, in every parish in Ireland. In this very parish from which I write (and, of course, it is only one of a large number) there is an English insurance company working amongst the poor ; they have a resident agent who collects the weekly premiums, differing in amount, but the maximum is only a few pence. When death occurs, they pay the sum insured to the relatives. I don’t quite know

what they do in the event of sickness. Now, why not have a Catholic Irish society, *plus the temperance feature?*

A good deal of very interesting correspondence on temperance has lately appeared in your pages ; with much that has been said I am in cordial agreement, but with the following paragraph I am not :—

‘ It seems to me not only inopportune but absurd to *aim* at making the Irish people all total abstainers : inopportune, because it turns away sensible people by proposing to them an ideal that is impracticable, however desirable; *absurd because it tries to achieve the impossible.*’

That it is highly improbable that all shall become total abstainers, I freely admit, but that it is impossible, I deny. May I remind the writer that Theobald Mathew had five millions on his roll, that is, considerably more than the total population of Ireland to-day, and considerably more than half the population of his own day? Now, if Theobald Mathew was able to do this, unaided and alone, why should it be impossible for 3,000 priests to do as much? I firmly believe that if *all* the clergy were total abstainers to-morrow, *all* the people would follow suit. We ought at least *aim* at making all total abstainers, even though we only succeed in making half. It is just as absurd, impracticable, impossible, chimerical, to try to make *all* men chaste, honest, charitable, and yet I hope we are making the attempt.

WALTER O'BRIEN, C.C.

#### ‘ IS OUR EARTH ALONE INHABITED? ’ A CORRECTION

REV. DEAR SIR,—I feel under an obligation to Rev. Father Selley, and to your readers as well as to myself, to point out a mistake in my article on the above subject, published in the February issue of the I. E. RECORD—a mistake which I regret did not occur to me till after the number was made up. True, it was only a little slip, yet the consequences of it are somewhat portentous.

On p. 137, I wrote : ‘ A man who weighs ten stone on our earth, would on Jupiter, weigh about 3,100 stone ; or between nineteen and twenty *tons.*’

Through some inadvertance, I did not take into consideration the fact that astronomers, in making their calculations, always take the *centre* of a planet, and never the *surface*, as the point



from which the force of gravity is supposed to act. Consequently, although it remains perfectly true that an object which weighs *ten stone*, when placed at a certain given distance, say 50,000 miles from the *earth's centre*, would, if placed at the SAME distance from *Jupiter's centre*, weigh 3,100 stone, or between *nineteen and twenty tons*. Nevertheless, the same conclusion cannot be drawn when the weight of an object placed on the surface of the earth is compared with the weight of the same object, when placed on the surface of Jupiter. Because, an object, lying on the earth's *surface is within 4,000 miles of the centre of attraction*, whereas an object lying on the *surface of Jupiter is about 44,000 miles from its centre of attraction—i.e., eleven times the distance—due, of course, to the difference in their respective diameters.*

Now, since the force of attraction (as I pointed out on p. 137) is inversely proportional to the square of the distance, we must, in this case, not only multiply ten stone by 310, as before, but having done so, we must then proceed to divide that again by the square of the distance, *i.e.*,  $11^2 = 121$ . Now  $\frac{3100}{121}$  is about 26. So, as a matter of fact, a man who on the surface of the earth weighs ten stone would, on the surface of Jupiter, weigh only about sixteen stone more, or, in all, about 26 stone.

The slip does not, of course, destroy my argument, for limbs and muscles carefully adjusted to support a weight of only ten stone would be utterly oppressed and overburdened if called upon to support a weight of even twenty-six stone. Still, I must admit, with humble apologies, that twenty-six stone is a very different thing to twenty tons!

From this point of view, Jupiter was a most unfortunate planet to select, since it is so exceedingly *light, as compared with its size*. Were it of the same consistency as our earth, then, instead of multiplying ten stone by 310, we should have had to multiply it by 1200 ( $10 \times 1200 = 12,000$ ), and divide that by the square of the distance (thus  $\frac{12,000}{121}$ ), which would give us, in round numbers, 100 stone, or considerably more than half a ton! And what man of average size could carry such a crushing burden continually weighing him down?—I am, yours etc.,

JOHN S. CANON VAUGHAN.

Westminster, S.W., February 5, 1903.

## THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF PARIS

REV. DEAR SIR,—In Father Boyle's interesting article on the 'Catholic University of Paris,' in your January Number, there occurs a passage (p. 106) which is calculated to lead your readers into error. Father Boyle rightly distinguishes between the *doctorat simple* and the *doctorat d'agrégation* (equivalent to a Fellowship), but he wrongly insinuates that a thesis is required only for the latter.

In point of fact, a printed, or lithographed, thesis must be presented for each doctorate.

It is, moreover, difficult, not to say impossible, to obtain the doctorate at the end of the second year of residence, seeing that the thesis cannot be sustained until the so-called preliminary examination for the doctorate, which takes place at the end of the second year, has been successfully passed.—Faithfully yours,

CYON.

London, 14/2/'03.

## DOCUMENTS

## CONSUETUDO THURIFICANDI STATUAS

LUGANEN. CIRCA CONSUETUDINEM THURIFICANDI STATUAS IN CASU.

Hodiernus Rmus Episcopus Administrator Apostolicus Pagi Ticinensis, Sacrorum Rituum Congregationi ea quae sequuntur dubia pro solutione humiliter exposuit ; nimirum :

In aliquibus paroeciis huius Dieceseos ritu Ambrosiano utentibus, occurrentibus solemnitatibus patronalibus ceterisque Festis cum exteriori pompa concursuque populi concelebratis, simulacrum Sancti, cuius solemniter perficiuntur, prius in medio templi exponi, deinde, pomeridianis horis. a sodalibus Confraternitatis in respectiva paroecia erectae, processionaliter deferri solet.

Hisce in adiunctis ab immemorabili viget consuetudo, ut, sive mane ad Offertorium Missae sollemnis, sive post meridiem dum canitur *Magnificat* inter Vesperas, ab eo qui Diaconi munere fungitur, nonnullis Confraternitatis sodalibus cum intortitiis comitantibus, post Cleri incensationem, haec sacra Icon thure adcleatur. Hinc quaeritur :

I. An tolerari possit praefata consuetudo, nempe ut huiusmodi thurificatio fiat, uti supra describitur, a Diacono?

II. Et quatenus *negative* ad I, an statuatur in medio ecclesiae eminentis incensatio, tum intra Missam tum intra Vesperas prorsus omittenda sit?

Sacra porro Rituum Congregatio, ad relationem subscripti Secretarii, audito voto Commissionis Liturgicae, reque mature perpensa, respondendum censuit :

Ad I. *Negative*.

Ad II. Attenta consuetudine, thurificari potest praedicta statua in Vesperis dumtaxat, ab ipsomet celebrante, post incensationem SSmi Sacramenti, ad normam Decreti n. 3547, *Sanc-torien*. 4 Maii 1882.

Atque ita rescipsit. Die 28 Novembris 1902.

D. Card. FERRATA, S. C. R. Pro-Praef.

L. ♣ S.

D. PANICI, Archiep. Laodicen., Secret.

COMMISSION FOR THE PRESERVATION OF THE FAITH  
IN THE CITY OF ROME

INSTITUITUR COMMISSIO PRO MODERANDO AC PROMOVENDO PIO  
OPERE PRAESERVATIONIS FIDEI, IN URBE.

LEO PP. XIII.

*Motu proprio,*

Litteras ante annos duos dedimus ad Virum Eminentissimum vice Nostra Romae fungentem, quibus effrenatam licentiam adsertoribus haeresum ipsa in Urbe permitti dolebamus. Hanc enim civitatem catholici nominis principem Divina Providentia constituit, unamque delegit ex omnibus unde in universum terrarum orbem, quemadmodum tot saecula factum potestate libera est, evangelicae doctrinae lumen diffunderetur. Quod quidem nobilissimum planeque divinum Romanae Sedis officium aperte declarat quam sit iniquum et quanto cum discrimine coniunctum ut templa heic et scholae ab haeresum propagatoribus aperiantur, pravis infensisque opinionibus Nostro in grege disseminandis. Ut hisce igitur novis incommodis, quantum quidem erat in nobis, occurreremus, recens opus *Praeservationis Fidei*, quod nostris consiliis ac studiis fuerat excitatum, libentissime probavimus. Verum accrescunt misere in dies pericula et damna, ob eamque rem Apostolicae sollicitudinis caritate impulsus, laudatum opus firmiore instruere praesidio statuimus ac deliberavimus, peculiare consilium S. R. E. Cardinalium eidem moderando praeficientes. Hinc sane Curiones Urbani, quorum navitati vel maxime hac in re confidimus, maiora habebunt adiumenta ad sacerdotii partes cumulate omnique cum fructu explendas; hinc etiam animos ad maiora praestanda agregii viri sument, qui nomen ad hoc usque tempus amplificando operi magna cum laude dederunt.

Quamobrem praesenti Motu proprio Consilium seu *Commissionem* instituimus Operi *Praeservationis Fidei* moderando ac promovendo. Haec autem *Commissio* e nonnullis, quos Pontifex designaverit, S. R. E. Cardinalibus constabit; eligimus vero primos

SERAPHINUM CRETONI

FRANCISCUM DE PAULA CASSETTA

PETRUM RESPIGHI

SEBASTIANUM MARTINELLI

IOSEPHUM CALASANCTIUM VIVES

Quibus autem muneribus atque officiis supradictum Consi-

lium incumbere debeat, quibusque regendum sit legibus proprio documento praescribimus.

Haec interim decreta rata et firma, consistere auctoritate Nostra volumus et iubemus.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum die vicesima quinta Novembris MDCCCII, Pontificatus Nostri anno vicesimo quinto.

LEO PP. XIII.

#### THE LITURGICAL COMMISSION

DECRETUM. INSTITUITUR COMMISSIO HISTORICO-LITURGICA.

Sacra Rituum Congregatio, probante Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Leone PP. XIII, peculiarem Commissionem historico-liturgicam constituit quam constare voluit ex quinque eximiis sacerdotibus RR. DD. Aloysio Duchesne, Iosepho Wilpert, Francisco Eherle, Iosepho Roberti, Humberto Benigni et Ioanne Mercati. Atque insuper, annuente eodem Sanctissimo Domino Nostro, Sacra eadem Congregatio sibi facultatem reservavit seligendi in posterum nonnullos socios consulentes qui ad opus apti videantur.

Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque.

Die 28 Novembris 1902.

D. Card. FERRATA, *Pro-Praef.*

L. ✕ S.

D. PANICI, *Archiep. Laodicen., Secret.*

#### THE SANCTUARY OF EMMAUS

ORDINIS MINORUM SANCTI FRANCISCI TERRAE SANCTAE RESCRIPTUM  
IN FAVOREM INSTAURATI SANCTUarii EMMAUNTINI

Hodiernus Reverendissimus Pater Custos Terrae Sanctae a Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Leone Papa XIII. suppliciter efflagitavit, ut donec officia cum Missis propriis pro Sanctuariis Terrae Sanctae Apostolicae sanctioni subijcienda, approbentur, in Sanctuario Apparitionis Domini Nostri Jesu-Christi resurgentis Discipulis in Castello Emmaus celebrari possint :

I. Missa de Sanctissimo Eucharistiae Sacramento cum epistola et Evangelio desumptis ex missa Feriae secundae post Pascha ;

II. Missa *In virtute* cum eodem Evangelio in honorem Sancti Cleophae Martyris ;

III. Missa *Statuit* cum hoc ipso Evangelio in honorem Sancti Simeonis Episcopi et Martyris.

Insuper idem orator expetivit, ut huiusmodi Missas celebrare fas sit quibuslibet Sacerdotibus in omnibus et singulis Sanctuarii supradicti altaribus.

Sacra porro Rituum Congregatio, vigore facultatum sibi specialiter ab eodem Sanctissimo Domino Nostro tributarum, attentis expositis peculiaribus adiunctis et praehabito voto Commissionis Liturgicae, praefatas Missas ita approbavit et concessit, ut tantummodo ad annum legi vel cantari possent in praedicto Sanctuario in Festis respectivis, sive singulorum Sanctorum Cleophae et Simeonis, et etiam extra illa festa, quo in casu in omnibus Altaribus Missa Mysteriorum, et in propriis Altaribus aliae Missae de duobus Sanctis, a quolibet Sacerdote etiam peregrino, singulis per annum diebus (dici possint), exceptis duplicibus primae et secundae classis, Dominicis, aliisque Festis de praecepto servandis, Feriis, Vigiliis, Octavisque privilegiatis, et quoad Missam de Mysterio etiam excepto alio Festo Domini occurrente: servatis de cetero Rubricis et Decretis. Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque.

Die 8 Augusti 1902.

D. Card. FERRATA, *Praef.*

L. ✠ S.

D. PANICI, *Archiep. Laodicen., Secret.*

**FEAST OF THE HOLY FAMILY IN CONCURRENCE WITH  
THE FEAST OF THE CROWN OF THORNS**

DIVIDANTUR VESPERAE, QUANDO FESTUM S. FAMILIAE CONCURRIT  
CUM FESTO SS. CORONAE SPINEAE

Rmus Dnus Onesimus Machez, canonicus ecclesiae Cathedralis Atrebaten. et extensor Kalendarii dioecesanii, de licentia Rmi. sui Ordinarii a Sacrorum Rituum Congregatione sequentis dubii humillime resolutionem expostulavit, nimirum: Quomodo anno proximo 1902 ordinandae sint Vesperae festi Sanctae Familiae Nazarenae quod, ex Apostolica concessione, transfertur ad feriam V post Cineres, et ita concurrat, cum primis Vesperis SSmae Coronae Spineae cujus officium apponitur insequenti die?

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio, referente subscripto Secretario, exquisito voto Commissionis Liturgicae, omnibusque rite perpensis, rescribendum censuit: *Dividantur Vesperae juxta Rubricas.*

Atque ita rescripsit. Die 4 Martii 1901.

D. Card. FERRATA, *Praef.*

D. PANICI, *Archiep. Laodicen., Secret.*

**LEO XIII. AND MGR. DUPANLOUP**

LEO XIII GRATULATUR EPISCOPO AURELIANENSI DE CELEBRANDIS  
SOLLEMNIIS, ANNIVERSARIO RECURRENTE CENTESIMO A NATIVI-  
TATE EPISCOPI FELICIS DUPANLOUP

*Venerable Frere, Salut et Benediction Apostolique.*

Grande a été Notre joie d'apprendre que vous et vos prêtres aviez formé le projet de célébrer solennellement le centenaire de la naissance de Félix Dupanloup.

En cette circonstance, Nous voulons vous témoigner hautement Notre approbation pour ces sentiments de reconnaissance qui sont tout à l'honneur de vos coopérateurs, élevés au sacerdoce par ce pasteur éminent. En des temps où la vérité et la justice sont traitées en ennemies, c'est d'un grand et efficace exemple que de rappeler, dans une cérémonie solennelle, le souvenir du vaillant soldat qui soutint tant de combats, surtout pour les droits et la liberté du Pontife romain.

Aussi, ce Nous est un espoir assuré que la mémoire toujours en honneur de cet homme illustre affermira chez les clercs la volonté de conserver inébranlable leur union avec la Chaire de Pierre. Nous louons donc, comme il le mérite, chacun de vous, et en témoignage de Notre bienveillance, à vous et à vos prêtres, Nous vous donnons, avec toute la tendresse que Nous avons pour vous en Notre Seigneur, Notre Bénédiction Apostolique.

Donné à Rome, près Saint Pierre, la vingt-cinquième année de Notre pontificat.

LEON XIII.

**INDULGENCES FOR THE DEAF AND DUMB**

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE INDULGENTIARUM. CHAMBERIENSIS. DE  
SURDO-MUTIS QUOAD LUCRANDAS INDULGENTIAS.

Quamvis haec S. C. Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praeposita, ut suppleretur impotentiae, qua surdo-muti detinentur recitandi percès ad lucrandas indulgentias iniunctas, iam providerit per Generale Decretum diei 16 Februarii 1852, in quo edixit : '*Quod si agatur de privatis orationibus, proprii mutorum et surdorum confessarii valeant easdem orationes commutare in alia pia opera aliquo modo manifestata, prout in Dno. expedire indicaverint*' ; nihilominus Episcopus Chamberiensis animo revolvens surdo-mutos nunc perfectiori methodo esse instructos, ut ipsi facilius et uberiori spiritali fructu Indulgentias

assequi valeant, sequens dubium huic S. Congregationi dirimendum exhibuit :

‘ Utrum expediat, ut surdo-mutis, quin in singulis casibus ad proprium confessarium recurrant, per generale decretum gratia concedatur acquirendi Indulgentias, iniunctas preces signis, vel mente fundendo, vel tantum easdem legendo sine ulla pronuntiatione? ’

Emi. Patres in generalibus Comitiis ad Vaticanum habitis die 15 Julii huius decurrentis anni responderunt :

Affirmative ; et supplicandum SSmo. pro gratia, firmo manente decreto generali diei Februarii 1812.

In audientia vero habita ab infrascripto Card. Praefecto die 18 Julii anni praedicti, SSmus. sententiam Emorum Patrum approbavit et petitam gratiam clementer elargitus est.

Datum Romae ex Secr. eiusdem S. C. die 18 Julii 1902.

S. Card. CRETONI, *Praef.*

L. ✕ S.

Pro R. P. D. FRANC. SOGARO, *Archiep. Amiden., Secr.*

IOS. M. CANCUS. COSELLI, *Subtus.*



## NOTICES OF BOOKS

SUMMA THEOLOGICA AD MODUM COMMENTARII IN  
AQUINATIS SUMMAM, Tomus IV., Tractatus De Deo-  
Homine, Pars Prior, Christologia pp. 870; Tomus V.,  
Tractatus De Deo-Homine, Pars Altera, Mariologia—  
Soteriologia, pp. 1021. Auctore Laurentio Janssens,  
S.T.D. Friburgi Brisgoviae, Sumptibus Herder.

TRACTATUS DE BEATISSIMA VIRGINE MARIA MATRE DEI,  
pp. 484. Auctore Alexio Maria Lépicier. Parisiis, Sumpti-  
bus P. Lethielleux.

TRACTATUS DE SANCTISSIMA TRINITATE, pp. 483. Auctore  
Alexio Maria Lépicier. Parisiis, Sumptibus P. Lethielleux.

WE offer our congratulations to Father Janssens on the publication of these additional volumes of his able commentary on the *Summa* of St. Thomas. Many works have been published bearing the title: Commentary on St. Thomas. Some of these have been commentaries only in name. The volumes of Father Janssens are, however, commentaries on St. Thomas not merely in name, but also in reality. They contain a commentary on the text of the *Summa*. When reading them the *Summa* itself must be open, since the text is not embodied in the work. The addition of the text would be a great convenience to readers, though this would add immensely to the size of the volumes, already great in their number of pages.

These volumes are a commentary on St. Thomas, but they are much more. They are not confined to a mere textual criticism. They discuss the subjects discussed by St. Thomas. Every aspect of these subjects is laid bare to the reader's gaze. Patristic teaching receives its full share of attention. The views of many schools of Catholic theology are placed before the student. The rival systems of St. Thomas and Scotus are brought into sharp contrast. We notice that, in his admirable chapter on the doctrine of St. Thomas on the Immaculate Conception, Father Janssens holds that St. Thomas denied the Immaculate Conception. In this he agrees with Father Lépicier,

who treats the same subject very ably in his Tract on the Blessed Virgin. If the doctrines of the Fathers and of the divergent schools of Catholic thought are thoroughly discussed in these volumes, so too are the views of modern as well as ancient opponents of Christianity. In this connection we may call the attention of our readers to Father Janssens' chapter on the modern theosophists' views of the Incarnation. Annie Besant, Madame Blavatsky, and their followers, receive a patient hearing and a logical criticism.

The great defect in these volumes is their apparent want of unity. This must be so. Being commentaries on a text, they could not well avoid this danger. Father Janssens, however, has done much to overcome this difficulty by little schemata which he has added to each chapter. These schemata are admirable in their way. They give a connected and scientific view of the subject under discussion. They go far to make the want of unity be more apparent than real.

Father Lépiciér in his two works follows a different method of treating his subject. His books are not commentaries on St. Thomas, though St. Thomas is, generally speaking, his great theological guide. We get an idea of Father Lépiciér's method of treating theological subjects from an incidental statement which we find on page 191 of his Tract on the Trinity. His words are useful in themselves, so we think it well to quote them: '*Pessima enim ratiocinandi est illa methodus qua alicujus sententiae valor non intrinseca ejus veritate, sed utilitate mensuratur; nec magis est rectae rationi consentanea illa via, quam tamen multi hisce temporibus ingressi sunt, qua videlicet quaestiones theologicae potius doctorum extrinseca auctoritate, quam argumentorum intrinseco robore, dirimere contendunt.*' As Father Lépiciér preaches so he practises. He is more intent on finding truth in theological discussions than in discovering the authors who were on one side and the other. He is temperate in his views and cogent in his reasoning. His works, too, breathe a spirit of devotion which is rare in scholastic treatises. We recommend his two volumes to students of theology and to preachers of the Word of God.

J. M. H.

COMMENTARIORUM IN VET. TEST. Pars I., in Libros Historicos III. 3, *Josue*. Auctore Fr. Hummelauer, S.I. Parisiis, 1903. 10.50 francs.

THIS commentary on the Book of Josue, by Father de Hummelauer, is the latest instalment of the great *Cursus Scripturae Sacrae*, by the Jesuit Fathers, a work which, when completed, will be a monument of patient industry and profound scholarship, in every way worthy of the best traditions of the great Order, to which we are indebted for it.

In the present work, Father de Hummelauer devotes nearly a hundred pages to the Introduction to Josue, and many questions of far-reaching interest are discussed. By a comparison of the present Hebrew text with Lucian's Recension of the LXX as edited by de Lagardi in 1883, and with the Textus Receptus of the LXX, he shows that we are far from possessing at present a perfect text of Josue. The differences between the Hebrew and Greek are numerous, and of such a kind as to seem to prove that they are in many cases due to the work of revisers, who were endeavouring to simplify or elucidate the text. He concludes that the Hebrew text was for long in an unsettled condition, and rejects unhesitatingly the claims of Josephus and Philo that the Jews had always possessed a fixed and stereotyped text of their Scriptures. While admitting that the Greek of Josue is not perfect, he holds, and in our opinion, proves that it is decidedly superior to the present Hebrew.

He discusses and rejects the view so commonly held by the critics, that Josue and the five Books of the Pentateuch are homogeneous, and compiled from the same sources; and with the name Hexateuch, as implying this homogeneity, he will have nothing to do.

Perhaps the most interesting portion of the work is that in which our author discusses the sources and authorship of the Book of Josue. He holds, as many Catholics indeed held before him, that the Book is called the Book of Josue not because Josue is its author, but because he is its hero. Who the author was is unknown, but he wrote some time between the death of Josue and the reign of David.

As to the sources of our present Josue, the following is a brief summary of the author's view. The chief source were *annals*, which described from year to year in the order of their occurrence the deeds of Josue, the wars he waged, the battles

he won, the distribution he made of the land of Canaan, and contained also an account of his death. Such annals, as the simplest form of history, are known to have existed among the most ancient nations, as, for instance, the Assyrians; and that they were used in the compilation of our present Josue is held to be proved by the occurrence in two passages: xi. 2,3; xiv. 15 of the formula, 'and the land rested from war.' This was a favourite formula of annalists, and its presence, especially in the second passage referred to, where it is out of joint with the context, is held to prove that the writer of Josue used annals. And this is rendered all the more probable by the fact that the Jews, from the time of their acquaintance with a literary people, such as the Egyptians were, would be likely to compose and preserve annals.

From these annals, then, according to our author, the Book of Josue was compiled, a religious book from historical annals. So far, indeed, there is nothing new in the view, for such great Scripture scholars as Masius, Simon, A Lapide, and Bellarmine held the same view long ago. But our author goes farther, and holds that the book compiled from the annals was not our present Josue, but what he calls 'Josue primigenius,' from which, by means of some abbreviations and changes (*quasdam imminutiones et mutationes*), our present Josue was produced. If the reader ask: Where did inspiration come in? our author replies: Wherever, and as far as, it was necessary to secure that the result should be the Word of God.<sup>1</sup> Of the commentary itself the exigencies of space forbid us to say much. We cannot, however, close this notice without directing attention to the author's interpretation of the famous passage in the tenth chapter, where we are told that 'the sun stood still in the midst of heaven' (Josue x. 13). We need hardly say that until the publication of the Copernican System in the sixteenth century, indeed until the time of Galileo in the seventeenth, this passage was commonly taken to mean that at the prayer of Josue the sun was miraculously stopped in its course. In later times it has been as commonly taken to mean that our earth was stopped in its revolution round its own axis. But,

<sup>1</sup> 'Tantum in variis, qui libro manum applicuere, auctoribus, amanuensibus, glossatoribus, restitutoribus, paraphrastis adstruas divinae providentiae adminiculum, quantum requiri existimaveris, ut hic liber vere sit verbum Dei. Non enim ex ipsa *libri indole* motibusque in legentium animis excitatis cum veteribus protestantibus, libri inspirationem inferimus, sede *testimonio magistrae ecclesiae*.'—p. 11.

according to our author, neither sun nor earth stood still, but the miracle is to be explained in this way. A violent and miraculous hailstorm (Josue x. 11) darkened the whole face of heaven, so that it seemed as if night had fallen. Josue prayed for light to continue the battle against the Amorrhites, his prayer was heard forthwith; darkness at once ceased for the Hebrews, and it seemed as if night had been succeeded by a new day. We leave to others to decide whether this view satisfactorily explains the text.<sup>2</sup> We have noticed it both because of its own interest, and to show that our author is not afraid, where he thinks it necessary, and where no ecclesiastical tradition seems to bind him, to depart from the beaten track. For the work as a whole we have nothing but praise. Father de Hummelauer's mastery of Hebrew and his familiarity with the ancient and modern commentaries on Josue are apparent on every page. In some instances we should hesitate about adopting his conclusions, but one must always respect his arguments and admire his scholarship.

J. McR.

PSALLITE. Freiburg: Herder. 2s.

THIS well printed work contains a carefully made selection of English hymns, one hundred and sixty in number, all set to music. They are followed by hymns and litany for Benediction, and by morning and evening prayers. The work is admirably suited for choirs and confraternities. If we might, however, suggest what seems to be an improvement in the wording of a favourite hymn, viz., 'I'll sing a hymn to Mary,' it would be this: 'When wicked men forget thee,' sounds much better than 'When wicked men *blaspheme* thee.' Over and over again the word here italicised, sung as it was with most determined emphasis, sent a thrill of horror through a certain listener, till at last he got his choir to change it into 'forget.' To forget the Blessed Virgin is bad enough for reprobation, and there is little likelihood that the devout worshippers who sing this beautiful hymn will ever be pained by witnessing any deeper degree of wickedness.

F. O'L.

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<sup>2</sup> It is to be noted that in Josue x. 14 the words 'so long,' or any equivalent, are not read in either the Hebrew or Greek.

FIRST LESSONS IN THE SCIENCE OF THE SAINTS. By R. J. Meyer, S.J. Herder. Price, 5s.

It is the author's purpose, as he tells us in his preface, to treat of those subjects which have often afforded matter for consideration during the annual retreat, such as mortification, humility, etc. All are well and practically treated. Minute directions on certain points show that the writer is well versed in the inner life, and experienced in helping beginners to surmount the difficulties they must encounter on the way to perfection. The book will prove helpful to many.

F. O'L.

BIBLISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT. Herder. 12s. annually.

THE establishment of this new periodical is part of the noble response made by the clergy in Germany and Austria to the Encyclical *Providentissimus Deus*. In furtherance of the Pope's wish that Catholic *savants* should devote themselves more to Biblical studies, a number of learned priests, with Dr. Bardenhewer, of Munich, at their head, began some years ago to issue the *Biblische Studien*, and now, in connection with that series, a still larger number of priests have founded the *Biblische Zeitschrift*. Needless to say, this periodical represents the acme of Catholic scholarship in Germany. It is the counterpart of the *Revue Biblique* in France. Among the names of the contributors it will be enough to mention those of Ehrhard, Knabenbauer, Schanz, and Zapletal. The first number, which has just been issued, contains articles on questions of vital interest, and reviews and classified lists of books, which will be found most useful. We wish the new serial all success.

R. W.

THE HOLY SACRIFICE OF THE MASS. By Dr. Nicholas Gihl. Herder. Price 15s.

PRIESTS in these countries will welcome the translation of Dr. Gihl's great work on the Mass. The fact that no fewer than six editions of the original have appeared, and that almost every German priest's library contains a copy, is no doubt sufficient testimony to its excellence. The dogmatic portion, or the First Book, contains an exposition of the nature of sacrifice in

general, and then of that of the cross which is continued daily on our altars. To quote the learned author's words: 'As the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass is the centre of Catholic life and worship, a more profound knowledge of the Mass is considered essential for all the faithful, but especially for the priest.' The Second Book, which is historical, liturgical, and ascetical, treats of the prayers and ceremonies of the Mass, from the Introit to the Last Gospel. The origin and meaning of everything is admirably explained. The words of the *Missal* are given *in extenso* and each part is followed by a copious commentary based on the liturgies, the works of the Fathers, the great theologians, and the liturgical writers. Some idea may be formed of the thoroughness of Dr. Gühr's labour of love when it is known that he quotes from about two hundred sources of information. Nothing in the whole range of ecclesiastical literature appears to have escaped him. He tells us that his object has been to enable his fellow-priests to say Mass with all reverence and devotion, and he has certainly succeeded in his noble endeavour. We do not know of any other books so suitable as a gift to a person on his ordination, and we hope that before long a copy of it will be found on every priest's table.

F. H. D.

HORAE SEMITICAE, Nos I, II. The Didascalia Apostolorum in Syriac. The Didascalia Apostolorum in English. By Margaret Dunlop Gibson, M.R.A.S., LL.D. Cambridge University Press.

THE *Didascalia*, which appears from internal evidence to have been written early in the third century, is undoubtedly one of the most valuable works that have come down to us. It is especially interesting to the student of canon law or of liturgy, containing as it does many regulations that were in force during the sub-apostolic period. The work might almost be described as a manual for Bishops in the government and administration of their dioceses. The only view taken of Bishops is that of their being *rulers*, they are regarded exclusively in relation to the inferior clergy and the laity of their respective dioceses; hence there was no occasion to mention their own subjection to the Pope, the supreme head of the Catholic Church. Reference

to this subordination would have been irrelevant. We cannot, therefore, regard the writer's silence on a point which did not fall within his scope, as noteworthy or significant. We know, however, that if he had occasion to speak about it, he would have professed his belief in the Papal Supremacy, else he would not have been a Catholic. We are sure that he would have agreed with the Bishop of Antioch who, addressing the Church of Rome, said of it *ητις καὶ προκαθῆσαι ἐν τοῦτο χωρίῳ Ῥωμαίων*, and of the Bishop of Lyons, who said of it: 'Ad hanc enim ecclesiam propter potiozem principalitatem necesse est omnem convenire ecclesiam, hoc est eos qui sunt undique fideles, in qua semper ab his qui sunt undique, conservata est quae est ab apostolis traditio.'

Though Lagarde, who first published the Syriac version of the lost Greek text, was of opinion that the author of the *Didascalia* belonged to the sect of the Audæans, there is nothing in the work to justify the surmise; on the contrary, there is an utter absence of anthropomorphism, and the few theological statements that occur are perfectly orthodox. Rothe and Hilgenfeld conjectured that the author was a Judaizing Christian, but as Funk shows,<sup>1</sup> this can hardly have been the case. It may be mentioned, in passing, that the author addresses his work to the Catholic Church! As is well known, the first six Books of the so-called Apostolic Constitutions are only an amplification of the *Didascalia*, and stand in the same relation to it, that the Seventh Book does to the *Didache*. St. Epiphanius knew and esteemed the *Didascalia*, and, though its influence may have been limited, yet the Verona fragments of a Latin version discovered by Hauler, and the Arabic and Ethiopic versions are an indication that in some places it was regarded with interest or with respect. Its mention of Subdeacons (c. III.) and of a Lector (c. IX.) deserves notice, but it need scarcely be said that the ascription of the work itself to the Apostles does not.

As regards the present edition and translation, both are entitled to the highest praise. Mrs. Gibson's Syriac text represents a recently discovered Mesopotamian MS., and both supplementary passages and variants taken from other MSS. are added, so that now we have a thoroughly reliable critical text. We have read only a portion of L'Abbé Nau's French translation of the *Didascalia*, but, excellent though it is, it does not surpass Mrs. Gibson's English one; and the value of her work is

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<sup>1</sup> *Die Apostolischen Constitutionem*, pp. 57, 58.



enhanced by a classified list of the very numerous quotations from the Old and the New Testaments.

R. W.

APOSTOLIC ORDER AND UNITY. Bruce. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.

It is satisfactory to observe the growing interest on the part of some, unhappily outside the Church, in the history of the Apostolic Age. Time was when sincere and well-meaning Protestants knew little and cared less for information about Catholic beliefs and practices in early centuries, about the Epistles of a Pope like St. Clement, or of a Bishop like St. Ignatius of Antioch. The indifference has in certain minds disappeared, but a want of perception of what the Apostolic Fathers held unfortunately continues. This, however, is not to be wondered at, for no conscientious man could understand it and remain a Protestant. The writer of the little work now before us has read the New Testament and the writings of the Apostolic Fathers, but many things contained therein have escaped his notice. He passes over the mention in the Epistle to the Hebrews of Our Lord's being a priest according to the order of Melchisedech and of the Christian altar, in the first Epistle to the Corinthians of the Sacrifice which shall be offered in commemoration of Christ's death until He shall come, in the synoptic Gospels of Our Lord's command to do it in memory of Him, and then he calmly adds: 'Nothing can be more evident than that there were no priests, altars, or sacrifices, in the Christian synagogues before the fall of Jerusalem.' When will the 'mystery of faith' be known throughout Great Britain, as it was up to the mis-named Reformation? Would that those outside the Church would read Father Dalgairn's *Blessed Sacraments*, or Gihl's *Holy Sacrifice of the Mass*!

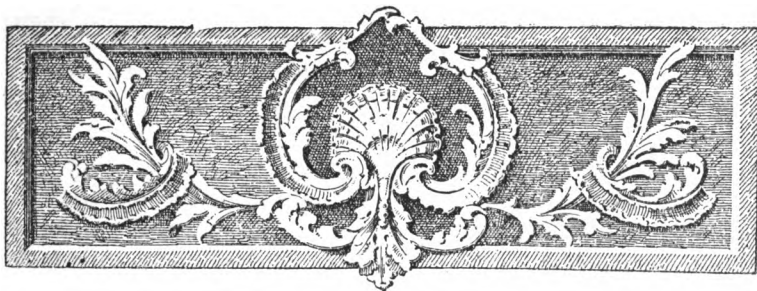
R. W.

BREVIARIUM ROMANUM. Sumptibus et Typis Friderici Pustet. 1902. 28s.

WE have great pleasure in introducing this edition of the Breviary to the notice of our clerical readers. It realises all the conditions which the most fastidious taste could desire. Each quarter may be conveniently carried in the pocket.

The letterpress is clear and the binding neat and serviceable. The Rubrics in the beginning of the winter quarter are up to date, while, of course, the possessor of this Breviary will enjoy the advantage and satisfaction of having immediate access to all the new offices. What more is wanted except, indeed, that an Irish priest might fairly ask, Why not give us an Irish edition of the Breviary? We should add that there are different sizes of the Pustet Breviary, and probably an elderly priest with weak sight would prefer a size larger than that of the copy which the editor of the I. E. RECORD has been kind enough to send us for review. The work may be ordered through any of our city booksellers.

T. P. G.



## DR. STARKIE AND CATHOLIC CLERICAL NATIONAL SCHOOL MANAGERS

**O**N the 11th September, 1902, an event of considerable importance to the Catholic Church in Ireland occurred in the city of Belfast. The annual Meeting of the British Association was being held there, and William J. M. Starkie, Esq., M.A., Resident Commissioner of the Board of National Education—the virtual head and controller of the system—read a ‘paper’ for the assembled ‘savants,’ on a subject closely associated with his position, and therefore one on which he was supposed to descant with reliable information and unquestionable authority. He was in fighting form in the assembly; and seemingly enraged by the remembrance of what he regarded as wrongs done him by members of the Catholic ecclesiastical body of Ireland. In Belfast, and before an audience of non-Catholics, he saw his opportunity for retaliation; and, accordingly, he availed of it unmercifully and unsparingly, till the Catholic clerical managers in Ireland were held up to public reproach and a desire propagated to deprive them of their positions and trusts. Loud applause greeted his action. Admiration of it was as unbounded as a sympathetic world-read Press could make it; and the character and reputation of a previously much respected and appreciated section of the community, were

very much injured indeed. An event of such importance to the Catholic priests and people of Ireland calls for treatment in the pages of the I. E. RECORD. Circumstances of a personal and unimportant nature have made me familiar with it; and believing that I can make manifest the undeservedness and unfairness of the attack made upon the assailed body to which, for a long time, I have the honour to belong, I make an endeavour to do so in the following pages.

In the beginning, I wish to establish beyond controversy, notwithstanding denial, that Dr. Starkie attacked the Catholic clerical managers in Belfast, and that his remarks were pointed at us alone. His charges may be applicable to other managers, but against priests alone were they directed. He got the Chief Secretary for Ireland to say in his name in Parliament, on the 5th November, that they were made against all clerical managers in Ireland, and he repeats that mitigation of his charges in the Appendix to his pamphlet published in December.<sup>1</sup> It is hard to write in a spirit of incredulity but it is more difficult to ignore palpable facts, and the universal interpretation put upon the words of the learned Doctor by all, save himself. The entire trend of his 'paper' proves him to be an anti-clerical in educational matters, but nowhere in it does he point his opposition to any religious except Catholic clergymen. To them, in all branches of education, he raised his objections. He is 'concerned with the question how to discover or to create the independent and educated *Catholic*' laymen.<sup>2</sup> He does not find them in intermediate schools—'They have not been able to live in competition with the vast multitude of celibate priests, who are "passing rich on £40 a year."' He sneeringly adds,

They cannot be the head-masters of Catholic schools, because it is thought undesirable that these should be laymen; but they may be employed as assistants, at journeymen's wages, where there is no priest competent to do the work. The future would seem to be equally without hope. Even in the proposed new Catholic University, in which lay influences are to predominate, it seems probable that the one post which really matters and which, in Trinity College, Dublin, and in Oxford and Cambridge

<sup>1</sup> *Recent Reforms in Irish Education*, p. 41.

<sup>2</sup> Pamphlet, p. 39

Colleges, is the legitimate ambition of every brilliant Fellow, may be confined to ecclesiastics, in order to command the confidence of Catholic parents.<sup>3</sup>

He has a fling even at our training colleges, and he laments the teachers are not trained in universities away from clerical control, for the development of broad and liberal ideas:—

In Wales and Scotland the elementary teachers have experience of all grades of education—elementary, secondary, and university—and have opportunities of acquiring a liberal culture, and, what is still more important, a wide knowledge of human nature and of life, which are not open to Irish teachers, who, from the earliest years, are cribbed, cabined, and confined within the narrow curricula of a primary school, and of a training-college. And still the primary school is the bedrock upon which the whole structure is based, and, if there is such a thing as continuity in mental development, should be leavened with the broad and liberal ideas which have their source in the university.

He speaks more plainly, however, when he says:—

The mainspring of any educational system is what the *Times* calls the 'driving force of public opinion.' . . . . And yet the present system of school management in Ireland is such as no other country can parallel, and only historical reasons can justify or palliate. The local managers have absolute power of appointment and of dismissal of teachers, although they are not responsible for any portion of the salaries, and are merely the channels through which the State grants pass. Under the revised programme their initiative has been largely increased; and still, according to Dr. O'Dwyer, the managers have not received an education such as would fit them to control the course of instruction in the schools, and, as a matter of fact, they rarely interfere in matters of education. No one is better aware than I am how deeply rooted in the affections of the people are the priests, but for whom there would have been no education at all in the evil days, when—

'Still crouching 'neath the shelt'ring hedge, or stretched on  
mountain fern,

The teacher and his pupils met feloniously to learn.'

Later on in his 'paper' the learned Doctor again indicates the drift of his thoughts when he sighs, at first, for the

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<sup>3</sup> Pamphlet, pp. 39, 40.

independent educated laymen—afterwards for the ‘independent and educated *Catholic* layman.’ Lest his meaning should be left in doubt, here are his words:—

It is generally admitted that, without the local co-operation of independent and educated lay opinion, the best constructed and best co-ordinated system in the world is an engine without any driving power; and so, to a large extent, the *whole* question, of which I have rashly attempted the solution, resolves itself into this: How are we to discover the independent educated layman, or to create him if he does not yet exist? In the North we have independence without education; in the South, neither independence nor education. I think we may, with confidence, allow the North to learn, at their leisure, the desirability of softening the asperities of their sturdy national character with a little of the graces of cultivation; but, as a Southerner and a Catholic, I am more concerned with the question how to discover or to create the independent and educated Catholic layman. The question is a difficult one, and gins and pitfalls beset the feet of those who attempt to solve it.<sup>4</sup>

It is difficult for anyone knowing the circumstances of the country and the force of plain English language, to apply these passages to other clerics than priests. The same may be said of the following passage found earlier in the Pamphlet<sup>5</sup>:—

Our inspectors report that there is no hope for better things in Ireland until the schools are made more comfortable, and are properly heated, and unless—there is great virtue in an unless—the people take an interest in education. It is an important question for this section to discuss, what is the most efficacious method to induce managers, who can find money for everything except education, to keep their schools, built largely at the expense of the State, in such a habitable condition that it is not a cruelty to send children there, or how to revive a love for the things of the mind in a people which, outside of politics and religion, has not yet been roused from the intellectual atrophy in which it has been sunk for centuries.

I leave the reader to deal with the assertion that, with these passages in his address, and with no passage in it referring to any other clerical managers than Catholic ones,

<sup>4</sup> Pamphlet, pp. 38, 39.

<sup>5</sup> Page 24.

the Resident Commissioner embraced all clerical managers in his attack. So universal was the contrary belief that remonstrance came from almost all quarters from priests and from no other clergymen than priests did it come, and though there are more other clergymen managers than priests. So clearly were priests alone attacked that Dr. Starkie felt it necessary, or desirable, to tell, as he did, through the Chief Secretary in Parliament, the whole world, that it had wrongly understood him. That his attack was against priests alone is obvious. That he included priests in his charges is, however, beyond all doubt; and, the undeservedness of the accusation against us will be evident from the very documents availed of unscrupulously and unfairly, four months before the persons incriminated could examine them, by the Resident Commissioner. He had recourse to them only in his official capacity, and he violated all official etiquette, I think, as well as every principle of fair play, in thus publicly using them for his sinister purposes before they were presented to the King or to Parliament.

It may be well here to insert, in the Doctor's own words, the charges he has made against us, and which he has sent adrift all over the world many months before they could be repelled, and by organs of circulation that never will circulate the refutation.

It would be disingenuous to conceal the fact that our inspectors report that the majority of managers are quite indifferent to education, and that in many cases the schools are left well-nigh derelict, the only supervision given to them being that of the Board's inspector. This neglect is demoralising to the teacher, but its ruinous effects are most discernible in the material condition of the schools. Many of them are mere hovels; even buildings recently erected, largely at the expense of the State, are described as resembling 'half-ruined tenement houses,' and the out-offices as 'dangerous sources of disease and death.' The means of heating are often 'inversely proportional to its necessity'; the most elementary claims of health and comfort are neglected. . . . It is useless to appeal for help to the managers or to local subscriptions, for the inspectors report that of local interest in education there is practically nothing, and that, in return for the absolute power over school and teacher with which the managers insist on being

invested, they contribute nothing in very many cases where help is most needed, but saddle the unfortunate teachers with the entire cost of maintenance. It is intolerable that such a charge should fall upon the scanty salaries of the teachers, but, unless the schools are to be allowed to tumble down over their heads, they are compelled to keep them in repair.<sup>6</sup>

In proof of these infamous charges Dr. Starkie refers to the reports of the school inspectors published in 1901 and 1902. I regret to say, for the honour of literary and official character, he has quoted garbled extracts from these, many months before the latter of them, the principal ones, were presented to Parliament or to the public; he has given them full of '*corrigenda*' all wrongly erring to the detriment of the managers; and he has so mutilated them that they are made have a meaning entirely different from that their writers intended. These are damning assertions, but by no means as severe as the facts of the case warrant. According even to himself, he has slightly abbreviated 'the language' of the Reports 'without injury to the sense,' and 'quoted only so much of them as was germane' to his argument. He admits he has 'occasionally omitted passages laudatory of the satisfactory general supervision which, perhaps, the majority of managers exercise over their schools.' And thus he grudgingly feels forced to acknowledge that we, 'perhaps,' discharge fairly well what, strictly speaking, are our chief duties. The unfairness of such a mutilation is apparent, even on the surface; but when, by omissions, he made inspectors say what they never meant to say, when by his garbling and conglomeration of the extracts, he diverts them from their meaning, and when, by his determination to make them prove something terrible against the managers, he fancies and parades as the duties of managers, though set up as such only by his own highly-enlightened will, what are not their duties at all—when, by mixing extracts together not merely from different reports but from reports of different years—and doing so without giving the ordinary help to a reader to trace any reference, but giving instead erroneous guidance for finding

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<sup>6</sup> Pamphlet pp. 37, 3<sup>8</sup>.



it out—when he uses them thus to prove general dereliction of ‘duty’ as above described, and then accuses public men in their public capacity before an audience hostile to them, of indifference, incompetence, and negligence, and exhibits occasional blemishes as being general characteristics—when he, the Resident Commissioner, who should protect them from libel and slander, thus assails them, and by the aid of documents that cannot be tested till the slanders and libels have done their work of defamation;—when the Resident Commissioner who is such, because he is a Catholic, thus assails the priests of his Church, with the object of driving them from the control of the education of their flocks, his conduct is so unfair that language must fail to properly describe it.

In proof of the statements I am making, I must exhibit, in contrast, the extracts from the reports the Doctor relies upon, and the reports themselves. The ‘occasional’ omissions of passages laudatory of the managers is the almost universal fact in all the extracts given, though there is hardly one of the reports quoted from, in which something in our praise is not to be found. All in the reports that could be gathered to show that we do not presume to exercise expert proficiency in the matter of ‘controlling the course of education’ is recorded against us. We are to be got rid of. School Committees are not up to the Resident Commissioner’s requirements, but the ‘independent educated Catholic layman’ of the O’Donnell or M’Carthy or Starkie type is to be discovered or created—and we must go!

Be it noted that though his Appendix extends over only eight pages, half a dozen corrections have had to be made without exhausting the ‘corrigenda.’ All these ‘corrections’ are in favour of the managers—some of them seriously so, and not one of them will ever be attended to by the general reader. Be it further noted that though in the note at the head of his Appendix he tells us in English unworthy of a pupil in the fifth standard of a National School that ‘my quotations are from the annual reports of inspectors for a single year (1902), except in 3’ (*sic*) ‘where I quote from the reports of 1901,’ such is not the fact. Not finding enough of

condemnatory clauses in the reports for 1902, he goes back for more than half a dozen extracts to the reports of 1901. Be it also known that to no extract does he attach any reference by name, volume, page, or otherwise, except in two or three instances, in one of which he erroneously attributes the extract to Mr. E. Downing, though it is the report of Mr. Purser and is the composition of Mr. Sullivan, and though, in my opinion, it has been grossly misinterpreted against us. Moreover, rarely were the *suppressio veri*, and the *suggestio falsi* more unblushingly had recourse to than in the selection the Doctor has given, as will be evident from the following:—

## EXTRACTS.

With a few conspicuous exceptions managers take no active part in the inner working of the schools, and, viewed as a whole, the interest which they manifest can scarcely be said to be practical. (Appendix, page 41.)

Practical supervision of the schools is not habitual amongst the managers. (Appendix, page 42.)

## REPORTS.

The managers as a body show considerable concern in the welfare of the schools. They are naturally anxious, of course, to promote the educational progress of the pupils, and, as a rule, they give cordial support to the suggestions and recommendations which it becomes my duty to make. With a few conspicuous exceptions, however, they take no active part in the inner working of the schools, and, viewed as a whole, the interest which they manifest can scarcely be said to be practical. (Reports for 1902, page 67.)

The managers' attitude in this district in reference to the present system has been very satisfactory. A friendly disposition and an inclination to give every opportunity of success, even in branches to which some of them felt personally hostile or indifferent, seemed to pervade their ranks. In the beginning when in certain quarters opposition was made to its introduction, some

## EXTRACTS.

The managers assume little control of the actual working of the schools. They consider that the teachers ought to know best how to organise and work the schools. (Appendix, page 42.)

Beyond seeing that matters are progressing fairly as a whole, managers in general do not enter into details of the working of the schools. (Appendix, page 42.)

## REPORTS.

of them used their personal influence strongly in its favour. Practical supervision of the schools is not habitual amongst the managers. Such a practice would involve in very heavy labour those who have a large number of schools to manage. They visit their schools periodically, sign returns, and show every attention to the points submitted for their consideration on the occasion of incidental visits or annual examinations. (Reports for 1902, pages 68, 69.)

So far as my experience enables me to judge the managers assume little control of the actual working of the schools. They take an interest in them, and they would not condone any idleness or breach of duty on the part of the teacher, but they consider that the teacher ought to know best how to organise and work the school. (Reports for 1902, page 42.)

Beyond seeing that matters are progressing fairly on the whole the managers in general do not, as far as I am aware, enter into the details of the working of the schools. I must say, however, that I have found them ready to co-operate when I have found it necessary to call their special attention to teachers who have not been conducting their schools in a satisfactory manner. (Reports for 1902, page 69.)

## EXTRACTS.

The general policy (of the managers) may be described as *laissez faire*. (Appendix, page 43).

Hardly any of the managers seem to me to think it necessary to exercise what I consider practical supervision over schools, which they evidently regard as the inspectors' duty. (Appendix, page 42.)

I am not aware of any instance in which a manager has acted upon the Commissioners' recommendation with respect to the holding of periodic examinations, the provision of school libraries and school museums, and the establishment of a system of school prizes. (Appendix, page 42.)

Beyond personal grievances or sectarian wranglings, even educated people seem to see nothing worth discussing in the question of education. The want of public interest is due in part to the system of management, clerical managers, etc. (Appendix, page 48.)

## REPORTS.

Here (one circuit) the general policy may be described as one of *laissez faire*. (Reports for 1902, page 70.)

The managers as a body evince much interest in their schools, but hardly any of them seem to me to think it necessary to exercise what I would consider a practical supervision over them. This they evidently regard as the inspectors' duty. Their attitude towards the new scheme of education is decidedly sympathetic. (Reports for 1902, page 67.)

As a rule the managers visit their schools frequently and use their influence actively in encouraging the attendance of the pupils. In many cases the constant and intelligently directed supervision of the manager has a most beneficial effect on the general work of the school.

I am not aware of any instance in which a manager has acted upon the Commissioners' recommendation with respect to the holding of periodic examinations, the provision of school libraries and school museums, and the establishment of school prizes. (Reports for 1902, page 107.)

Roman Catholic clergymen make the most effective managers. They are best acquainted with the details of the history of the children and the school; they make considerable efforts to maintain the houses in proper repair, and they appoint fairly good teachers.

## EXTRACTS.

About 30 per cent. of the managers display active interest in the work going on in their schools. . . . In too many instances there was absolutely nothing to show that the gentlemen undertaking this charge had realised its importance. The apathy of managers materially hinders the progress of education. (Appendix, page 44.)

(Some managers') visits are few, and their interest is generally of a rather fleeting and unsubstantial character. (Appendix, page 45.)

## REPORTS.

Beyond personal grievances and sectarian wranglings, even educated people seem to see nothing worth discussing in the question of education. . . . The want of public interest is probably due in part to the system of management. . . .

In the case of committees, which are common in the North . . . these committee men are not particularly enlightened or quick-witted ; they are well-meaning and wish the pupils to be well taught, but they are slow, and do not change. They do not care much for new houses, or new teachers, or new programmes. (Reports for 1902, pages 108, 109.)

About 30 per cent. of the managers displayed active interest in the work going on in their schools. There were, perhaps, in addition to these, at least as many more whose activity as managers was less conspicuous, but who were nevertheless helping forward the work of education. In too many instances, however, there was absolutely nothing to show that the gentlemen undertaking this charge had realised its importance. The apathy of managers of the last-mentioned class materially hinders the progress of education. (Reports for 1902, page 115).

Most managers take an active and intelligent interest in their schools. They visit them frequently, and advise and encourage wherever re-

## EXTRACTS.

There is abundant evidence to show that in the case of many schools very little, if any, management exists. The nominal managers, no doubt, consider learning to be a good thing, and approve of children attending school regularly, but are content to leave all matters of school routine entirely in the hands of the teachers. They rarely visit the schools to check the accounts or the attendance, and seem satisfied that so long as they afford shelter to the children their duty is discharged. They take no trouble whatever to make their schools attractive to the pupils. It is most desirable that managers should give more attention to the furnishing, heating, adornment, and sanitary arrangements of their schools, and generally exercise greater supervision over them. (Appendix, page 44.)

## REPORTS.

quired. Some, however, are not so zealous. Their visits are but few, and their interest generally of a rather fleeting and unsubstantial character. (Report for 1902, page 69.)

My relations with managers, without exception, continue most friendly and cordial. School managers, like other people, no doubt, hold different views regarding their duties and responsibilities. Several of them are to be congratulated on the success of their schools, and on their readiness to carry out suggested repairs, additions, or alterations to the buildings, as well as to the supervision which they exercise over matters of detail in connection with organisation, etc. But there is abundant, etc. (Report of 1902, pages 70, 71.)

A writer in the *Leader* of February 28th, gives the following instance of the conglomeration I have alluded to, which he thinks is 'sharp practice':—

One of Dr. Starkie's extracts is :—'The managers, of course, do not and cannot take much part in arranging and supervising the teaching curriculum,' since 'very few of them are educational experts.' One would think that those two short extracts are taken from the same Inspector, who gives the latter as a reason for the former. But the truth is that he went

to page 66 for the former, which he took from the Report of Dr. Skeffington (Waterford Circuit), and went to page 109 for the latter, which he took from the Report of Mr. Wyse (Ballymena Circuit); *thus* he hooks the two together by a conjunction and makes Dr. Skeffington appear to say what he does not say.

Another comparison of extract and report I shall make is that referred to in the Appendix, page 47, and in the Pamphlet, page 38. Mr. Downing, Chief Inspector, gets the credit of making the report, though I cannot find it in his report, but I can in Mr. Purser's, where I discover it is the composition of Mr. Sullivan. It is to be found in Reports for 1901, page 23, and is introduced by Mr. Starkie to prove that the 'upkeep of the schools, vested in trustees, in many cases falls on the teacher,' and to establish managerial apathy.<sup>7</sup>

In his address in Belfast Dr. Starkie multiplied the 'many' cases into '*very* many' ones,<sup>8</sup> though the words of Mr. O'Sullivan are in 'several instances'! He also has extended the inspector's 'fear' into a certainty, and 'partially or wholly' into 'entire cost of maintenance.'<sup>9</sup>

## EXTRACTS.

It is very undesirable that the local expenses should fall on the teacher, but I fear that in several instances they do fall on him either partially or wholly. (Appendix, page 47.)

## REPORTS.

In general, the schoolhouses afford fair accommodation. There are, however, several exceptions, but year by year new houses are replacing those which are unsuitable. In many cases the arrangements for having good fires in the winter mornings are not so complete as I would wish to see them, and consequently the children have to commence the day's work in rooms which are too cold. I am of opinion that the want of a good fire during winter mornings has a good deal to do with the late attendance of pupils, of which one hears so frequently. The question how best to provide fuel for a school is only part of

<sup>7</sup> Pamphlet, p. 47.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 38.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 38.

## EXTRACTS.

## REPORTS.

the larger question : How best to provide funds for the wants other than salaries of each school. These wants are fuel, cleaning, repairs, apparatus, etc., etc. The new programme will increase the local expenses. It is very desirable that the local expenses of a school should not fall on the teacher, but I fear that in several instances they do fall on him either partially or wholly. ( Reports for 1901, page 23.)

In further substantiation of my charge of unfair mutilation of the inspectors' reports, I add the following, and shall supplement the extracts I have given in favour of the managers by a few other ones. The capitals are my own :—

SOME managers visit their schools daily. The truly admirable results of such management are described by Mr. Dickie in the case of the Dublin district :—‘ SOME of the managers I have met in Dublin City are the moving spirits of their schools, intimately acquainted with every detail of the school work, men to whom the teachers turn for advice and direction in a difficulty.’ Of such managers—and there are many of them—I am glad to say with an inspector that ‘ they deserve well of their country.’ But it is to be regretted that this compliment is not of wider application. (Dr. Starkie, in Appendix 43.)

This compliment is found in the report of the Chief Inspector, Mr. Downing (1902, page 65). I cannot find it anywhere else. By Mr. Downing it is extended as follows to managers in general ; by Dr. Starkie it is limited to SOME managers ; and he regrets IT IS NOT OF WIDER APPLICATION.

MOST managers visit their schools frequently, and so keep in touch with them that no serious dereliction of duty can long continue unnoticed. Invaluable assistance has been given by the clerical managers in encouraging the regular attendance of children at school.

When all the circumstances are well considered, and all the



difficulties well weighed, I think it should be conceded that the managers of National Schools IN GENERAL deserve well of their country.

I think it can be seen from the contrast exhibited between the inspectors' reports and the extracts Dr. Starkie has given from them in the Appendix to his Pamphlet, how unfairly the Catholic clerical school managers have been treated by the learned gentleman. A cursory reading can give, however, only a superficial impression, and it is difficult to take the pointer in the columns of a periodical, as one would in a demonstration class, and indicate more convincingly general unfair mutilation. But, without the pointer, I may ask—Is the issuing of garbled extracts, without any reference to a context by which they could be interpreted, fair? Is the issuing of them, conglomerated as shown, fair? Is the issuing of them, beheaded and truncated of words and clauses that limit the faults they are to prove, to individual managers, fair to their general body, even though corrections can be found on a 'pasted-in' page? Is an omission that leaves 70 per cent. of us under an imputation intended only for, at most, 40 per cent., fair? Is a quotation that managers are the cause of a fault, substituted for the statement that managers are *probably* its cause, fair? Is it fair when an inspector reports that he fears the teachers, in 'several instances,' have to bear the cost of fuel, and expenses which they are bound by the Commissioners to bear, partially or wholly, that the Resident Commissioner should so mutilate the report as to make the inspector appear as saying (and as if charging to the apathy of the managers) that even the cost of the 'up-keep' of the schools vested in trustees<sup>10</sup> falls wholly in very many cases on the teachers? And these are some of the mutilations visible in the foregoing, when attention is drawn specifically to them.

The reports from which I have quoted are those selected by our enemy for our destruction and must be those best

<sup>10</sup> 'Vested in trustees' are words introduced into this connection by the Doctor himself, evidently to indicate that the 'up-keep' he means is up-keep the trustees are supposed to pay for—*i.e.*, the cost of maintaining and repairing the buildings.

adapted for that purpose. Even from them it is pretty clear that, for the most part, we have been discharging our duties faithfully and well, according to every common-sense view of them. Of the few faults found amongst school managers in general, we should not be charged with even a numerical proportion, and we are only 40 per cent. of the managers of Ireland. Yet, all the faults have been heaped upon us!

That the National Schools of Ireland are unexceptionally good, I do not contend. That in some parts of the country some of the good ones could be more commodious, better furnished, more comfortable, better attended, better taught, and better managed, even by priests, I do not deny. We get feeble and old, like other members of Adam's family. We have no 'sixty-five rule' retiring us on a pension that secures us *otium cum dignitate* in our declining years. But even when we are old or infirm, our schools do not suffer by our maladies, as our zealous and efficient assistants make up for short-comings in our managerial duties. With their help, and by the generosity of our flocks, we have kept the lamp of education lighted for our people, and over the whole extensive area embraced by the National education system we have studded the land with National Schools. 'The accommodation now provided in our schools, taken as a whole, is more than sufficient for the school-going population of the country.' So states the last Report of the Commissioners of National Education. The cost of procuring sites for them and erecting them must have been very great. Almost all of it has been provided by the priests. No word of grateful recognition had Dr. Starkie at Belfast for such signal services to the country. He had words of censure instead. Many of the schools were 'mere hovels,' unsanitary, dangerous to public health, cold, and uncomfortable. 'Even buildings recently erected, largely at the expense of the State,' are described 'as resembling half-ruined tenement houses—language applied by an inspector to *one* such house that had come to grief, from a malicious injury: and without proof, but in face of very many proofs to the contrary, and in opposition to facts, he states—'It is useless to appeal for help to the managers or to local subscriptions'; 'that managers contribute nothing in very

many cases where help is most needed, but saddle the unfortunate teachers with the entire cost of maintenance.'

Not one word has Dr. Starkie adduced in proof that teachers have been saddled with undue expenses; and if, in isolated cases, repairs have had to be borne by the teachers, he has not proved that the managers are priests.

As to the heating of schools, we assist the teachers to provide fuel from the people, and we sanction their collecting for it. We sometimes give money for it out of our own resources. By the 'Rules' of the Board, the teachers are 'to see that the schoolroom is properly heated in *winter*.' The inspectors' reports do not complain much about the want of fuel (the gentleman who has missed the fires in October does!)—but they seem more anxious about a new way and a more systematic way of providing it. On this point, the Catholic clerical managers, before Dr. Starkie ever brought the matter before his English audience, repeatedly<sup>11</sup> requested the Board of Education to provide the needful. And we even indicated how it could judiciously do so without more money than is annually actually at its disposal.

It is not so much the schoolhouses and premises [reports Chief Inspector Purser in another of the unfairly mutilated reports quoted in Dr. Starkie's Appendix, only the last sentence of which he gives (Reports 1901, page 25)], that I have sometimes to complain of—it is the manner in which they are kept by THE TEACHER<sup>12</sup>. On a cold winter day I enter a school and find a clean floor, everything tidy and orderly, a good fire, and an air of comfort. I leave that school and go to another. I find an unclean floor, with dirty, torn papers lying about, the book-press and the teacher's desk in disorder, dust everywhere, and no fire in the grate.

And yet, for the teachers the Resident Commissioner had nothing but praise: for the priests, censure and condemnation!

On the question of unsuitable schools, I shall leave the Commissioners and a Chief Inspector to speak:—

The schoolhouses generally are suitable for their purposes,

<sup>11</sup> Resolutions of Catholic Clerical Managers, 1901-2.

<sup>12</sup> The capitals are my own.

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but there are still over 5 per cent.<sup>13</sup> which would require to be reconstructed. (Report, 1902, page 6.)

Speaking generally [says Mr. Purser, Reports, 1902, page 89] for all the Northern division of Ireland the school accommodation is more than adequate, and in quality is constantly improving. Though one cannot speak favourably of the taste shown in the style of houses, even of those built by the Board of Works, or of the repair in which they are kept, it cannot be denied that quite unsuitable houses and defective premises are disappearing.

Regarding dilapidations, I will give a quotation which Dr. Starkie has ignored, probably because it proves that his own Board, with the British Treasury to pay its outlay, comes in for some of the censure he has exclusively poured on priests.

The plans of the Board of Works need a total revision, in view of the requirements of the revised programme. The vested schoolhouses, even those vested in the Commissioners, built in the early years of the National Board, are now very antiquated and unsatisfactory. Those more recently built will, I fear, prove soon out of date, if they are not so already. An immediate revision of the plans is therefore necessary, so that future buildings may be more in accordance with modern notions. If seating accommodation for all pupils is to be provided, a very general enlargement of the school buildings will be necessary.<sup>14</sup>

The Doctor has also ignored the following in his anxiety to saddle the overtaxed ratepayers of Ireland with new burdens—doubtless that he may eventually carry out his ill-concealed fad.

The premises vested in local trustees deteriorate very fast, as a rule, for want of proper attention. Some means of providing funds for their timely repair should be devised. It is bad economy to spend public funds on buildings without providing effectively for their preservation.<sup>15</sup>

As to our outlay on schools, we, who 'can find money for everything' except education, according to last year's report spent our portion, which is more than two-thirds, of upwards of £70,000 upon it. And similarly in previous years.

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<sup>13</sup> A very small number, one would think.

<sup>14</sup> Mr. E. Downing, Chief Inspector. Reports, 1901, p. 1.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

Dr. Starkie severely censures us for our attitude to the new programme, as we shall see later on, and yet the following is what the last General Report supervised, if not composed, by himself states on the subject:—

We are pleased to find that during the past year great efforts have been made by managers and teachers to co-operate with us in introducing into the National Schools the new system of instruction approved by us in 1900-1, and the new subjects which form special features of that system. These efforts have been largely successful.

As to the attendances at the schools, the Report of the Commissioners for 1902 tells of satisfactory improvement, notwithstanding the decrease in population.

The number in average attendance, which in 1900 was 478,224, was, in 1901, 482,031, an increase of 3,807.

We expect a further increase in the average attendance of pupils in view of the efforts made by school managers to provide increased and better school accommodation, while from the general desire on the part of managers and teachers to understand the principles and to attain the objects of the new programme, we feel assured that the interest of the pupils in their school work is increasing, and that school life is becoming brighter and more attractive.

Again, we read in the same publication:—

We are pleased to find that during the past year great efforts have been made by managers and teachers to co-operate with us in introducing into the National Schools the new system of instruction approved by us in 1900-1, and the new subjects which form special features of that system. These efforts have been largely successful. In issuing our Revised Programme we said that it was promulgated tentatively, and we gave considerable freedom with regard to its adoption. We were prepared for severe criticism of the Programme as a whole and of its details; but we find that the representations that have been made to us on the subject have been chiefly in the way of suggestions for improvement or amendment of details.

One further report, taken from the reports on which Dr. Starkie relies for his 'proofs,' must not be omitted. It is

that of Mr. Downing, reporting for the Southern half of Ireland. Its application is to the whole country:—

The office of manager is an honorary one, involving a considerable amount of care, trouble, and expense. On the manager, as a rule, devolves the maintenance of the school buildings and premises, the funds for which he must give or provide. Sometimes he has to undertake, with or without State aid, to build a new schoolhouse. In such a case he must procure the site—a work very often of much difficulty—and he must also provide, in case he obtains State aid, one-third of the total cost of building. A considerable amount of correspondence devolves on a manager, and he is expected to visit his schools frequently, and to exercise an effective supervision over the teachers, so far, at least, as to ensure a regular discharge of duty. Occasionally managers have been subjected to legal troubles of a serious nature, but this, fortunately, occurs very rarely. It has always appeared to me that but scant public recognition has been granted of these important services rendered under peculiar difficulties. All the funds required for the purposes specified above must come from voluntary subscriptions. The manager has no authority to levy a rate, and there are, as a rule, no special funds from which to draw. Hence the difficulties of managers, as may well be imagined, are very pressing in many parts of this poor country.

Most managers visit their schools frequently, and keep so in touch with them that no serious dereliction of duty can long continue unnoticed. Invaluable assistance has been given by the clerical managers in encouraging the regular attendance of children at school.

When all the circumstances are well considered, and, all the difficulties duly weighed, I think it should be conceded that the managers of National Schools in general deserve well of their country. (Report, 1902, page 65.)

I add a few extracts from reports regarding Catholic clerical managers exclusively, or expressly including them, as we are the managers attacked by Dr. Starkie. These are in Mr. Purser's report (1902) for the Northern half of Ireland, and were written by various inspectors:—

In regard to the supervision exercised by managers over schools, I have found that, generally, the Roman Catholic parish priests take a most praiseworthy interest in their schools. A good many others do so likewise, but not so uniformly, or constantly, as the class I have named. Clerical managers appear generally to have more opportunity and aptitude for ex-

exercising supervision and influence in their schools than lay managers have. (Page 111.)

I can only speak of the managers in this circuit in terms of the highest commendation. To them is due the first establishment of the schools, their subsequent maintenance, supervision of the teachers, and watchfulness over the attendance. The great majority of the managers being clergymen, the schools, naturally, fall under their supervision, and the duty is well discharged. (Page 106.)

The managers, with four exceptions, are all in Holy Orders. The clerical managers take a deep and intelligent interest in their schools; visit them frequently, and assist in the religious instruction of the pupils. The lay managers are not quite so regular in their visits, but they do visit. Both lay and clerical managers are zealous in their co-operation and are always ready to carry into effect any suggestions which are made with a view to the improvement of their schools. (Page 113.)

The clerical managers visit their schools frequently, and take great interest in the school work, but the lay managers seldom visit the schools under their care during school hours. That is not, however, due to any want of interest in them, but to the fact that their other engagements keep them fully occupied during the time the schools are in operation. (Page 114.)

Nearly all the managers here are clergymen, who devote much time and attention to the interests of primary education. They frequently visit the schools under their charge, and by actual observation are enabled to form correct judgments on the efficiency of the schools generally. (Page 119.)

Managers visit their schools more frequently than their entries in the books would infer. Clerical managers are constantly in and out of the schools, but lay managers often live at a distance, and their duties are merely nominal. (Page 121.)

These are all the reports I can find for the Northern half of Ireland where mention is made explicitly of clerical managers. Similar testimony exists for the Southern half.

Mr. Stronge says:—

The managers visit their schools regularly.

Dr. Alexander says:—

Effective supervision is maintained over the schools by the managers, who regularly visit them, and also require their curates to do so. I always find managers well informed as to the state of their schools.

Mr. Headen says:—

With scarcely an exception the managers of the district take great personal and practical interest in the welfare of their schools. They visit them frequently, and in general they are ready to effect any repairs or improvements they consider reasonably needed.

Mr. M'Clintock says:—

The clerical managers visit frequently, and take a deep interest in the progress of the pupils. As a rule, they use their best efforts to keep up the attendance, and their influence tends to impart a healthy tone to the schools. The lay managers are not so assiduous, as a body, in the performance of their duties—their visits are fewer and their interest in primary education less keen.

Mr. C. Smith says:—

So far as supervision is concerned, I am satisfied that managers exercise a very necessary and beneficial control over their schools, and to their presence and local influence are largely due that close attention to duty and efficiency of work that are everywhere in evidence.

Nowhere that I can find is censure of Catholic clerical managers to be found—and they are the reports of 1902, on which chiefly Dr. Starkie based his astounding statements in Belfast in September last—many months before any of the assailed body could defend themselves from them. 'Our inspectors report,' said he there, 'that the MAJORITY of managers are quite indifferent to education, and that in many cases the schools are well-nigh derelict, the only supervision given them being that of the Board's Inspector.'<sup>16</sup>

Out of his own documents, I think, I have unearthed his complete refutation. If ever there was foul play, it was when he made his charges with the knowledge that, not until they had made the circuit of the universe, could they be refuted, and never very extensively.

It is superfluous to write the conclusion to which any impartial, attentive reader of these reports will come. He

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<sup>16</sup> Pamphlet, p. 37.



will undoubtedly conclude that Dr. Starkie's charges against the Catholic clerical managers are not merely unproved, but that they are disproved, and by the very documents upon which he relied for his proofs. He will see that they are unwarrantable, unjust, and untrue; that they have been recklessly and foully made, and he will wonder that any sensible man, with such reports before him, could unbosom himself so audaciously as the Resident Commissioner did at Belfast. He will further wonder that the man who made them so recklessly and so foully continues to preside over the system of education that owes its vitality and prospects to the co-operation and good will of the very men so unjustly and foully assailed.

After his address in Belfast, it would seem that, finding the indignation he had aroused in Ireland very general and very great, and looking more carefully into the illogical position he had taken up, he felt it untenable and dangerous. Be the cause what it may, we find him soon changing his position and making an effort to make it defensible. In November, he got it told by the Chief Secretary in Parliament that all other clerical managers were attacked as well as priests—the reports containing nothing against us specially—and in December, his pamphlet with his Belfast address appears changing stealthily the issue and concentrating all our 'crimes' into the only great sentimental dereliction of 'duty,' attested by nearly all the inspectors, undeniable by ourselves, and manifestly a safe charge on which to effect a retreat. Some people would prefer a withdrawal and an apology: not so, however, the Gold Medallist of Cambridge and Trinity.

How has Dr. Starkie effected this change of front? He delivered his address in Belfast in September. In December he issued his pamphlet containing it, with Notes and Appendix. By these Notes he endeavours to change the obvious and literal meaning of his own words so as to make it appear his charges were different from what the whole world understood them to be. Thus, he has a footnote to the quotation I again give containing them, namely:—

Our Inspectors report<sup>2</sup> that the majority of managers are

quite indifferent to education, and that in many cases the schools are left well-nigh derelict, the only supervision given them being that of the Board's Inspector. This neglect is demoralising to the teacher, but its ruinous effects are most discernible in the material condition of the schools. (Pamphlet, page 37.)

<sup>2</sup>Managers take no 'practical' interest in the education given in the schools. They neither control the course of instruction nor adapt the programme to the needs of the localities, nor conduct examinations, nor give prizes, nor establish school museums or libraries, as suggested in the new programme; in fact, according to our Chief Inspector, they are practically but passive lookers-on at the evolution of the new scheme of education! (Pamphlet, page 37, Foot-note.)

Twisted as it may be, the footnote is inadequate to prove any part of the conclusion; but, will it be believed the extract given by the Chief Inspector was never intended for such a purpose at all? Here it is in its context at the end of the report last quoted from Mr. Downing. How he must wonder when he finds his words so twisted:—

Managers relieved from the bonds of the results system were expected to devise or adopt programmes and syllabuses suitable to their respective localities, and to direct and encourage and assist financially the introduction of new subjects and new methods. The managers, as a rule, have not undertaken this new work. Under the old *régime* they did not interfere much with school organisation or methods, preferring to leave these technical matters to the teachers and inspectors. They do not appear to have changed their attitude. They are practically but passive lookers-on at the evolution of the new scheme of education.

That we did not do the things mentioned in the foot-note the reports prove, and hence its introduction and the new meaning given by Dr. Starkie to his own words to meet the situation! Hence, too, the introduction of the 'desire' of the Commissioners that managers should initiate a new programme suited to their localities; and because they did not do so but left it to the educational experts—the teachers and the inspectors—and looked on with anxious sympathy and encouragement, they are maligned all over the world as follows:—'The inspectors' reports are almost unanimous as to

the indifference of the managers to the educational aspects of their office.<sup>17</sup>

The duties of our office are defined for us in the 'Rules.' None of these so defined are we accused of having failed in discharging. 'In the notes to the Revised Programme,' however, says Dr. Starkie,<sup>18</sup> 'the COMMISSIONERS EXPRESS A DESIRE that managers should arrange the programmes of their schools so as to suit the needs of the localities.' I have the 'Notes' to the Programme issued in 1900, and those issued in 1902. I have the Rules and Regulations of the Board issued in 1902, and the 'New Rules' earlier on, and the inspectors' reports for 1901, containing the sentiments of the Board on the matter: and in none of them is there any expression of DESIRE or any RECOMMENDATION that managers should do any such thing; but there is simply permission to them to do so, if they please, and in conjunction with the teacher, and subject to the approval of the inspector and of the Commissioners.

The Commissioners leave managers and teachers FREE to select, with the concurrence of the Inspector, any of the courses that may seem most suited to the special circumstances of the schools. Managers MAY also submit for the approval of the Commissioners other courses than those provided, if they consider none of the programme courses suitable.<sup>19</sup>

This permission, about which the Commissioners seem so indifferent, and the availing of which on the part of the manager obliges him to win over the teachers, the inspector, and the Commissioners, and which was to be the optional substitution of a programme for one already laid down by experts, is made 'the central feature of the New Code' by Dr. Starkie. 'The large initiative thus given to the managers is the central feature of the New Code.' (Appendix 41). It is OPTIONAL for managers to avail of it, and I have publicly challenged, without reply, Dr. Starkie to prove that the Commissioners, in any published official document, have DESIRED them to do so. Up to the present the recommendations of the Commissioners' on this point and on that of prizes and museums

<sup>17</sup> Pamphlet, p. 41, 1.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>19</sup> *Notes, Hints, etc.*, 1902.

'have remained a dead letter. The inspectors' reports are almost unanimous as to the indifference of the managers to the educational aspects of their office.' (Appendix 41). And thus the statement made in Belfast, interpreted by the Doctor's footnote, is established—viz., the 'majority of managers are quite indifferent to education'!

Here, then, are the items of the Catholic clerical managers' dereliction of 'duty.' To be sure we have schoolhouses that are not up to date, but the National Board will not advance us money fast enough to go even halves with us in building new ones; and the Resident Commissioner flings the charge of our schools being 'mere hovels' at us in presence of an audience of strangers in Belfast! He knows that the fault is not ours, that it is not so long since we had the hedge-schools, and that when the National system had become, under prudent Catholic Resident Commissioners, sufficiently in touch with the religious requirements of the country, the priests of Ireland zealously set about supplying as good National schools as the National Board would assist them to build, and that, for years past, it has not kept pace with the calls for grants for new schools made upon it. We have also some schoolhouses, 'built largely at the expense of the State,' kept in an uncomfortable and unhealthy condition, and going to dilapidation; but the Education Board, that claims to own two-thirds of them, will not give one penny for their preservation! 'Some means of providing funds for their timely repair,' reports a chief inspector, 'should be devised. It is bad economy to spend public funds on buildings without providing effectively for their preservation.' Let the County Councils get up an Education rate, says Dr. Starkie, and save the British Treasury that is robbing Ireland annually of three millions of unjust taxation! We have schools badly heated and not kept clean for want of proper funds for fuel and sundries. Why do not the managers provide them? 'They can find money for everything else, but none for education,' exclaims Dr. Starkie. 'Cease your extravagance on the Model Schools,' say the Armagh Managers to the Board of Education. 'Equalise your school expenditure on all classes, and apply the surplus money spent on the Model Schools to

the comfort and care of National Schools all round.' 'Initiate the New Programme, you managers,' says Dr. Starkie, though he thinks we have not education enough to control the course of education. 'Hold examinations, give prizes, establish museums and libraries, and send confidential reports about your teachers to us,' say the Commissioners. 'We decline your last request,' say the managers. 'And as to the other parts of it, give us some £20,000 a year, and we shall do so.' As you will not carry out our wishes in these matters, says Dr. Starkie, as 'all the inspectors report, you "are indifferent to the educational aspects of your office."'

Is the selection and appointment of talented, well-conducted, highly-trained, zealous teachers an educational aspect of our office? Is zeal on our part in crowding the children to our schools an educational aspect of our office? Is vigilance over their morals and religious training an educational aspect of our office? Are watchfulness over the habits of our teachers and constant supervision over their attendance in school, by our visits without number, an educational aspect of our office? Are endeavours usually successful, though sometimes humiliating and tedious, in procuring sites for schools, teachers' residences, and arranging for their erection an educational aspect of our office? Are efforts on our part, testified to constantly by the inspectors, to replace at great expense the existing schools that are 'mere hovels,' 'and dangerous to health and life,' an educational aspect of our office? Is fidelity to the routine correspondence with the Board, which is constant and troublesome, an educational aspect of our office? Is attentive, though unostentatious, observance of the teaching and progress of our children an educational aspect of our office? Is thus labouring for no other earthly reward than the welfare and happiness of our people an educational aspect of our office?

On such points as these the volumes of reports from which Dr. Starkie has garbled his extracts bear ungrudging testimony in favour of Catholic clerical school managers. Were they silent, the people amidst whom we and our curates live would cry out for us—and will, if needed.

No one ought to know the truth of these things better than

the Resident Commissioner—and yet, because we have not taken steps to form an initial programme of our own, etc., we care nothing about education and are ‘indifferent to the educational aspects of our office.’ Educated, independent laymen are to be ‘discovered’ or ‘created’ to take our place; and WE MUST GO! Not yet, Dr. Starkie, greater men than you attempted the change and—failed.

JOHN CURRY, P.P.

## JULIAN THE APOSTATE<sup>1</sup>

### IV

CONSTANTIUS was at Cæsaræa in Cappadocia, preparing to attack the Persians, when tidings were brought to him of the revolution in Paris. His position was indeed a difficult one. If he marched to the Euphrates, he would leave the whole of the west at the mercy of Julian; if he turned back, the Persian king would overrun Asia Minor. The prudent course seemed to be to come to terms with one of his adversaries and devote the whole of his forces to the destruction of the other. But Constantius resolved to continue his campaign against Sapor, while temporising with Julian, and afterwards to return with his victorious army to deal with the usurper. Julian’s letter announcing his election and suggesting a joint participation in the supreme power, had at first filled him with rage, but now he dissembled his anger and sent an answer by the hand of his confidential agent, the quæstor Leonas. This answer, it is true, was of a peremptory character: the election was declared to be null and void, and various adherents of Constantius were appointed to important posts in Gaul. Still it was not open war.

Julian, however, had now gone too far to turn back. He

<sup>1</sup> *Julien l’Apostat*, Par Paul Allard; tomes ii.-iii. Lecoffre: Paris, 1903. See I. E. RECORD, August, 1902.

summoned the troops to the Champ de Mars, and there, in the presence of Leonas, he caused the letter to be read. The opening sentences were heard without excitement; but when the reader came to the part where Constantius ordered Julian to resume his inferior rank of Cæsar, the soldiers cried out, 'We will have Julian as Augustus.' Leonas saw at once that his master's orders could not be enforced. Thus matters stood during the rest of the year 360. Julian would not resign: Constantius refused to acknowledge him; yet neither declared war against the other. Constantius laid siege to the Persian stronghold of Bezabde, whilst Julian once more crossed the Rhine and chastised the Germans. No doubt the latter would have described the situation in the words of his favourite Homer:—

Πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἐμοὶ, Τρῶες κλητοὶ τ' ἐπικούροι,  
Κτείνειν, ὃν κε Θεός γε πόρῃ καὶ ποσσὶ κίχῃω.  
Πολλοὶ δ' αὖ σοι Αἰχαιοὶ, ἐναιρέμεν ὃν κε δύνῃαι.<sup>2</sup>

Julian took up his winter quarters at Vienne instead of Paris, so as to be able to watch the Alpine passes. About this time he lost his wife Helena, the sister of Constantius. The marriage had been merely one of convenience, and Julian considered that he was well rid of her when he sent her body to Rome to be buried among her relations.<sup>3</sup> A far greater loss to him was the death of the Empress Eusebia, who had so often befriended him in his early days. Had she survived she might have preserved the peace between her husband and his cousin; but that both the rivals should within a few months have lost the ties which in some sort united them, was full of ill-omen for the future. Julian never married again: Constantius began the year 361 at Antioch by taking a third wife.

In the ensuing campaign against the Persians, the emperor, though victorious, refrained from a vigorous pursuit. He knew well that his troops would soon be needed against a more dangerous foe. An imperial law, dated June,

<sup>2</sup> *Iliad*, VI., 227-229.

<sup>3</sup> Her magnificent porphyry sarcophagus adorned with reliefs representing vintage scenes, is a familiar object in the museum at the Vatican.

18, 361, bears the names of Constantius Augustus and Julian Cæsar. The next law, dated August, 29, bears the name of Constantius only. Between these two dates Julian had thrown off the mask and had set out from Bâle on his march to the East. He had divided his army, consisting of 23,000 men, into three separate bodies. One, of 10,000 men, commanded by Jovius and Jovinus, was to cross the Alpine passes and advance by way of northern Italy. Another, also of 10,000 men, and commanded by Nevitta, was to proceed through Rhætia and Noricum. Julian himself, at the head of a *corps d'élite* of only 3,000 men, resolved to penetrate into the Black Forest, and sail down the Danube. Careful instructions were given to the separated forces so as to ensure the concentration of the whole army at Sirmium for the purpose of a united march on Constantinople. The plan, in its skill and daring, was worthy of the highest military genius. Indeed, we are reminded of the famous march, many centuries later, from Boulogne to Ulm. And it must not be forgotten that the Roman general was at the time five years younger than Napoleon Bonaparte. After overcoming the greatest obstacles, Julian was the first to arrive at the rendezvous in the middle of October.<sup>4</sup>

To attempt the capture of the great city of Sirmium with his small force seemed the height of audacity. But, as Ammianus finely observes, it was just in times of danger that Julian was boldest and most confident.<sup>5</sup> As he drew nigh to the city the whole garrison and populace came out to meet him, and conducted him in triumph to the imperial palace. Soon the two other divisions of his army arrived, and with them he pushed on and gained possession of the important Succi pass, half way between Sirmium and Constantinople. His daring plan had been crowned with success: his whole

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<sup>4</sup> Here Gibbon has the following characteristic note:—"A modern divine might apply to the progress of Julian the lines which were originally designed for another apostate:

"So eagerly the Fiend,  
O'er bog or steep, through strait, rough, dense, or rare,  
With head, hands, wings, or feet, pursues his way,  
And swims, or sinks, or wades, or creeps, or flies."

—*Paradise Lost*, II., 947, *sqq.*

<sup>5</sup> 'In rebus trepidis audax et confidentior' (xxi. 10).



forces were concentrated, a great fortress was in his hands, and the road to the capital lay before him.

But these brilliant military achievements were looked upon by Julian as mere *πάρεργα*. At night in his camp he was ever busy with his pen, more anxious to conquer by argument than by arms, and to excel in composition rather than in action. It was at this time that he wrote the epistle to the senate and people of Athens, submitting 'his actions and his motives to the degenerate Athenians of his own times, with the same humble deference, as if he had been pleading in the days of Aristides before the tribunal of the Areopagus' (Gibbon). He wrote also to the Roman senate with similar deference and in terms suited to the sensitiveness of that decaying body. Even the Corinthians and Spartans were not forgotten.

When Constantius heard of Julian's march, he affected to treat the intelligence with contempt. He promised his generals a merry hunting party in pursuit of the usurper. But after a time it was announced that his despised rival was master of the Balkans, and was making ready to attack Constantinople. Happily for Constantius, the retreat of Sapor now left him free to turn his attention to the West. He at once sent a strong force to re-capture the Succus pass, or at least to stop the further advance of the enemy. The scattered garrisons of Thrace were united into a compact army and directed towards the mountain barrier. Constantius himself prepared to follow at the head of his forces, flushed with his recent success over the Persians. It was now Julian's turn to be anxious, especially as some of his own troops—the garrison of Sirmium—were in revolt. But fortune once again favoured him, for the startling news arrived that Constantius was no more (November 3, 361).

Julian set out at once for Constantinople. No resistance, but rather welcome, met him on his way. He entered the splendid capital, the place of his birth, amidst the acclamations of the soldiers, the people, and the senate (December 11). Three days later the body of Constantius was brought into the harbour. Julian, on foot and clothed in purple, but without the imperial diadem, followed the funeral procession,

weeping as he walked along. The solemn offices were chanted in the church of the Holy Apostles, and then the lifeless remains were deposited in the mausoleum constructed by Constantius himself to be the last resting-place of his father, the great Constantine.

## V

Julian's reign lasted less than twenty months (November 361-June 363). Into that short space are crowded events of the highest political, military, and religious importance. It will not be possible to deal with all of them here. Those of special interest to us are the pagan reaction, and the disastrous expedition in which he lost his life. Before, however, we pass on to these, we must note the savage vengeance which he took on all who had been opposed to him during the reign of Constantius. Eight were condemned to death—of whom one was burnt alive—and six others were driven into exile. And we should note also that the swarms of officials who had idled about the court of the late Emperor were all dismissed.<sup>6</sup> This reform, though it caused much suffering to a number of individuals, was nevertheless for the public good.

Constantine the Great's wise policy of allowing paganism to die a natural death had not been followed by his sons Constantine II., Constans, and Constantius. A law promulgated in 341 ordered the cessation of 'superstition,' and punished all who should dare to offer sacrifices. In 356 the penalty of death was enacted against the adorers of idols. Severe measures were also taken with regard to the art of divination. These laws, however, except the last named, were practically a dead letter in the West; and even in the more Christian East they were not strictly enforced. No single case can be cited of any pagan suffering death on account of his religion. Many temples were destroyed and

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<sup>6</sup> It is related that when Julian arrived at Constantinople he wished to have his hair cut. A splendidly dressed functionary presented himself. 'You mistake,' said the new emperor, in surprise; 'I asked for a barber, not for a senator.'

the spoils used for the construction of churches. Such measures, as might be expected, only served to exasperate the pagans, and to prepare the way for the inevitable reaction. Moreover, the intestine divisions among the Christians brought discredit upon their religion. In the same year (356) in which Constantius enacted one of his severe laws against idolatry, his officers broke up an assembly of Christians faithful to the decrees of Nicæa, and profaned their church. This same Arian persecutor compelled the great Athanasius to flee from Alexandria, just as formerly the pagan persecutors Decius and Maximin had driven out St. Dionysius and St. Peter. It is not to be wondered that the persecuted pagans now began to take heart, and to hope for the day when the old religion might be restored. Now, at last, those hopes were realised: the fanatical Christian Constantius was dead, and the devout pagan Julian was reigning in his stead.

The edict of Constantinople, the first act of the new emperor, repealed all the anti-pagan legislation of Constantius, and commanded the re-opening of the temples, the offering of sacrifices, and the practice of divination. Paganism became once again the established religion: sacrifices were offered by the magistrates in the name of the State; pagan emblems were substituted for the Christian labarum; the soldiers, when receiving the emperor's donatives, were compelled to burn incense before the idols, and the higher civil and military officials who were Christians were dismissed from their posts. It was the clergy, however, who were the especial objects of Julian's hatred. The exemptions granted by Constantine were withdrawn, and all the subsidies which they had received from time to time were ordered to be paid back into the imperial treasury. The churches, too, were deprived of the materials which had been seized from the temples. As Constantinople had never been a pagan city, it contained no temples: but Julian did not hesitate to offer sacrifice to the false gods in the principal basilica of the city. At Antioch he took part in a procession in which the most obscene characters, male and female, had a prominent place.

The pagan emperor, however, was not content with re-establishing the old religion. He was above all things a

reformer. The official cult of the gods, with its pontiffs and flamens and augurs, had long ceased to have any influence. The real rival of Christianity was the worship of Mithras. In its original form the idea of the god is not without purity and grandeur. The sacred books of India and Persia make him the personification of intelligent light—illuminating, and at the same time seeing, all things—the type of truth and justice, the mediator between man and the Supreme Being. He is not the Uncreated Word, consubstantial with the Father; but more like the Arian notion of the Son. When we remember that according to St. Jerome the world woke up and found itself Arian, we can understand how nearly it was on the point of being devoted to Mithras. This false worship resembled in many respects the Christian mysteries. It would not be fair, however, to argue that similarity is always the result of imitation. St. Justin Martyr and Tertullian look upon it as a snare of the evil one to entrap the simple-minded.<sup>7</sup>

Julian, however, was a manifest imitator. In the first place he established a hierarchy of which he himself was the *Pontifex Maximus*. The office was by no means an honorary one. He was, like all lay popes, extremely fond of exercising his authority in minute matters. He appointed and suspended his 'clergy,' and wrote 'pastoral letters' to them regarding their different duties. Under him were the provincial high priests, corresponding with the Christian Metropolitans, and below these again, the high priests of the various towns, who were similar to our bishops. His regulations for public worship were exactly copied from what he had so often witnessed in the days when he was a lector in the Christian Church. Matins and Vespers were to be chanted by the 'clergy' in choir. A sort of Psalter was drawn up, and a collection of hymns 'ancient and modern' (παλαιοῖς καὶ νέοις). Sermons, too, were to be delivered—an innovation quite unknown to old-fashioned paganism; and the 'faithful' were to be urged to use all the means in their power for the propagation of 'piety' among the 'atheists.'

<sup>7</sup> Justin, *Apol.* I., 66; Tertull., *De Præscr.*, 40. St. Augustine tells of a pagan priest who said: 'Mithra Christianus est.'

In his 'encyclical letter' he lays down the duties of the priests. Those who were selected for the ministry should be the best behaved, the most religious, and the most humane—without any regard to their position in life. They were not to be priests simply while exercising their priestly functions: they were to continue to be such in their private lives—in their conversation, in their dress, in their behaviour—in a word they were to live as men devoted to a sacred calling (*ἱερατικῶς*). And in return the people should pay them the same honour as was due to state officials, and even still greater honour.

But there was one Christian virtue which excited Julian's especial admiration, and which he endeavoured to instil into his brethren. St. Paul had long ago observed that the pagans were 'without natural affection, unmerciful' (*ἀστόργους ἀνελεήμονας*—Rom. i. 31). The deep-seated moral corruption, the absolute power of master over slave, the continual sight of bloodshed in the amphitheatres, had destroyed in them all sense of compassion. Julian laments this again and again in his encyclical letter.

We call upon Jupiter, the god of hospitality [he writes], and we are more inhospitable than the Scythians. . . . How can we go into the temple of this god to offer him sacrifice! How can we repeat the verses of the poet:

πρὸς γὰρ Διὶς εἶσιν ἅπαντες  
 ξείνοί τε πτωχοί τε, ὅσους ὀύλεγη τε φίλη τε,  
 (*Odyss.*, vi. 207.)

How can any worshipper of Jupiter, the god of friendship, believe that he has well served the god, while he sees his neighbour in want and refuses him even a drachma? And the priests are as unmerciful as any of the people. Why do they not imitate the charity of the 'atheist' clergy?

So Julian set about the establishment of a system of benevolence, in imitation of what existed in the earliest days of Christianity,<sup>8</sup> and he did this more in his capacity of pontiff than as emperor.

Hellenism [he said] does not make the progress which we expected. And this is the fault of those who profess it. The

<sup>8</sup> Acts ii.-iii.; 1 Tim. iii. 2.

gods bestow upon us magnificent favours, surpassing our desires and our hopes. Who could have dared to promise himself so marvellous a change in so short a time? But do not think that this is enough. Do we not see that the chief reason of the spread of 'atheism' is kindness towards strangers, care of the dead, and seeming holiness of life?

It was easy for him to re-open the temples and to restore the splendour of sacrifice; but to infuse the spirit of Christian charity into the hard-hearted worldly pagan was beyond his power. Twenty years later St. Ambrose could ask with scorn: 'How many captives have been ransomed by the temples? How many meals have been given to the hungry? How much assistance has been given to the sick?'<sup>9</sup>

## VI

While Julian thus openly favoured paganism, he ostentatiously declared that he was determined to grant full toleration to the Christians. In the early months of his reign he issued an edict recalling all the bishops who had been exiled by Constantius, and restoring to them their goods which had been confiscated. Among these were the Catholic defenders of the Nicæan decrees, such as Athanasius, Meletinus of Antioch, Eusebius of Vercelli, and Lucifer of Cagliari; semi-Arians like Eleusius of Cyzicus and Silvanus of Tarsus; and downright heresiarchs like Aëtius and Photinus. This apparent act of grace was in reality a subtle attack on Christianity. Julian reckoned that the 'atheists' would disgust so many by their dissensions and violence that the sublime religion of Hellenism would appeal with greater force to the peaceful and intelligent portion of the people. That this was his object has been recognised by Christian and pagan historians alike, and can be proved by his treatment of St. Athanasius. That great champion of orthodoxy had for the past six years been wandering from monastery to monastery in Upper Egypt to escape the persecution of Constantius. Twelve days after the news of the decree of recall, he entered Alexandria in triumph. George of Cappadocia, the intruded

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<sup>9</sup> Ep. 18

bishop, had already been murdered by the pagans in their mad rejoicings over the accession of Julian. The way was thus opened for the peaceful exercise of lawful authority in the see. But this was exactly what Julian had not intended. Accordingly, he excluded Athanasius from the decree of amnesty on the ground that he had been expelled not once but many times, and also because permission to return had not included restoration to episcopal functions; the bishop was to quit the city on the very day of the receipt of the imperial order, under pain of the severest punishment. Athanasius, secure of the protection of his devoted flock, disregarded the order, and remained at his post. He even held a Council at Alexandria re-affirming the Catholic doctrine and enacting wise measures for the reconciliation of those who had fallen into Arianism. Nay, more, he received into the Church numbers of distinguished pagans. This was more than Julian could bear. He sent a fresh order exiling Athanasius, 'the enemy of the gods,' adding with his own hand the words:—

There is nothing that I should see, nothing that I should hear, with greater pleasure than the expulsion of Athanasius from all Egypt—the wretch who has dared, while I am on the throne, to baptize Grecian ladies of rank.

So formal an order could no longer be opposed. Athanasius once more retired into the desert, but as he departed he told his faithful people to be of good cheer, for the cloud would soon be dispersed.

This is the sort of toleration which Julian promised the Galileans. Every inducement was held out to them to abandon their religion. 'Blanda persecutio fuit,' says St. Jerome, 'illiciens magis quam impellens ad sacrificandum.'<sup>10</sup> Furthermore, the Christians were excluded from public offices, and especially from all military posts. This was going far beyond the practice of Constantine and his sons, who had never treated their pagan subjects in this fashion. Julian, indeed, openly declared that he intended to prefer men who respected the gods—for the madness of the Galileans had ruined everything, while the loving kindness of the gods had pre-

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<sup>10</sup> *Chron.*, ad Olymp. 286.

served us all.<sup>11</sup> But his greatest measure for the re-conversion of the empire to paganism was the closing of the Christian schools. Before this time, whether under pagan or Christian emperors, there had been complete freedom of teaching. None of the edicts during the persecutions had forbidden the opening of Christian schools. As a matter of fact, however, most of the great teachers had clung to the old religion, and conversion among them was rare. Julian set about his design with his usual craftiness. His first edict merely required that all teachers should be certificated<sup>12</sup> and their names submitted to him for approval. We can understand which candidates would receive special favour. This law did not, however, affect those already in possession of chairs. Hence, a further step was taken. Julian laid down the general principle that as the great historians, orators, and poets were pagans, none but pagans could enter into their spirit and teach them with success. All Christian teachers must, therefore, either become pagans or resign their posts. Here, again, Julian boasts of his tolerance. He might have compelled the Christians to send their children to the pagan schools—but he refrains: ‘Perhaps it would be just to cure them in spite of themselves, as is done in the case of mad people, but we grant them permission to remain in their malady.’

This was, indeed, a terrible blow—much more dangerous than the edicts of Decius and Diocletian. It meant the loss either of religion or of intellectual life. After a generation or two, a certain number of Christians would have become pagans, while others, true to their faith, would have become unable to defend it with skill or to take any part in the higher affairs of State. The great Fathers of the fourth century, who owed so much to their study of the ancient classics, would have had no successors. Christianity would have fallen, as Julian hoped, into ridicule and contempt. To

<sup>11</sup> Julian, *Ep.* vii.

<sup>12</sup> ‘Magistros studiorum’doctoresque oportet excellere moribus primum, deinde facundia. . . . Jubeo quisquis docere vult, non repente nec temere prosiliat ad hoc munus, sed judicii ordinis probatus decretum curialium mereatur, optimorum conspirante consensu. Hoc enim decretum ad me tractandum referetur, ut altiore quodam honore nostro judicio studiis civitatum accedant.’ (*Cod. Theod.*, XIII., iii., 5.)



the credit of the Christian teachers it must be said that most of them resigned their posts rather than be false to their conscience. St. John Chrysostom, who was a youth at this time, speaks of doctors as well as sophists and orators who made this sacrifice. Strangely enough, some Christians looked upon Julian's action as conferring a great benefit on Christianity! These were the men who had always been opposed to the study of the heathen authors, and had maintained that the Sacred Writings were alone suitable for Christian youth. Others tried to make up for the loss by putting the Psalms into Pindaric verse, and the Book of Moses into hexameters, and by composing sacred dramas after the manner of Euripides and Menander. None of these writings has come down to us. Sozomen speaks of them in terms of high praise; but the more judicious Socrates says that after Julian's death they speedily and deservedly perished.<sup>13</sup> St. Gregory Nazianzen, always devoted to the classical culture which he had imbibed at Athens, the fountain-head, truly says that Julian's decree was the greatest of all his crimes. And in this he is joined by the pagan Ammianus, who styles it 'a barbarous act, ever to be overwhelmed with silence.'<sup>14</sup>

It was not to be expected that the pagans and Christians under such circumstances would continue to observe peace and order. Fifty years had gone by since the great Constantine's edict of toleration. The Christians had multiplied exceedingly, and had been accustomed to hold many places of honour and profit, especially in the East. On the other hand, the pagans knew that any acts of violence committed by them against the 'atheists' would be easily condoned by Julian. Hence in many parts of the empire a veritable reign of terror prevailed, and the blood of many martyrs was shed. The burning of the temple of Daphne, just outside Antioch, was unjustly attributed by Julian to the malice of the Christians.

<sup>13</sup> Sozom. v., 18; Socrates iii., 16.

<sup>14</sup> 'Illud autem erat inclemens, obrevendum æterno silentio, quod arcebat docere magistros rhetoricos et grammaticos, ritus christiani cultores' (xxii., 10). 'A just and severe censure,' says Gibbon, 'has been inflicted on the law which prohibited the Christians from teaching the arts of grammar and rhetoric' (Chap. xxiii.)

In revenge he closed the principal church of the city after it had been desecrated by the foulest orgies ; and he ordered the shrines at Miletus to be burned. Magistrates who attempted to restore order were severely reprimanded, removed from their posts, and sent into exile. 'Is it a crime,' scornfully asked Julian 'for one Greek to kill ten Galileans?'

But the emperor was not satisfied with aiding and abetting the persecution. He spent the long evenings of the winter 362-3 in writing his work 'Against the Christians.' The book itself has perished ; only fragments of it survive in the refutation written by St. Cyril of Alexandria and in the writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia and St. Jerome. Neither St. Basil nor St. Gregory Nazianzen takes any notice of it. As far as we can form an opinion about its contents, it would seem to have more in common with the sarcasms of Celsus than with the philosophy of Porphyry. St. Cyril refuses to quote the insulting passages against Christ our Lord, which, doubtless, were in part derived from the earlier pagan writer. Celsus, indeed, in spite of his bitterness, concludes with conciliatory words, whereas Julian will come to no terms with the Christians—'Ecrasez l'infâme' is his motto.

The Jews had always found favour with Julian, who saw in them a valuable ally in his war against the Christians. In his last-named work he had singled them out for special praise, and he had also encouraged them in their deeds of violence against the churches. He now invited them to renew the sacrifices, of which their sacred books contained such minute regulations. They astutely replied that they could do so only at Jerusalem and in the temple. Thus it was that Julian conceived the idea of bringing back the Jews to the land of their fathers, and of rebuilding the temple which had so long been cast down. In doing this, he was acting in direct opposition to his pagan predecessors ; but the hatred of the name of Christ joined together these strange allies, and launched them on an enterprise destined to bring confusion on themselves and glory to the God whom they defied. Alypius, who had lately held a high post in far-off Britain, was entrusted with the superintendence of the work. Enormous sums of money were placed at his disposal, and the

Jews themselves contributed profusely. Vast numbers of them, men and women, set to work with the greatest enthusiasm. They openly reviled the Christian dwellers in the sacred city, and boasted that the prophecies of Christ would speedily be falsified. As soon as the remains of Herod's temple had been removed, the further progress of the work was interfered with in a mysterious way. Frequent shocks of earthquake filled up the trenches which had been dug for the new walls. A portico hard by, under which many workmen had taken refuge, fell down, and buried them in its ruins. But a still more terrible disaster followed. Christian writers, who lived at the time, such as St. Gregory Nazianzen, St. Ambrose, and St. John Chrysostom, have described it. The strongest evidence, however, is the testimony of the pagan historian Ammianus, who says :—

Whilst Alypius, assisted by the governor of the province, was vigorously pushing on the works, terrible balls of fire, breaking out near the foundations with repeated attacks, rendered the place inaccessible to the workmen, and at times burnt them; and thus, the element opposing them obstinately, the attempt was abandoned.<sup>15</sup>

Now it was the turn of the Christians to triumph. They recalled our Lord's denunciations, and urged against the panic-stricken Jews the words of their own Prophet Jeremias :

The Lord hath accomplished His wrath, He hath poured out His fierce anger, He hath kindled a fire in Sion, and it hath devoured the foundation thereof.<sup>16</sup>

—So great [says St. Gregory Nazianzen] was the consternation at the spectacle that nearly all, as by one signal and with one voice, invoked the God of the Christians, and propitiated Him with many praises and supplications; whilst many, without further delay, ran up to our priests, and besought them earnestly that they might be made members of the Church.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> 'Cum itaque rei fortiter instaret Alypius, juvaretque provinciæ rector, metuendi globi flammæ prope fundamenta crebris adsultibus erumpentes, fecere locum exustis aliquoties operantibus inaccessum : hocque modo elemento destinatus repellente, cessavit inceptum' (xxiii., 1; cf. Greg. Naz., *Orat.*, v. 4; Chrysost., *Contra Jud. et Gent.*, 16; *Adv. Jud.*, vii.; Ambros., *Ep.* xl.; Theodoret, iii. 15; Socrates, iii. 20; Sozomen, v. 22).

See also Newman, *Essays on Miracles*, p. 334, sqq.

<sup>16</sup> Lament. iv. 11; cf. Deut. xxxii. 12; Jerem. xxi. 14.

<sup>17</sup> *Orat.* v. 7.

Julian himself gave up the enterprise and reproached the Jews with the failure of their hopes.

## VII

The retreat of the Persians, which had enabled Constantius to direct his forces against Julian, was only of a temporary character. They still retained the line of the Euphrates and threatened the kingdom of Armenia. But Sapor knew that he had now to deal with an adversary very different from the cautious Constantius. He, therefore, sent to sue for peace. Julian would listen to no terms; he tore up the Persian king's letter and haughtily bade the envoys tell their master that there was no need to send messages, for that he himself would soon be with him in person.

Many youthful commanders before and since his time have had visions of a victorious campaign in the far East. So it was with Julian. He had persuaded himself that the spirit of Alexander had passed into his body, and that he too was destined to cross the Indus and penetrate into Hindostan. The fate of Valerian did not deter him now, any more than the lost legions of Varus had not deterred him in his wars against the Germans. The oracles which he piously consulted were contradictory. Those which belonged to the Greek world—so cherished by him—gave favourable answers, promising him victory; whereas the Roman soothsayers, and especially the Sibylline books, warned 'the emperor not to go outside Roman territory.' These different utterances were doubtless the expression of the opinions of the two great divisions of the empire. Julian, taking no heed of the adverse answers, rapidly pushed on his preparations. In the opening months of the year 363 his forces and fleet were assembled at Hierapolis, not far from the banks of the Euphrates.

On March 6th he himself set out from Antioch, and seven days later transported his whole army, consisting of 65,000 men, across the river into the province of Osrhoene. He had now the choice of two courses: he could either descend the Euphrates, or march on to Nisibis and follow the line of

the Tigris. This latter route had the advantage of keeping him in touch with his Armenian allies, but would involve the abandonment of his fleet. The Euphrates plan was, therefore, decided upon, with some modification: a portion of the army was detached under Procopius and Sebastian to descend the Tigris and rejoin the main body at the confluence of the two great rivers. On March 27th Julian reached Callinicum and celebrated the feast of the mother of the gods. Ten days later he passed the tomb of the emperor Gordian who had died in the year 244. And now the soothsayers began to warn him against any further advance. Julian assembled his soldiers and delivered a stirring harangue, recalling to their memories the glories of former wars in those very regions by the armies of Rome. It is remarkable, as displaying a knowledge of Roman history not often referred to in Julian's writings. The enthusiasm with which this address was received was redoubled when each soldier was given a present of 130 denarii.

The forward march was resumed in admirable spirit and order, the emperor himself being always with the advanced guard, sharing the dangers and hardships of his men. No resistance was encountered until the fortified city of Pirisabora was reached. Here a serious check made it necessary to bring into action the powerful siege train which Julian had taken care to provide himself with. The terrified garrison submitted, and their lives were spared. The victors, however, were discouraged. A fresh harangue from Julian and a fresh distribution of money restored their spirits. The next great city, Maogamalcha, made an obstinate resistance, and shared the same fate. So far the Romans had met with no army in the field; but now the Persian forces advanced from Ctesiphon, on the Tigris, as though to dispute their advance. These, however, speedily retired, though continuing to hover round the invaders. When Julian reached the spot where the two rivers approach each other, he repaired the famous royal canal, and by its means transferred his fleet of eleven hundred vessels to the bed of the Tigris. Ctesiphon, the splendid and strongly-fortified capital of the Persians now lay before him. Under its walls the first pitched battle of

the expedition was fought. The enemy were driven into the city which narrowly escaped being taken by assault. Julian reviewed his victorious soldiers, and summoning by name those who had especially distinguished themselves, distributed to them the much-coveted military and naval crowns. Then he prepared to offer a great sacrifice to Mars the Avenger. Ten magnificent oxen were brought to the altar, but nine of them suddenly fell dead. The tenth broke away and was with difficulty re-captured. When it had been slaughtered its entrails showed adverse signs. Julian in a fury called Jupiter to witness that never again would he sacrifice to Mars. 'He kept his word,' says Ammianus, sorrowfully, 'for not long afterwards he was dead.'<sup>18</sup>

The Persian king once more sued for peace, but Julian was still under the delusion of rivalling the exploits of Alexander. Nevertheless, he was unable to make himself master of Ctesiphon, and he dared not advance further to the eastward with that uncaptured stronghold in his rear. Should he return by the same route by which he had advanced? But the country had been laid waste, and, besides, the very notion of retreat was hateful to Julian. Should he ascend the Tigris in the hope of rejoining the detached portion of his army? This was his decision, though it was strongly opposed by the ablest of his generals. Then, suddenly, a new order was given: the army was to abandon both rivers and march by a shorter route. The huge flotilla which had rendered such valuable service was consigned to the flames, together with the vast stores which were on board. The soldiers protested loudly against this destruction, and Julian himself saw his error when it was too late. The route lay through a well-cultivated territory, but the Persians destroyed all before them. The enemy's cavalry, too, harassed them at every point. Under such trying conditions even Roman discipline and organisation began to break down. Every day the soldiers looked, but in vain, for the arrival of

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<sup>18</sup> Theodoret relates that a Christian pedagogue at Antioch met Julian's friend, Libanius, the celebrated sophist. 'What is the Carpenter's Son doing now?' scornfully asked Libanius. 'The Lord of the Universe,' was the reply, 'whom you deride as the Carpenter's Son, is now making a coffin.'

the Armenian allies and the legions of Procopius and Sebastian. At last they demanded to be led back by the Euphrates route. Julian pointed out the difficulties of that course, now that the fleet no longer existed. But he was overruled; and on June 16th the retreat began.

The Roman army proceeded on its way, suffering from the burning heat and from want of food, and attacked on all sides by their relentless foes. In the plain of Maranga they encountered the main Persian army and after a fierce conflict put them to flight. But a Persian retreat was only the preparation for a fresh attack. On the night of June 25-26, Julian lay anxiously awake in his tent, thinking over that glorious night three years before, when the Genius of the empire had appeared to him. All at once, he thought he saw the same Genius again, but this time with a veiled head, and moving sadly out of the tent. He rose and followed it. And now he seemed to see a bright torch which flashed across the sky and then disappeared. In his terror he summoned his soothsayers. They warned him against engaging in any military operation on that day. But soon Julian had recovered his courage and refused to obey. Probably, too, the want of provisions compelled him to move his camp. The enemy hovered around, watching for a favourable opportunity to attack, especially as the broken nature of the ground caused great gaps between the different divisions of the Roman host. Julian, who had laid aside his cuirass on account of the mid-summer heat, hurried from the rear-guard to the front, and thence again to the left wing, as each was attacked. His own guard had momentarily wavered, but he speedily rallied them, and beat off the foe. Suddenly a javelin grazed his arm and pierced him through the side. He tried to draw out the weapon, but fell fainting from his charger. He was carried to his tent, and his wound was dressed by his surgeon. As soon as he recovered consciousness, he called for his arms and his horse; but his excitement re-opened the wound and caused fresh loss of blood. Meantime, the battle raged all day long and ended only with the night. Both sides had fought with heroic courage, and both had suffered severely. When all was quiet, the Roman

generals assembled round their dying emperor. He spoke to them calmly about the events of his reign and his approaching dissolution, and thanked the gods for granting him a glorious exit from this world. He refused to nominate a successor, for fear that his choice might not be approved of. When his faithful philosophers began to lament his fate, he gently rebuked them for grudging him his entrance into isles of the blessed. Then, amidst the silence of the rest, he discoursed with Maximus and Priscus on the sublimity of the soul. As they were talking together, his wound re-opened once more. Feeling himself stifling he called for water. He swallowed a little, and fell back dead.<sup>19</sup>

The days are gone when Julian's reputation was a subject of contention between Christians and unbelievers. No unbeliever now agrees with Voltaire, 'that Julian had all the qualities of Trajan, without his defects; all the virtues of Cato, without his ill-humour; all that one admires in Julius Cæsar, without his vices; he had the continency of Scipio, and was in all ways equal to Marcus Aurelius, the first of men.'<sup>20</sup> No Christian would now repeat the invectives of Gregory Nazianzen, and hold up Julian as a monster of infamy. To us, moderns, he is simply the leader and personification of the pagan re-action. We can admire his asceticism, and his abilities as a scholar, a soldier, and an administrator, while we condemn his hypocrisy, his fanaticism, his hatred of the Christian name. Fifty years of power, after three centuries of persecution, had brought dissension and corruption into the Church. The sharp lesson of a return of pagan rule was needed to correct these defects. This is the function which history assigns to the life and reign of Julian.

T. B. SCANNELL.

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<sup>19</sup> According to Theodoret (Hist. iii., 25, *cf.* also Sozomen, vi. 2), Julian, as soon as he was wounded, took some of the blood in his hand and threw it towards heaven, saying: 'Galilean! thou has conquered' (Νενίκηκας, Γαλιλαίε). Like so many other celebrated *mots*, these words exactly suit the situation, but were never uttered.

<sup>20</sup> Cotter Morison, *Gibbon*, p. 118.



## THE NEBULAR THEORY AND DIVINE REVELATION

'Above all let writers bear in mind that the first law of history is never to say that which is not true, and the second, never to fear to say that which is true.'—CICERO.

### I

'FATHER! Does the Church permit us to believe in the Nebular Theory?'

This question, amongst so many others, which may at any moment be addressed to a priest in these days of advanced science and higher criticism, will, of itself, reveal the *motive* which inspires the writer to present to clerical readers the following paper. Questions which, in the days of our boyhood, would stagger the questioner in putting them as much as the respondent in having to answer them, may be sprung upon us in our days without any seeming note of temerity.

If the present reader, whose eyes are now upon this paper, feels fully competent to answer the presumed query, let him pass on for some dozen pages of this month's I. E. RECORD. If, on the other hand, his acquaintance with the subject is somewhat precarious, he may find interest in reading on.

How, then, should we answer the query: '*Father; does the Church permit us to believe in the Nebular Theory?*'

I may say at the outset, that some of the greatest modern Christian astronomers affect what may be called the '*Nebular Theory of Sidereal and Planetary evolution.*' It is all important for the priest, in this age of advanced science, to examine how far this theory is consonant with or adverse to Divine Revelation. This shall be the purport of the present paper.<sup>1</sup>

Our first object should be to understand what is meant by this *Nebular Theory or Hypothesis*; and then consider how far

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<sup>1</sup> The reader may profitably consult my former article, entitled 'Is Our Earth Alone Inhabited?' (I. E. RECORD for November, 1902); for though the two articles are not necessarily connected, the one acts as a preliminary to the other.—E. A. S.

it is in keeping with the Genesiactal History of the Creation. But, as in all sciences it is essential to grasp the exact meaning of the terms employed, we shall first clear the speculative field and prepare our minds for the better consideration of the subject, by a few elementary explanations. This may be best effected by the suggestion of the following questions :—

- 1°. What is a Star ?
- 2°. What is a Planet ?
- 3°. What is a Nebula ?

The writer not only thinks this process the more effectual for the end he has in view, but nothing has struck him more in his copious reading of astronomical authors than the frequent absence of scientific definitions, even of the very fundamenta of all astronomy. It is true that modern astronomers advert to the *positive* and *negative* characteristics of the celestial bodies, but they too often seem to shrink from giving philosophical definitions. The only patent explanation of this scientific short-coming may be that, although astronomy is as old as the hills, and though no other human science has made more extraordinary strides than astronomy, astro-physics, and geology during the last century, yet the intimate knowledge of celestial phenomena is still in its infancy.

#### WHAT IS A STAR ?

In the widest, most general, and popular sense, stars may be said to be those bright shining bodies which bespangle the firmament on any clear night. In such a generic definition it will be readily seen that there is no distinction implied between stars, properly so-called, and planets or any other luminous bodies in the heavens, even including nebulae, comets, and meteors. Passing to a stricter and more particular definition, a dictionary will tell us that a star is 'a luminous celestial body so distant as to appear like a luminous point, limited in astronomy to the *fixed* stars, and hence, sometimes applied by analogy to the sun.'<sup>2</sup> Here we see the planets and comets are thrown out, and the term is restricted to 'fixed'<sup>3</sup> stars, in

<sup>2</sup> See *Standard Dictionary*, by J. K. Funk, D.D., under 'Star.'

<sup>3</sup> Somewhat a misnomer, as we shall see later on.

contradistinction to planets, which *wander* about or more sensibly move.

But, suggesting a more scientific definition, we may define a star to be :—

‘An apparently fixed (*a*) celestial scintillating (*b*) body or globe of self-luminous, (*c*) densely incandescent (*d*) gaseous, metallic or fluid *e*) matter.’

1° (*a*) The words ‘*apparently fixed*,’ mark stars or suns<sup>4</sup> off from all other more sensibly moving celestial bodies. As really there does not exist such a thing as a *fixed* star, the qualitative ‘*apparently*’ is exacted by science. There is not a single atom in the whole heavens in absolute repose. Hence stars are properly distinguished from planets and comets, which *wander* or sensibly move.

2° (*b*) *Scintillating* body ; in contradistinction to planets and their satellites, which do not twinkle.

3° (*c*) *Self-luminous* is also important to distinguish a star from a planet or satellite, which only shines by borrowed or reflected light. Hence the light of stars is inherent or *intrinsic*.

4° (*d*) *Densely incandescent*, that is, white hot, to again distinguish a star or sun from the cold or cooler bodies, such as planets and satellites, meteors, etc., when the latter are outside atmospheric friction.

We advisedly use the adjective ‘*densely*’; because the gases and metallic vapours in the stars are not of that attenuated form they are in comets and certain nebulae.

5° (*e*) *Gaseous, metallic or fluid matter*. Here we come to the essence or constituent components of stars.<sup>5</sup> Gases, pre-eminently *hydrogen*, largely enter into sidereal matter. Spectrum analysis reveals the presence in the stars of magnesium, iron, titanium, calcium, manganese, nickel, cobalt, chromium, sodium, barium, copper, and potassium; often, in a highly vaporised state, as they are found in the chromosphere of our sun.

The inner nucleus of a star (as the body of our Sun seen

<sup>4</sup> All stars are suns. (See article, ‘Is Our Earth Alone Inhabited?’—I. E. RECORD, Nov., 1902, page 429.)

<sup>5</sup> They are incandescent, solid, liquid, or densely gaseous matter (Lockyer’s *Elementary Lessons in Astronomy*, No. 10.)

through 'spots') is still a *terra incognita*, so to speak. The latest observations (*Encyc. Brit.*, new ed.) shew that the Sun and stars are masses of gas, and neither *solid* nor *liquid*.<sup>6</sup> If they were even the latter, they would cool with such rapidity that they would cease to shine in a few centuries. The superficial portion would first cool and eventually become solid, like what happened in the evolution of our Earth, and what is no doubt going on with the giant planets (Jupiter and Saturn). The volume of a star is so great that its interior, though gaseous, is not transparent. It radiates heat from its exterior. In case the reader should be surprised that I seem, in my definition and in its evolution, to confound stars with a sun, let me say, once for all, that all the 'fixed stars' are *suns*. Our Sun is only a star; nor is it of the magnitude of countless numbers of other stars, which bespangle the heavens.

Having considered the definition and nature of stars, let us now ask ourselves:—

#### WHAT IS A PLANET?

A dictionary will tell us that it comes from the Greek word, *πλανήτης*, meaning a *wanderer*, and signifies 'a celestial body which revolves about the Sun or other centre, or a body revolving about another planet, as a centre.' (See *Imperial Dictionary*.) One of our learned modern astronomers more succinctly calls it 'a cool body revolving round a central incandescent one.' The reader will readily remark a disagreement between the lexicographer and the astronomer. In my humble opinion the former scores here; for our Moon is a planet and yet she does not revolve primarily round an *incandescent* body. I shall venture on a more complete and scientific definition.

'A planet is a cool opaque (dark) spheroidal or spherical body, either in a solid or semi-solid state, revolving round another body, as a centre of centripetal motion.' *Explanation*: 1. While the generic term 'body' makes the definition applicable to stars, meteors or fire-balls, asteroids or planetoids, the term '*spheroidal*' particularly marks off the planet which generally,

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\* The terms liquids, gases, solids, lose all intelligible distinction when applied to material under such pressure as exists in a star's centre.

at least, has a flattening at its polar axis, caused by its rapid rotation before it arrived at its subsequent solid state. It is true that astronomers have not verified this *oblateness* in the case of Mercury, on account of the difficulty of closely observing a comparatively small body so much immersed in the sun's blinding light ; but analogy here steps in and induces us to believe that, just as we find all the other planets rotate and consequently to be *oblate spheroids*, so we may include not only Mercury, but perchance all the other undiscovered planets of the sidereal sphere. The qualitative '*spherical*' is simply introduced into the definition as a scientific safeguard.

2. 'Cool' is preferable to 'cold,' as some of the planets, like Jupiter and Saturn, are still intrinsically possessed of considerable heat, though, perchance, not to an incandescent degree. The adjective '*opaque*' is used to distinguish planetary from solar or sidereal bodies, which shine with their own *intrinsic* light. A planet merely *reflects* the light cast upon it by its primary or sun ; hence we often use the word *dark* applied to planets. Consequently, if our Sun were removed from the heavens, none of our planets would be visible to the naked eye.<sup>7</sup> The evidence of darkness in our satellite—the Moon—is familiar even to the man in the street, when he gazes upon it in quadrature, or whenever her relative position with the Sun and the Earth is such that sunlight illumines only a portion of her disc.

3. '*Either in a solid or semi-solid state.*'

This distinguishes a planet from a star, sun, or comet (in general). Some of the planets, like our Earth and Moon, are viewed practically as solid bodies ; at least, as far as a very deep crust is concerned ; while there are others, like Jupiter, which have not yet cooled sufficiently to possess a solid crust.

4. '*Revolving round another body.*'

All planets and satellites revolve round some primary. In the case of planets, properly so-called, they revolve about a sun as a central body ; while the satellites revolve round

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<sup>7</sup> We say *naked eye*, because there is some doubt whether Jupiter is not still so hot that he may emit some light of his own in addition to his borrowed light from the Sun.

planets. Hence the satellites or moons of Mars (*two*), of Jupiter (*five*), of Saturn (*nine*), of Uranus (*four*), of Neptune (*one*) and, of course, of our Earth (the Moon), revolve round their planets, as primaries, though together with them, they also revolve round the Sun. Some of the comets revolve about the Sun in elongated ellipses for orbits, and, at times, approach him from long distances and make a dash around him, only to recede again into distant space.<sup>8</sup> Others travel in open orbits or in parabola.

5. '*As a centre of centripetal motion.*'

This implies that wondrous law of universal gravitation which pervades the whole universe and by its attractive force prevents the encircling globe from flying off at a tangent, or rather detracts it from pursuing the straight line of its first initial motion through space. It is this marvellous law which balances all the celestial bodies and keeps them whirling so uniformly in their several orbits. It is common to all kinds of matter, however dense, however light, and may be stated thus:—'The force by which two material particles (or atoms) attract each other in direct proportion to the product of their masses, and in inverse proportion to the square of the distances between their centres.'<sup>9</sup> '*Centripetal*' is almost a redundant term; but it distinguishes the force more exactly from its contrary—centrifugal motion.

In this definition, it should be well noted, that the planets so defined are not confined to the planets of our own solar system but by analogy to all the innumerable planets which may be revolving around their primaries in the vast vaults of the immeasurable universe. *Positis ponendis*, the definition also embraces the asteroids (planetoids) or smaller planets, which we know to exist in our solar system, especially in that wonderful shoal-ring between the orbits of Mars and Jupiter.

The reader will now more easily be able to distinguish a planet from a star, when viewing a star-lit sky. The stars *scintillate*, or twinkle, while the planets shine with a more calm steady light. However, as the condition of our atmosphere

<sup>8</sup> We only know about a dozen whose periodicity has been confirmed.

<sup>9</sup> See *Elementary Lessons in Astronomy*, by Lockyer, No. 6.

sometimes causes even planets to blink a little,<sup>10</sup> and also, as the eye-sight is not always keen enough to detect a well-defined disc (which a star never presents), the most effectual way to discriminate the planet is to fix its apparent position by some terrestrial object, such as a chimney or a church spire, and then, in half an hour or so, look if it has at all shifted its position, relative to the terrestrial object *and* neighbouring stars. If it has, it is a planet. If not, it is presumedly one of the fixed stars.

#### WHAT IS A NEBULA?

A dictionary may suffice to reply that a nebula is 'a supposed gaseous body of inorganised stellar substance.'<sup>11</sup>

Astronomers content themselves by saying that *nebulae* are 'a mass of glowing or incandescent gas'<sup>12</sup>; or, '*Nebulae* are celestial objects which present a cloudy appearance.'<sup>13</sup>

*Nebulae* appear in the heavens, whether to the naked eye or through small telescopes, like indistinct patches or light-some cloudlets. When powerful glasses are brought to bear upon them, they generally resolve themselves into clusters of small stars: though several and great astronomers claim from spectrum analysis that there exists a species of *nebulae* formed of hydrogen and nitrogen (?) gases, *independent of star clusters*.<sup>14</sup>

*Nebulae* may, therefore, be divided into two kinds; firstly, those perhaps by far the more numerous, which, by powerful telescopes, can be resolved into stars or star clusters;<sup>15</sup> and, secondly, those which are not thus resolvable, but exist as an agglomeration of attenuated incandescent gases, the preponderating gas being hydrogen.

The important *rôle* which the latter form of nebula plays and has played in the Stellar Universe will become apparent as we now come to explain what is called the Nebular Theory or Hypothesis.

<sup>10</sup> This is markedly the case in Mercury, even if from other causes.

<sup>11</sup> See *Standard Dictionary* under 'Nebula.'

<sup>12</sup> Lockyer's *Elementary Astronomy*, No. 96.

<sup>13</sup> *Popular Astronomy*, by Flammarion, p. 820.

<sup>14</sup> See *Popular Astronomy*, by Flammarion, page 73. We seem to have an example in the great Nebula of Orion.

<sup>15</sup> Such as the *Nebulae* in Hercules and more likely in Andromeda.

## THE NEBULAR THEORY.

This theory is succinctly given in the *Imperial Dictionary*, by Draper (see Nebula), where the hypothesis is explained as 'all the ponderable material now constituting the various bodies of the solar system once extended in a rarefied or nebulous and rotating condition, beyond the confines of the most distant planet.' This hardly goes far enough; because it seems to confine the theory to *our solar system*. Let the reader, therefore, understand that all we are about to say upon the Nebular Theory is equally applicable to, and postulates, the same for all the stars or suns which people the whole sidereal universe.

Now, departing from the general procedure of astronomers, who, in explaining the theory, follow the *synthetical* method, evolving the ultimate effects from primary causes, I intend to follow the very reverse method, and, by *qualitative analysis*, rather trace back from the effects to the primal conditions. I think this method will appeal best to non-astronomers. Confining ourselves, then, to our solar system,<sup>16</sup> what have we to account for? What are the celestial objects belonging to our own solar system, which directly or indirectly form part of God's sidereal and cosmical creation?

In other words: At day-time, we look up and see and feel the light and heat of a great globe of fire which we call the Sun. At night, we behold the fair and soft-glowing Moon, sailing in our sky; and at times we discern other planets, similar to the one we ourselves inhabit, 'wandering,' or almost imperceptibly gliding, along the ecliptic of our hemisphere. We call these our sun, moon, and planets, our solar and planetary system. Naturally, we ask ourselves, were these always as we see them; always and from the beginning of creation in the same condition? Was the Sun always the same great ball of fire, with a diameter of 866,000 miles, and the centre of our system? Was our Earth always an opaque, cold, oblate spheroid, with a diameter of 7,918 miles, having no external heat and diffusing only borrowed light? Was our Moon also

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<sup>16</sup> By analogy the same may be extended to all sidereal bodies, directly or indirectly.



always the satellite or 'companion' of our Earth, without atmosphere, without water, without heat, and intrinsic light? And were Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, Uranus, and Neptune, as we see them and know them to be to-day?

The advocates of the Nebular Hypothesis step in and say: '*Certainly not!*' Just as the geologist proves to demonstration that our Earth itself passed through several evolutionary periods—the paleozoic, secondary and tertiary stages, each consuming thousands, aye, millions of years to mature and evolve the Creator's designs—so the sun, stars, moon, and planets passed and pass through evolutionary stages. Let us apply analysis and work backwards.

First of all, all these celestial bodies have their constituents. It seems all important to get at these. Then, if we find a homogeneity in all of them, and, above all, in the analysis of *nebulous matter* itself, we have gained a great point, and considerably paved the way for building up the whole hypothetical edifice. Now, here spectrum analysis comes in, and reveals to us, first, the constituents of the Sun. What are they? Iron, titanium, calcium, manganese, nickel, cobalt, chromium, sodium, barium, magnesium, copper, potassium, gases (especially hydrogen), and other chemical and metallic substances in vaporous condition. But these elementary constituents are not only *all* in our Earth (which goes without saying),<sup>17</sup> but also are revealed by the same analysis in many of the other stars of the heavens, with even the addition of bismuth, tellurium, antimony, and mercury.

Hence we have homogeneity and similarity of essence in all the celestial bodies; a fact which induced the great astronomer, Camille Flammarion, to write:—'The stars, suns, are themselves sisters of our Sun. Unity of origin, unity of force, *unity of substance*, unity of light, unity of life in the immense Universe, through an infinite variety of aspects and generations.'<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> The Moon, Venus, and Jupiter shew identical spectra; hence in Sun, stars, and planets we may conclude by analogy a similarity of constituents. 'The difference between the planets is not material: they are specially differences of *degree*.' (*Popular Astronomy*, by Flammarion, p. 472.)

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 473.

In this important consideration, it is well to keep our Earth in view. For although it is now practically in its ultimate condition, it was not always so; and in this sense it powerfully suggests analogy. Geologists tell us, and there seems no gainsaying their evidence, that our Earth passed through various states, and that for 'millions of years changes have been going on and are going on still.'<sup>19</sup> Even the crust of our Earth is composed of various rocks of different kinds, each kind denoting long periods of particular conditions. Thus we have the *stratified* or *sedimentary* rocks; igneous rocks, proclaiming a once *molten* state; which in turn predicate a period when the whole sphere (our Earth's) was both hot and luminous (*incandescent*); ay, as hot and luminous as the surface of the Sun and stars is even at the present day.<sup>20</sup> Hence, in the course of time, long periods, if you will, a cooling and condensation went on, just as any red hot substance (a poker, *e.g.*) will gradually cool and radiate its heat, then grow cool enough to cease to emit any light; though the centre (in the case of a body like our Earth) may remain hot, and even molten for many centuries or long epochs. We know how hot the interior of our Earth must be, for as we probe it, we find the temperature increases at the rate of 1° Fahrenheit for every 66 feet; so that at 2 miles down water boils, at 7½ miles iron would be red hot, at 18 miles glass would melt, and at 28 miles deep everything we know of would be in a state of fusion.<sup>21</sup>

Thus go on tracing back and we come to times of moltenness, fusion, molecular fluidity, and incandescent gases.

Permit me to quote here one of our most distinguished Irish astronomers. Sir R. Ball, in his delightful *Story of the Heavens*, page 501, writes:—

It has been thought that if we could look back far enough we should see the earth too hot for life; look farther still, we should find it and all the planets *red hot*; back farther still, to an exceedingly remote epoch, when the planets would be heated just as much as our sun is now. In a still earlier stage *the whole solar system* is thought to have been one vast mass of

<sup>19</sup> *Elementary Lessons in Astronomy*, by Lockyer, No. 182.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, Nos. 184 to 191.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 193.

*glowing gas*, from which the present *forms* of the sun with the planets and their satellites, *have been gradually evolved*.

Quite similarly to this writes the great French astronomer, Camille Flammarion, and other distinguished astronomers.

Thus by an analytical process we come to a primal state, which seems best described as a state of nebulous matter. Are we not now better fitted to follow the usual synthetical method and fully explain

### THE NEBULAR THEORY,

as applied to the whole celestial universe? For simplicity's sake I shall confine my explanation to our own solar system. I will, therefore, ask the reader to suppose that countless ages ago, '*in the beginning*,' there was *diffused* over the whole space occupied by our solar and planetary system, that is, extending from the solar centre and spreading out almost to the extreme confines of Neptune's orbit, namely, a radius of nearly 3,000 millions of miles (hence enclosing a circular space, whose circumference is about 18,000 millions of miles),<sup>22</sup> *a rotating highly incandescent nebulous mass*, composed principally of hydrogen gas, but having within it the potentiality of the numerous constituents I have already enumerated, the '*posse*' of all the '*esse*,' which by direct or indirect evolution would eventually constitute stars, suns, planets, satellites, and every form of celestial object. This immense mass of nebulous matter condenses, shrinks, rotates. In this condensation and shrinkage portions of the nebulous matter become detached, perhaps, in the form of rings, which themselves further contract, condense, and shrink, and, as attraction is a force inherent in every atom of matter, the new denser portion will attract towards it the other parts, producing, by the fall of the more distant molecules a general motion towards the new nucleus, involving the whole mass in a rotatory motion and thus constituting a separate revolving globe.<sup>23</sup> In other words, *Neptune is born*.

<sup>22</sup> The great Nebula in Orion may encompass a million circles as big as that described by our Earth's orbit. See *Story of the Heavens*, ch. xxiii.

<sup>23</sup> It is a principle of dynamics for matter under such circumstances always to assume a globular form, like the globules of dew.

The rotatory motion of the new sphere is still preserved and always will be preserved, and its revolving motion round a centre (namely, the parent nebulous mass) is controlled by the universal law of gravitation, so that this new globe will both revolve in an orbit and at the same time rotate on an axis.

Meanwhile the process of condensation and shrinking are proceeding in the *mother* mass, until some more rings or other portions of the nebulous matter are detached, following the same principles and laws, as in the former case, and hence at a distance of millions of miles another spheroid begins its separate existence. *Uranus is born.* Thus on go the contraction and shrinkage and *parturition*, until the planetary family embraces a Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Earth, Venus, and Mercury—children of different ages, different sizes, different stages of evolution.

But there is yet a mighty mass left—a mass so great that its centre has still a space of some two hundred millions of miles circumference to sport in—a mass, which, although comparatively speaking, has almost completed its more active shrinking and condensation—now rotates as one large burning incandescent globe—the parent and centre of them all, which we call Old Sol—our Sun.<sup>24</sup> But this is not all. The very planets themselves became fecund. As they, while in their highly incandescent whirling state, also contracted and further condensed, smaller rings or particles were thrown off (or rather receded from), and the *child* becomes a *father*, and Old Sol blossoms into a planetary *grandfather*; the satallites or *moons are born.*<sup>25</sup>

Such in homely and unscientific language I opine is the Nebular Theory or Hypothesis. How far I have faithfully interpreted the views of the three great originators of this theory—Kant (*the philosopher*), Laplace (*the mathematician*),

<sup>24</sup> Whether he has become 'impos' altogether, or whether, though his term of fecundity is long passed, he is still condensing and shrinking, may become the subject matter of a future paper.

<sup>25</sup> This lunar process of parturition is open to some scientific objections, but the general trend will remain much the same. Sir Robert Ball writes:—'The moon was originally a part of the earth; for, in very early times, when the earth was still in a plastic state, a separation would seem to have taken place, by which a small piece broke off to form the moon, which has been gradually revolving in an enlarging orbit until it has attained the position it now occupies.'

and Sir William Herschel (*the astronomer*), all of whom independently of each other, and by different methods, arrived at the same conclusions, the following extracts may help the reader to decide. How far this theory is reasonable and solves the mysteries encompassing the *beginnings* of our Earth, the origin of the great and glorious orb which furnishes it with light, heat, and life—ay, of the origin of all the stars<sup>26</sup> and planets and indicates how the revolving satellites have been associated with the planets ; why, again, all the planets and satellites revolve round the Sun in the same direction from West to East; why all the satellites revolve around their primaries (the planets), (with the solitary exceptions in the Uranian and Nepturian systems), from West to East ; why the Sun himself and all the other suns—the stars—participate in a similar diurnal motion ; ay, why, as far as we know, all celestial bodies rotate in the same direction : the Nebular Theory stands forth and says ‘Eureka !’

Following the stages synthetically from the primal nebula to its ultimate ratio, we should have (1) the nebulous gaseous vapour ; (2) a viscid fluid (semi-liquid and sticky) ; (3) fully liquid ; (4) moltenness ; (5) plastic semi-solid ; (6) hot solid ; (7) the earth’s globe with a cold solid crust and caloric interior.

Sir Robert Ball writes <sup>27</sup> :—

Suppose that countless ages ago a mighty nebula (extending almost to the confines of Neptune’s orbit) was slowly rotating and slowly contracting. In the process of contraction, portions of the condensed matter would be left behind. These portions would still *revolve* around the central mass, and each portion would also *rotate* on its axis in the same direction. As the process of contraction proceeded, it would follow from dynamical principles that the velocity of rotation would increase, and thus at length these portions would consolidate into planets, while the central mass would gradually contract to form the sun. By a similar process, on a smaller scale, the systems of satellites would be evolved from their contracting primary. These satellites would also revolve in the same direction, and thus the characteristic features of the solar system could be accounted for.

<sup>26</sup> Even of many *new* stars, such as Növa Persei, which so recently appeared.

<sup>27</sup> *Story of the Heavens*, p. 501—old ed., p. 506.

In substance the same learned author says, in his *Earth and its Beginning*, chap. xii., page 247, that this contraction would be greatest at the central portion, while, in a less degree, it would also take place at other points. Then each of these centres would increase, and, in consequence of the general law, by the process of contraction, isolated regions in the nebula would become subordinate centres of condensation. Thus in the process of immense epochs the condensation would result in a great increase of the density of the substance of the nebula, both in the central regions as well as in the subordinate parts, till at last the material ceased to retain mere *gaseous* forms.

Now, let us hear the *astronomical* father of the hypothesis—Sir William Herschel.<sup>28</sup> He supposed that the starry matter was once in a state of indefinite diffusion. That ‘during an eternity of past duration,’ it has been ‘breaking up’ by condensation towards centres more or less remote. That where condensation has gone on more energetically, we have *nebulae* with a gradually increasing brightness towards the centres; if still more energetic a nucleus (or it may be a *planetary* nebula), next a *nebulous star*, which he supposes our Sun to be; finally, the completely formed stars may be assumed to be newly consolidated *nebulae*. This condensation, he believes, must be accompanied by rotation due to the originally irregular distribution of the gravitating particles.<sup>29</sup>

And the learned son explaining his great father’s views writes that, as the local centres of condensation progressed, *solid* nuclei would then come, whose local gravitation still further condensing, and so absorbing the *nebulous* matter, each in its immediate neighbourhood, might ultimately become stars. His telescopic observations displayed every stage of this process.<sup>30</sup>

The reader will note by the last words how the evolution extends to the *whole sidereal system*. Space will only permit me to quote another authority—one of the greatest of modern French astronomers.

<sup>28</sup> Laplace must ever be the true father of the theory.

<sup>29</sup> See *Encyc. Brit.*, vol. i., Diss. vi., ch. iii. (197).

<sup>30</sup> *Outlines of Astronomy*, by Sir John Herschel, No. 871.

Let us imagine an immense gaseous mass placed in space. Attraction is a force inherent in every atom of matter. The denser portion of this mass will insensibly attract towards it the other parts; and, in the slow fall of the more distant molecules towards this more attractive region, a general motion is produced, incompletely directed towards this centre and soon involving the whole masses in the same motion of rotation. The laws of mechanics show that, as this gaseous mass condenses and shrinks, the motion of rotation of the nebula is accelerated.<sup>31</sup>

And the very latest and most recent discoveries, says the new edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, give colour to the hypothesis of evolution implied in this view of the physical constitution of stars in general.<sup>32</sup>

Here we part with astronomy and the cosmical evolution of celestial objects; and here it was my intention to consider whether such a theory is antagonistic to Revelation or whether an hypothesis so beautiful and simple in the concept of the astronomers can be squared with the account of the Creation as recorded in the Book of Genesis. But I find that, despite my efforts to be brief, my paper has extended to such lengths that I dare not trespass further on the pages of the I. E. RECORD or on the patience of its readers. We must leave to some future occasion a consideration of the religious aspect of the case.

Meanwhile, then, let us nurse the specious theory in our mind with feelings of complete submission to the great *Mater docens*, always remembering, as one of the greatest modern astronomers says of it: 'it can never be more than a *speculation*;<sup>33</sup> it cannot be established by *observation*; nor can it be proved by *calculation*. It is merely a conjecture, more or less possible.' Methinks that some of my readers will be inclined to think this judgment *weaker* than the case scientifically warrants.

E. A. SELLEY, O.S.A.

*To be continued.]*

<sup>31</sup> *Popular Astronomy*, by C. Flammarion, p. 72.

<sup>32</sup> *Encyc. Brit.*, new ed., under 'Astronomy.'

<sup>33</sup> Of course, he means scientifically.

## AN OUT-OF-THE-WAY LAND

A STRAW shows how the wind blows, says the old proverb, but there seems to be, of late, a good many little straws lying by no means inert on the highways of the Balkan Peninsular, if we may judge by the notices in the public Press of insurrection among the down-trodden Bulgars inhabiting Macedonia, with ugly rumours of torture being applied by the emissaries of the Porte to recalcitrant subjects who do not happen to know when prohibited fire-arms were last smuggled into the province, or by whom they were sent. Despair, we are told, is rampant in Macedonia, and has already found a vent in more or less open revolt against the Turks. For these Bulgars, though Slavonic in race, are Greeks by religion, having no lack of sympathisers in the independent Slav Balkan States, or among the members of the Greek Church acknowledged by Russians to the North, and Hellenes to the South of the peninsular where still flies the Crescent on the Ottoman flag.

How long a period that flag may be seen in company with those of other European States remains to be seen. Its downfall has been repeatedly predicted, but ragged, and torn by many a gale, it still holds its own, though by the gyrations of the above-mentioned little straws, it is likely enough to be menaced by another storm which may, or may not rive it altogether from its much battered flagstaff.

Next to Macedonia is another Ottoman province, which, more fortunate than its neighbour, especially in its northern portion, has never really been overcome by the Turks. Therefore, leaving political questions to those who by position and diplomatic knowledge are better able to discuss the much-tangled problems of this particular phase of 'the Eastern Question,' we now propose to open for our readers a long closed window, through which they can have a glimpse of a little known country, and of a nation that has more or less always asserted its sturdy independence of the Turks, to whom it pays only nominal subjection.



Separated from Italy by the often grey and turbulent waters of the Adriatic Sea, is ancient Illyria, now known as Albania, a province of the Ottoman Empire. Yet it is hardly possible to conceive two countries more dissimilar than Italy and Albania at the present day; although under the rule of imperial Rome they were much on the same footing as regards the civilization of ancient times. In spite of the convulsions produced by the downfall of Roman power, by repeated invasions, and by the internecine disputes of the Middle Ages, Italy, by its industries, its literature and its incomparable art, steadily rose from the ruins of former culture into the unique position of a land whose civilization commanded the admiration and wonder of Europe: a position gained at a period when the foremost states of Europe were either in the darkness of barbarism, or emerging therefrom with many a struggle and many a failure.

Far different was the fate of Albania. With its vestiges of Roman remains and early Grecian ruins, it has continued to this day to be a wild and beautiful land, where Orientalism still keeps at bay the intrusion of modern western ideas, as is exemplified by the absence of railways and the trail of American and British tourists.

Allusions made in the newspapers concerning the lawless doings of any enterprising Albanian chief or Bey, who is rendering matters more lively than agreeable to the Sublime Porte, afford little if any interest to that respectable personage 'the general reader,' but to those who do care to look a little way beyond the evanescent and quickly-forgotten daily news, a notice of this description will excite a certain amount of curiosity; they being aware that 'there are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio, than are dreamt of in your philosophy.'

A writer who undertakes to describe a country nowadays, knows that what he writes may become antiquated in less than a few years, so swift is the progress being made everywhere; but in a land such as Albania, he may write with more security, as the existence of its inhabitants has altered as little in general outline as the precipitous mountains from which it is said the Albanians derive their national appellation,

'Shkipetar,' though the exact meaning of this word is lost. Although the radical and far-reaching changes effected in the world during three thousand years have been innumerable, yet, in ancient Illyria, the cycle of time appears to have remained stationary, so closely does the social condition of the Albanians resemble that of their ancestors. With the exception of Turkish telegraph wires in several parts of the province, anyone travelling there, might be tempted to imagine he had suddenly been transported into the very earliest mediæval ages, whose peculiar ideas and mode of life have survived in this Ottoman province, regardless of the progression of years, or of the advanced civilization of modern times. Of this truth a striking corroboration can be given in the following instance of a state of things which is probably known to few outside Albania.

In the northern part of the province is the town of Giakova, where the population has been averting all fear of stagnation in that remote and mountainous district, by taking a very active and personal interest in the efforts of two rival Albanian Beys to obtain the government of Giakova. These Beys—Mohammedans like most of the Albanian aristocracy—are respectively at the head of two tribes, the Bitucci and the Krasnia, both belonging to the great Gheg division of this nation. Riza Bey was followed by the Bitucci, while the Krasnia were devoted to their chief, Zurri Bey. These high-spirited and turbulent nobles had unfortunately cast a covetous eye upon the district and town of Giakova, the government of which they considered as their lawful due, and many were the pretty fights that ensued, costing many lives. However, the inhabitants of Giakova, who probably looked upon both Beys as birds of prey, declined to accept either, as their 'Vali' or governor, and for three years they succeeded in managing their own affairs by a committee of the head men of each quarter of the town, and the 'Kaimakan,' an official who nominally represented the Sultan. Riza Bey having vehemently opposed this arrangement, was several times ejected from Giakova, although he always contrived that his enforced exile should be of short duration. Zurri Bey, his rival, on the other hand, thought he would eventually attain

the object of his ambition, by pretending friendship with the Kaimakan and the provisional committee, in the hopes of out-witting them both at the first favourable opportunity. It was a cold morning in the winter of 1898, when the dead bodies of two individuals were discovered on a path near Giakova. Though it was probable that a private blood feud was the cause of this fatal occurrence, the Giakova people suspected it had been effected with the concurrence of Riza Bey, who, recently turned out of the town, was known to be lurking at no great distance with his tribesmen, just watching his opportunity to fall unexpectedly upon Giakova, and to seize the government. A report having been made that Riza and his band were on the banks of the river flowing by Giakova, a number of the townsmen issued from the streets and commenced firing across the stream. Riza was not slow in returning the compliment, and four hours elapsed in this fusillade, although it only resulted in the wounding of four men. Whether the distance was too great between the opposing forces, or whether on both sides men did not care to increase their blood feuds, history does not relate. A few days later all the shops and stalls of Giakova were suddenly closed by order of the committee, fearing an outbreak of street fighting between the two factions who had many adherents in the town. It was, however, expected that a high Turkish official would be sent to make some terms with Riza Bey, but as he failed to appear, the Bitucci, under their chief, surrounded Giakova, and they even succeeded in garrisoning the six or seven houses, or rather towers, possessed by Riza in the very centre of the town, where the whole night of the 18th of November was spent in sorties and street fights. The committee and the Kaimakan several weeks previously determined to set Riza Bey's forts on fire, but this had been forbidden by their superior, the Pasha at Skodra. Enraged by the wounding of the Kaimakan's assistant, and hearing a rumour that Riza Bey had cut the telegraph wire, the committee at last determined to have its own way, and forcing the Kaimakan to disregard the Pasha's orders, they made him turn the cannon upon the obnoxious forts. Riza did not remain to dispute the question, for as soon as he beheld the shells coming from the

hill batteries outside Giakova, he ordered his clansmen to leave the town, hypocritically declaring that although he would fight Zurri Bey to the last, he had no intention of rebelling against the Kaimakan, the Sultan's representative. But the committee would not be trifled with any longer, and the batteries continued their work till nightfall, by which time every tower belonging to Riza Bey was levelled to the ground and his people dispersed in all directions. Nothing daunted, Riza collected sixty men, and was on the point of blockading all the passes to Giakova when he was disturbed in his operations by the sudden arrival of seven Turkish battalions to restore order. The Bey's friends seeing that his position was exceedingly unsafe, strongly advised him to go to Constantinople to plead his cause there in person. Having prudently secured a guarantee that no evil should befall him upon the shores of the Dardanelles, Riza Bey, escorted by fifty retainers, departed on his visit to the Sublime Porte, leaving much enduring Giakova at length in peace.

Reading such an account one might imagine that the hand of the clock had been reversed; so curiously has the history of San Gemignano or any other Italian mediæval hill town been re-echoed not so many years ago on the Turkish coast of the Adriatic. But we must remember that in Albania the hands of the clock have never really advanced beyond very early hours, and that this wild land and its natives are still very far away from the golden, restful afternoon of a civilized and settled government.

In this story we have just related, mention has been made of the vendettas or blood-feuds which, like a pestilence, have raged for centuries among the Albanians with even more ferocious persistence than those of Corsica. Nowhere in Europe is the total disregard of life greater than in Albania, where the blood-feuds, the cause of which may range from the commission of a murder to the most trivial pretext or accident, are handed down from generation to generation, until often the very origin of the dispute has been completely forgotten.

For instance, in a town of Southern Albania, many of the inhabitants had been unable to leave their houses for years,

so as to avoid being shot down at their thresholds, until the Turkish Government, which generally fomented these dissensions, at last tried to remedy matters, by persuading the people to pay a ransom to their enemies, a thing very seldom done, as the Albanians, men and women alike, much prefer wiping out their grievances in bloodshed. When all the men had been gradually exterminated in two quarrelsome families, the widows of the two last who were killed, being sisters-in-law, agreed to bury the hatchet and to spend the remainder of their lives together in the same house. There is a tale related of another 'jak' or blood-feud, that arose in a most unforeseen manner. At a wedding in a village near the oriental looking town of Prizrend in North Albania, a young man, a friend of the contracting families, entered the court-yard where the wedding guests were seated in groups to partake of the great banquet given on such occasions. He greeted the company and handed his gun (without which no Albanian ever leaves his house), to one of his hosts, with the barrel reversed as is the custom. As luck would have it, the trigger being accidentally touched, off went the gun, the bullet striking a stone whose flying fragments wounded eight people, and on the rebound the ball killed a woman. Anywhere else such an accident would have been considered a lamentable catastrophe; but in accordance with the Albanian national custom, the poor guest, the owner of the unlucky weapon, at once found himself involved in a blood-feud, not only with the husband and family of the dead woman, but also with the wounded and all their relations. In compliance with their peculiar code of honour, the unfortunate man was granted a 'bessa' or truce for a fortnight, after which period he would be liable to be shot like a hare by his whilom friends, who would not hesitate to stalk him behind a wall or hedge for this amiable purpose. Once he was killed, it would become the duty of his family, down to the remotest cousin, to avenge his blood, and thus was beginning another of those interminable 'jaks' that are the scourge of Albania. It so happened that a Catholic Italian missionary arrived in the district just as the truce was expiring. With the utmost difficulty could he induce the men, all eager to begin the feud, to listen

to his energetic remonstrances on their senseless vindictiveness; the husband of the dead woman being particularly eloquent, bewailing his hard fate at being married only three weeks, and being very poor, possessing no more money to secure another wife. It may be observed here, that among these savage people it is the fashion to give a prospective father-in-law a certain sum for his daughter, just as a cow or sheep might be purchased. The people who had been wounded, however, seemed more inclined to make some capital out of their injuries by a good monetary compensation. Finally the missionary succeeded in making peace, on the agreement that the young man, whose weapon provoked this uproar, should pay the widower a sum of £8, which would enable him to procure another helpmate.

It is an invariable rule in Albania that when a man dies, his widow may not marry again without the consent of her late husband's family. Now, there was quite a young woman left a widow in the village of Vila, and her brother-in-law, who was the head of the family, said he would give his permission to anyone who would like to marry her. Accordingly, a young man of the locality proposed for the widow and was accepted; but shortly afterwards the dead man's family suddenly denied having granted any permission. As it would have been contrary to all ideas of Albanian honour to draw back, the young suitor persisted in his matrimonial intention, and a blood-feud was soon in progress, the widow's brother-in-law being particularly rancorous, knowing he was quite in the wrong. The widow, who seems to have been determined to marry again with or without leave, one fine day was seen to leave her father's house where she had been staying, and, accompanied by four of her own relations, she boldly entered the house of her betrothed husband. At once the relatives of the first spouse flew to arms, and in a few minutes a hail of bullets was falling on the roof; but as there are never any windows on the ground floor of an Albanian residence, and only very few small apertures high up on the second floor, no one inside could be killed or wounded. The fray continued for some hours, until some of the neighbours less interested in the matter, contrived to arrange a 'bessa' or

truce, which should last till the next day at noon. The offending couple profited of this interval by promptly departing before dawn in search of more peaceable quarters. As they ascended a steep mountain on their flight, they halted about mid-day to watch far below their house being burnt to the ground; happy in the reflection that they had escaped in time to save their lives.

Occasionally, when the blood-feuds are more than usually active, the Ottoman Government will proclaim a 'bessa'; but it must be admitted that unless it happens to suit these Albanians, very little attention is paid to the official proclamation. So great is their vindictiveness that the women will encourage their young sons, as soon as they know how to fire a gun, to continue any vendetta that may be on hand in the family with other folks; and there is a story told of a mother running to her son, who mortally wounded, had just killed his adversary, and exclaiming, as she kissed him, that she blessed God for allowing him to die 'with a fair face,' *i.e.*, honourably—and adding she would have been inconsolable, but for the knowledge that her dear boy had had time to avenge himself before his own death.

This desire of shedding blood is so deeply implanted among these wild Albanians that at their feasts the glass of a man who in their language 'has not taken blood,' is left unfilled when the spirits are being served to the guests. One youth on his death-bed loudly lamented that he was expiring without having gained any honour, and when a worthy Franciscan friar who was attending him, inquired what he meant, the patient replied that he was regretting having to die before he could have shot somebody.

In the stern mountain district of Mirdizia, where the people are Latin Catholics, two families for a long time kept up a blood-feud that had arisen on an accusation of a petty larceny. Not that the purloined copper dishes were of any special value; but simply because it was a blot on the honour of the parties concerned, to accuse, or to be accused; and that in a part of Albania where the laxest ideas are held as to the rights of property, and where thieving is regarded as being rather an expeditious way of bettering oneself in life. No

Albanians, not even the shepherds, will be seen without their rifles slung across their shoulders, and the boys and many of the women will carry pistols in their girdles. In this way two small urchins, aged five years, got hold of a loaded pistol, and while playing with the dangerous toy one of the children was shot dead, and at first it was thought he had killed himself. However, as the preparations for burial were being made, the other child innocently remarked that he was the one who fired the fatal shot. The result was that his family and that of the dead boy found themselves at feud, and they were just on the point of commencing the 'jak' when a Catholic missionary with much difficulty persuaded the enraged and bereaved mother to forego the vengeance for which she was clamouring, and to forgive the giddy little fellow who caused the accident. Having kissed the crucifix in the church before all the villagers, and pronounced the words of pardon, the woman was thus induced to check what would have proved to be a very dangerous feud.

The missionaries are sometimes able to pacify the vendettas, and they succeed much better than the Turkish officials who, as a rule, are much distrusted and hated on account of their oppressive extortion and misrule. During a Government truce homicides become more frequent, because murderers are then tempted to be less cautious in concealing themselves—a mistake which is promptly taken advantage of by their ever watchful foes. After the proclamation of one of these official 'bessas,' a youth was killed who was the only son of aged people; and the whole family took up the feud for this homicide, which had been peculiarly brutal, as the poor boy imagined himself to be in greater security from his opponent, to whom he had just paid half of a debt over which they had been quarrelling. During a mission given later in the village, the desolate parents overcame their natural resentment, and in the presence of a deeply affected congregation, they arose, and kissing the crucifix at the altar, they pardoned the man who had killed their only son. Their example was followed by all the relations, with the exception of a nephew, who refused to forego his revenge. At last it was decided to have recourse to a very ancient Albanian mode of reconciliation,



and ten of the chief men with the missionary went to the house of the still vindictive man. The missionary was desired to enter first, and in a short time his companions filed in, one behind the other, according to precedence of age. Standing in a circle round the fireplace, which is always in the middle of the room, they took off their caps, and turning them inside out, deposited them on the floor. The last man entering carried a cradle containing a baby which he placed with the head towards the hearth. Next came the murderer with his hands tied behind his back, and his head concealed beneath a black hood, who knelt down beside the cradle. This custom of introducing an infant on such an occasion, is practised, in order that the presence of the innocent creature may excite compassion towards the criminal, who, for the time, is under its protection. The missionary and then his associates all entreated the master of the house to pardon his enemy, but he remained silent, and it was easy to perceive the struggle it cost him to overcome his vindictive pride. At length he fell on his knees, and kissing the missionary's crucifix, he forgave his foe. Then rising, he turned the foot of the cradle towards the fire, and approaching the culprit he immediately untied the cord binding his hands. As soon as this was done, he raised the caps from the floor, kissed them, and restored them to their owners, after which he and his family embraced their former enemy, thereby extinguishing the feud. The pardoned man, still muffled in his hood, retired into a corner of the room, while the rest of the company drank some glasses of spirits, congratulating the family upon their act of forgiveness, and at the conclusion of this ceremony the assembly dispersed.

Though the Albanian women are the domestic drudges, and do all the hard field work, and are treated generally as being very inferior to their lords and masters, still it is a curious fact, that if a man involved in a blood-feud, can get a woman to escort him, he is considered to be under her protection, and he can with impunity traverse dangerous neighbourhoods, where if caught alone he would most certainly meet with a sudden end.

On account of these feuds the Albanians attach great

importance to large families, whose members are bound to stand by each other, and very often by their village, as it is by no means uncommon to find villages at war; and there is a significant Albanian proverb which says, 'He who has no friends is abandoned by God, for blood is thicker than water.' Houses, therefore, are all constructed with a view to defence in this part of Europe, and they are not unlike the towers erected by the Corsicans, and they are usually built on an eminence or some rising ground for more security, while over the entrance door is an aperture through which the inmates can reconnoitre a suspicious visitor, and thus be able to drop some missile upon him unexpectedly if it so pleases them.

In his work upon the Slav races, Monsieur Laboulaye remarks that the Albanian, ever surrounded by a thousand perils, held responsible for his actions, and the fate of his family, nearly always distrustful of his neighbours, has truly need of courage and prudence. He is ignorant, passionate, capable of a thousand crimes, yet also of great heroism and generosity. Brave and savage, he is not easily subdued, and, like the rest of his race, he is quite as turbulent as were the ancient Teutons mentioned by Tacitus, whom the Albanians strongly resemble in their ferocity, their love of fighting, and their contempt of death.

As an instance of this, it so happened that in the thirties of the nineteenth century, the Prenk or chief of the savage Mirdite clan died, leaving two sons of tender years. Their uncle, wishing to supplant them, killed a maternal relation of the children who was remonstrating on his dishonourable conduct. This so enraged the widow of the dead chief that she deliberately shot her brother-in-law. This man left an only son who, as it was contrary to Albanian usage to attack a woman, revenged himself by killing her eldest boy. The determined and relentless woman soon retaliated by murdering her nephew, so that there only remained her youngest son to represent the family and chieftainship in the male line. The heroine of this tragedy was summoned to appear before the Vali or Governor of Scutari, but she paid no attention to the order, as public opinion was quite on her side, and she

was even admired for her spirited display of vengeance in this dreadful blood-feud.

As a rule a woman is not much considered in Albania, and she is looked upon as a stranger in her father's house, where she is only an incumbrance to be sold as speedily as may be to some man, in whose family she assumes the part of the head servant. The Albanian marriage ceremonies, which are not unlike those of the neighbouring Serbs, strongly emphasize the humble and dependent position of the bride, who, indeed, has sometimes been betrothed in her cradle. On the wedding day she wears a costume presented by her future husband, who also gives her an embroidered fez on which are fastened a few gold coins which must be her dower in widowhood. Until the first child is born the young wife is scarcely regarded as a member of her new family, and all her life she must obey her mother-in-law and her sisters-in-law older than herself.

The wild Mirdite Christians observe quite another method in their matrimonial alliances. Having an objection to inter-marriages, it is the fashion for the would-be bridegrooms to carry off Mahomedan girls of another clan, whom they baptise and marry at once; the Turkish fathers-in-law being usually quite satisfied with payment in cash. On the other hand, the Mirdite girls are invariable expected to marry Christians belonging to tribes unconnected with their own.

It is customary for the sons and their families to reside in their father's house, and at his death, his place as head of the family is taken by the eldest brother, whose authority is just as absolute, and who is charged, moreover, with the defence of his relatives in their numerous disputes and feuds. An Albanian house consists of two apartments, the *scpija*, which is a kind of barn for the family and their domestic animals, separated sometimes by a paling or trellis from the *zoba* or room reserved for visitors, who, in Turkish fashion, are kept aloof from the women of the house. Hospitality is held in great esteem in Albania, as owing to the absence of proper tribunals, men are constantly travelling from place to place, to have disputes and debts settled, and sometimes, though not often, to have their homicides compounded for fines,

through the mediation of mutual friends. Even if a man claims hospitality from a family with whom he is at feud, he is courteously received, and during his visit the strictest 'bessa' or truce is observed until he is fairly beyond the boundary of his host's fields, after which it behoves him, as the saying is, to proceed with the beard over the shoulder and rifle ready for action.

A great source of poverty in Albania is caused by the 'Drek' or mourning feasts after a funeral, at which gallons of raw spirits are consumed, along with eatables in the same proportion, so that until the next harvest there is great scarcity of food; and it is not unusual on such occasions for families to sell their lands. Another of the most peculiar Albanian customs is that of adopted brotherhood, which is mentioned by the celebrated geographer Elisée Reclus, and the ceremony takes place in the presence of the families of the two young men, who, vowing mutual fraternal fidelity, open a vein and taste of each other's blood. Reclus adds that 'the need of these family ties is so strongly felt, that young people brought up together frequently remain united during their lives, forming a regular community having its days of meeting, festivals, and weddings. But no political cohesion exists among the tribes. The physical condition of the country, and the passion for war having scattered their forces and rendered independence impossible, and the religious feuds between Catholic, Greek, and Moslem add fuel to the flame.'<sup>1</sup>

There are three distinct castes among the Albanians, which are never known to mix nor to intermarry. The first and the highest caste is that of the soldiers, in which are the Albanian gentlemen, chiefs, and beys, nearly all Musulmans, owning large estates cultivated by the peasants of the third caste; while according to M. Laboulaye, the second class, that of the artisans, is much the most interesting of the three. As considerable parts of the mountains are very sterile, these men, grouped in bands under foremen, wander during winter in every direction over the plains of the Balkan Peninsular, as carpenters, lime burners, sawyers, bakers, pedlars, etc.

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<sup>1</sup> *Géographie Universelle*, vol. i.

Being remarkably laborious, thrifty, and sober, they earn much money, with which, on their return to the Albanian highlands in summer, they purchase houses and land in their respective villages. It is calculated that these artisans gain annually a sum amounting to £600,000, as on an average each man earns about £12, and the number of these artisans is estimated at fifty thousand.

The labourers of the third caste seldom leave the farms on which they work for the landlords. When a man dies his son takes his place, and the system observed is fair enough; two-thirds of the crops belonging to the farmers, and one-third to the landlord; and both parties agree tolerably well in spite of abuses arising from the indulgence of violent passions, no settled laws, and a privileged religion like that of the Turks.

The Albanians are thought to be the descendants of the original inhabitants of the country, for there is no doubt that in language and race they stand out distinct and dominant among the numerous nationalities that people the Balkan Peninsular. In his *Albanesische Studien* the learned German writer, Von Hahn, says that by the ancient Illyrians and Epirotes the Albanians were connected with the Pelasgians, who, amalgamating at a very early period with the Hellenes, disappeared almost at the first dawn of historical narrative. Although the language spoken by the Albanians includes a great number of Greek, Turkish, Slavonic, and Italian words, it is neither Greek nor Slavonic, possessing its own grammar and its own alphabet, though for that matter it is not much written, with the exception of pious books translated by Albanian priests during the 17th and 18th centuries, and at present in the pamphlets being issued by the League founded by Albanian colonies in Italy for the preservation of their mother tongue and the fostering of a national spirit in the mother country. It is, however, the only survivor of the original language spoken in distant periods of history; and its difficulty is not lessened by the fact that instead of using their own alphabet, the Ghegs or Northern Albanians will use the Roman characters, while the Tosks in Southern Albania prefer using the Greek letters. For it may be observed that

in Albania are two predominant tribes, the Ghegs and the Tosks, with numerous subdivisions too extensive for enumeration; and three religions. The Ghegs dwell in the north of the province, while separated by the river Skumbi and the old Roman Via Egnatia, the Tosks inhabit the southern portion. Though the language is the same, the dialects vary quite as much as they do in Italy or Spain; consequently the Ghegs and the Tosks do not understand each other, and a long-standing dislike and jealousy existing between the two great tribes has still further deepened the division, to say nothing of the difference of religion. The Tosks living on the Greek frontier, and mixing much with the Hellenes, generally profess the creed of the Greek Church; while the Ghegs, who are either Musulmans or Latin Catholics, have a hatred of both Greek and Tosk, which is even more accentuated as regards the latter. Aware of this peculiarity, the Porte profits by these racial prejudices in maintaining its often shaken supremacy in Albania, which is considered as producing the valuable asset of promising recruits for the Ottoman army. The Albanians being far better soldiers than Christians or Mahommedans, form some of the best regiments in the Turkish service, with the proviso that the military from the North should never be quartered near their brethren from the South of Albania; as with arms in their hands they would soon be fighting as gloriously as the famous Kilkenny cats—and with the same result. Though most of the Albanian soldiery are Mahommedans, still there are also Catholic tribes who are highly esteemed for their valour by the Ottomans. With the cross emblazoned on their regimental flags they march beside the Turks bearing the crescent, which is a strange sight when one reflects on the undying hatred of Christianity that has characterised the Turk since the days of his Prophet.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> The Albanians were always noted mercenaries. As far back as the second century before Christ, the Illyrians formed part of the armies under the celebrated Epiriot king and general, Pyrrhus, who so often defeated the Romans. The Stradiot troops employed by the Venetian Republic were also Albanians, and these fierce soldiers spread all over Europe, being in the service of Austria, Naples and the Papal States, as well as in that of France in the reign of Henry IV. Charles V. and Philip II., monarchs of Spain,

M. Laboulaye is of opinion that the geographical aspect of Albania has had much to say with regard to this tribal division. He says that Albania is extremely mountainous, and may indeed be considered as consisting of two terraces, the first rising out of the Adriatic in precipitous cliffs, while the second, beginning a few miles inland, grows steeper and steeper until it merges into the Roumelian range, the Scardus of ancient history. Moreover, these terraces do not form a plateau, being intersected in every direction by a series of deep and narrow valleys, ravines, and high peaks, that serve to isolate the population of one district from another. The country becomes still more rugged as it borders the stream of the Black Drin up to its source in Lake Ochrida in Southern Albania, from which, though traversed by the Pindus chain, the land descends in broad and more undulating stages to the gulf of Arta, which is part of the boundary between Turkey and Greece. From this description it may be recognized how the Ghegs have been more or less confined to the northern part of Albania, while the Greeks have had no trouble in spreading throughout Southern Albania among the Tosks who have such a strong affinity to the Hellenes, that in a few more generations, observes Laboulaye, they will be as much confounded with their Greek neighbours, as were formerly their Pelasgian ancestors with the first Hellenes. It is also remarked that wherever Tosk and Greek have intermarried, their offspring possess the best qualities of both races without their defects, and besides this, the Albanians who have settled in Greece form a fifth of its population. The same, however, cannot be said of the colonies found in the Balkan States, Austria, Sicily, or Calabria, in South Italy, where they migrated as early as 1460. In these settlements the Albanians, while leaving their savageness behind them in Illyria, have never mixed with the surrounding peoples, and they have also carefully preserved intact their own language and customs.

Though the charming *Journal of a Landscape Painter* by Edward Lear, gives many descriptions of the beautiful

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had Albanian body-guards who existed down to the reign of Charles III. and were known as the Royal Macedonian Regiment.

scenery of Albania, varying from the stern mountains and dark forests of the North to the more open and cultivated South, studded by lakes of extreme loveliness ; still like other English travellers who have given their impressions and experiences of this wild and primitive land, neither he nor they could ever penetrate into the private life of the natives. They could note the various and picturesque costumes, they could describe accurately the customs, superstitions, and history of the people. They could be witnesses of their savage disposition in the scowling looks and covert insolence, often degenerating into loud abuse and ruder hustling ; they could feel the scorn and loathing of every Christian openly testified by the Mahommedan Albanians ; but all this was only as it were, the outside shell. Lodging in the khans or inns, and generally surrounded by guides, kavasses, and Turkish guards detested by the people, it was not possible for them to understand and know the Albanians as well as the Catholic missionaries who every winter, as members of ' the flying mission,' come from Italy, and who, travelling from one remote valley to another in the severest wintry weather, live in the houses of the people, partake of the same food, are subjected to the same hardships, and who are trusted and revered by the Albanian Catholics, and very often by those professing the Greek or the Moslem creed. Indeed, notwithstanding their intense dislike of Christianity, the Turkish local kaimakans or officials, to save themselves trouble, will order the turbulent Latin subjects of the Crescent to leave off cursing, gambling, and drinking, these vices being strictly forbidden by the missionary whose arrival may be shortly expected ; and more often than not, the people will obey this injunction.

Hence in this article we have given details from the reports of these devoted priests, which strikingly illustrate the condition and character of the Albanians, and which throw a light upon that inner life of a people which is rarely revealed to outsiders, especially if they are known to be Protestant foreigners.

Education is held of little account in Albania, though both Latin and Greek Christians have their schools. The people are very superstitious, and think nothing of applying to the



Hogias or Mohammedan ecclesiastics for charms and amulets, and to wise men and women for relief of their ailments, and these quacks sometimes do effect extraordinary cures, probably by their knowledge of magnetism, to which influence races like the Albanians are very susceptible. The Albanians, as is seen by their feuds, are of a cruel disposition, so much so, that the Porte has often been obliged to disavow the savage atrocities of their Albanian regiments in war time. Not very long ago a Mohammedan Albanian, who was vice-governor of some town, having a grudge against a Christian countryman seized him, and when he was stripped and well smeared over with honey, the wretched man was exposed beneath a burning summer sun to the attentions of wasps and other venomous insects. He would soon have expired under this fiendish treatment, had he not been rescued by another more humane Turk who obtained his release, by threatening to shoot down the brutal governor.

There is really no government worth the name on the part of the Turks. When and where they can, the Ottoman 'valis' or governors will endeavour to feather their own nests at the expense of the people, but in many parts of the province the tribes, particularly the Mirdites, are practically independent. We are told that they 'pay no taxes, are exempt from conscription, and are only expected to furnish a contingent in war time. The tribe is often composed of several clans, under a chief or standard-bearer, who is the military leader, and each clan has its elders, who form a council and hold their seats, like the standard-bearers, by inheritance. They preside over tribal meetings, which exercise supreme legislative power, and the clan is usually divided into smaller communities, administered by a local notable who superintends execution of the laws, collects fines, and administers capital punishment. These men are in communication with a representative of the tribe at Scutari, who is the sole link between the mountaineers and the Turkish Government, and this man communicates the orders of the Vali, which must be framed in accordance with Albanian customs and institutions.'<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> 'Times' *Encyclopædia*.

There is a peculiar class of people known as 'Laramanes,' consisting of numerous families, who, while secretly maintaining their belief in Christianity, pretend to follow the Mahomedan persuasion. They attend the mosque, and discard their Christian names in favour of Turkish appellations, but they are exceedingly lax in Moslem observances, such as the eating of pork and drinking of wine. They do not in the least deceive their Turkish neighbours who contemptuously leave them alone, while bitterly persecuting *bona fide* Greek or Latin Christians. Apostacies are very frequent, whole villages turning Mohammedan, especially after the Moslem Ramadan or fast, during which time the followers of the Prophet take a delight in vexatious harrying of the Christians. Possessing what may be called an intense passion for their liberty, the majority of the Albanians, particularly the soldier caste, have long sacrificed their religion to their love of independence, saying cynically, 'He who has the sword has the religion;' and though most of them will not speak a word of the Turkish language, and detest the Ottomans, they are really fanatical Mahomedans. The villages of these Albanian Turks are easily distinguished by their tall minarets; while those of the Christians are conspicuous for their droves of pigs. Most of these porkers rarely survive the age of three months, when they are slaughtered to avoid a tax imposed on them at that early age by the Turks as being 'Christian animals.'

In ancient Illyria, besides the native Albanians are other nationalities, such as the Serbs, Bulgarians, and Roumanians, all members of the Greek Church, as well as the Wallachians, who speak a corrupt dialect of Latin. Akin to the Wallach people are the Zinzares, a mixed race, descendants of Wallach and Roumanian, chiefly inhabiting the Pindus mountain range. Elisée Reclus says that they are probably Latinized Dacians. They are an interesting race, and they are found in all parts of Albania and Turkey. While those who remain in the Pindus are either herdsmen or goldsmiths, others are industrious traders and carriers, keeping in their own hands much of the inland trade; the Greeks competing with them in maritime districts. The Zinzares of Metzovo in Southern

Albania long had a singular privilege in obliging every traveller, Turk or Christian, to unshoe his horses before leaving their territory, lest 'he might carry away a clod of the earth which did not belong to him.'<sup>4</sup>

The Wallachians of the Pindus possess mercantile establishments in all the oriental towns, and they even have a great bank at Vienna. As their children are educated at Athens, these people, outside Albania, are usually taken for Greeks, which is not the case although they would like to be incorporated with the Hellenes. In addition to all these widely differing nationalities, Jews and Gipsies abound in Albania.

The Tosk tribe of Albanians are much fairer than the Ghegs, and they resemble more the Greeks in manners and customs, though most of them are Mahommedans. They are called Arnauts by the Turks, and are much employed as kavasses and servants.

The national dress in Albania has not been as yet discarded as in other European countries. Nothing can be more gorgeous than those worn by the Ghegs. Mr. Lear says that near Scutari the men wear 'a long surtout, purple, crimson or scarlet, trimmed with fur, or bordered with gold thread or braiding, while the jacket and waistcoat are usually black.' They also wear trews of white or crimson native cloth; the fez is never laid aside, and no Gheg will be seen without his rifle and his side arms, which manufactured in Albania, are often exquisitely ornamented. The Mirdites wear a long white woollen coat and trousers, red belts, and white fez, and their women have also the same garments, with the addition of an embroidered and much fringed apron. In place of the fez a blue handkerchief is twisted round their heads. Near Scutari the crimson cloaks worn by the women are very picturesque. At Prizrend, a town situated on a spur of the stately Scardus range, the costume is very striking. This town is remarkable for the numerous canal-like rivulets that, running through the streets, fall into a river issuing from a deep gorge and dividing the town in two halves. Here, as the people sit in groups smoking at their doors, one can

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<sup>4</sup> *Geographie Universelle*, E. Reclus.

admire their white kilt (*fustanella*), shirt, and fez, with a jacket covered with gold embroidery, and a broad crimson belt; but sometimes they will replace the kilt by very full purple trousers which are met at the knee by purple leggings. All the northern Ghegs are usually dark with keen and cruel faces, and even the Christian men have adopted the Turkish habit of shaving the head except at the back where the hair grows long. Near Alessio, further south, the women wear dresses all fringed and tasselled; and their sisters in central Albania have white veils and high head-dresses. Like the Greeks the Tosks wear the white linen *fustanella*, and on holidays they don a sleeveless waistcoat of velvet or cloth, either embroidered or laced, while the shirt sleeves hang loosely. It is a pretty dress when clean, which is seldom the case, the people being very uncleanly in their habits. At Tyana the women have blue dresses, white petticoats, and aprons striped in yellow, crimson, or brown, the dark vests are trimmed with pink or red, and the large white wrapper is worn abroad both by Christian and Mohammedan women. In other localities, says Mr. Lear, the Albanian women have 'black capotes, worked petticoats, gaiters, striped kerchiefs, and scarlet aprons, with long thick bunches of black silk, tied like tails to their hair.' The Greek priests, who work like the peasants in their fields, usually have a red fez, a cloth jacket, and a full blue trousers, gathered in at the knee like the Greek sailors, which is certainly a very unecclesiastic dress.

While, as a rule, field work and household drudgery are left to the women, the men spend much time in field sports, and those who are rich keep greyhounds. They are fond of cards, and will also sing long ballads on the deeds of Alexander the Great, and their national hero Scanderbeg (fifteenth century), for the Albanians have excellent voices, and possess an extremely good ear for music.

There are many remains of buildings in the province, some of which are Cyclopic, dating from a remote period, such as the walls of the Pelasgic city of Hellas situated, writes Reclus, in the neighbourhood of Lake Yanina, not far from a chasm down which plunges an affluent of the famous river Acheron, and which is powerful enough to turn a mill wheel.

On the shores of this lake in Southern Albania is the site of the most ancient oracle in Greece, that of Zeus at Dodona, where answers were supposed to issue from the leaves of an enormous oak, quivering in the breeze. Numerous vestiges also exist all over Illyria of Roman and Grecian remains.

Could Albania be brought within the pale of civilization, it would soon become one of the richest provinces in Europe, with its immense and valuable forests, its unexplored mines, of which gold was certainly extracted by the ancients in the valley of Drin flowing from its source in the intensely blue and transparent waters of Lake Ochrida. It is thought that iron, coal, and other minerals do exist in Albania, and in the Middle Ages, the Venetians, who possessed settlements in Northern Albania, knew that silver mines existed in the wild Mirdite district. At the present day, near the seaport of Avlona, mineral pitch is still taken from a deposit worked by the Romans. With the exception of the higher mountain ranges, the land is exceedingly fertile, and would amply repay more cultivation than is actually bestowed upon it. In the highlands thrive the flocks of sheep and goats, cattle are reared on the plains, and every lake and river teems with fish while on the coasts and low-lying lands the soil is favourable for vine and olive and other fruit trees. The beauty of the scenery in many parts is unrivalled in Europe, but it will remain closed to travellers until railways replace the narrow bridle paths serving as roads, that generally skirt the edges of deep precipices, when not threading the tortuous mazes of a forest, or wandering down the rough bed of a dried-up torrent in a cañon, or climbing in sharp staircase-like zig-zags to villages perched like eyries on the precipitous sides of ravines and mountains.

Having endeavoured to give an adequate description of ancient Illyria, lying far from the beaten tracks of commerce and latter-day globe-trotters, we lay aside the pen, hoping that these pages may be as interesting to the reader as their compilation has been to the writer—two qualifications which are apt to be dissociated, much to the disadvantage of the too sanguine scribe.

PAUL DILLON.

# Notes and Queries

## THEOLOGY

### OBLIGATION OF HEARING MASS ON SUNDAYS AND HOLYDAYS

REV. DEAR SIR,—Kindly answer the following in your next issue :—

I said my first Mass on Christmas morning in my own house, and had for a congregation some of my immediate neighbours. Did those who were present on the occasion satisfy their obligation of hearing Mass on that day?

I quote for your observation one of our Diocesan statutes bearing on the point, namely, ‘*Diebus Dominicis et festis de praecepto, nulli sacerdoti licebit Missam celebrare in aedibus privatis, quacunque de causa; nisi in exsequiis defunctorum, praesente corpore, vel in festo Nativitatis Domini. Ab hac regula excipimus domum parochi, sub hac tamen obligatione, ‘ut nullus extraneus tempore Missae admittatur.’—Yours truly,*  
C.C.

The obligation to hear Mass on Sundays and holydays may be regarded as two-fold :—1° a *real* obligation, *i.e.*, an obligation to assist at Mass; and 2° a *local* obligation, *i.e.*, an obligation to assist at Mass in the proper place—*in loco debito*.<sup>1</sup> For, according to the common law of the Church, those of the faithful who have got no special privilege are bound to hear Mass in a church or in a public oratory. A Mass heard in a private house or a private oratory will not satisfy the local obligation. In Ireland this local obligation was, of course, suspended during the penal days and after, when it was impossible to comply, in this respect, with the requirements of the common law. And some are disposed to hold that, even at the present day, a person can fully satisfy his obligation on Sundays and holydays in Ireland by hearing Mass anywhere—unless, indeed, there be, in any parish or diocese, a special prohibition to the contrary. That opinion is sometimes advanced

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<sup>1</sup> *Conf. Noldin, De Praeceptis, n. 267.*

in justification of the practice, which prevails in some dioceses in Ireland, of permitting a priest to duplicate on a Sunday or holyday, in order that he may celebrate in a 'corpse-house' and thereby give a number of persons an opportunity of hearing Mass who might otherwise find it inconvenient to hear Mass in the Church.

What, then, is to be said of those who heard Mass in the house of C.C. on Christmas morning? They certainly satisfied the real obligation, and, according to the opinion just quoted, they were not—apart from special legislation—bound in Ireland by any local obligation. It would seem, therefore, that these persons fully satisfied their obligation to hear Mass, unless there was a special local law affecting the matter. Needless to say, it is quite competent for a bishop in Ireland to oblige his people to hear Mass on Sundays and holydays in a church or in a public oratory. If anyone, regardless of such a law, contents himself with hearing Mass outside a church or public oratory, he fulfils the real obligation, but he violates the local obligation. Whether or not there exists such a statute in our correspondent's diocese, we have no means of knowing. The restrictive clause of the statute cited by our correspondent—'ut nullus extraneus tempore Missae admittatur'—seems to apply, as it stands, only to Mass celebrated in the parish priest's house, not to Masses permitted in private houses 'in exsequiis defunctorum, praesente corpore, vel in festo Nativitatis Domini.'

**VICAR-GENERAL ASSISTING AT A MARRIAGE WITHOUT  
AUTHORISATION FROM THE PARISH PRIEST OF THE  
PARTIES**

REV. DEAR SIR,—Please inform me if Vicars-General, of whom there are several in the diocese to which I am attached, can marry people indiscriminately—over the heads of their own legitimate pastors—and without any delegation whatever?—Yours faithfully,

A PUZZLED PASTOR.

For the purposes of the Decree *Tametsi*, a Vicar-General does not require delegation or authorisation of any kind from

a parish priest of his diocese, in order to assist at the marriage of that parish priest's parishioners. A marriage, therefore, contracted before a Vicar-General by persons, either of whom has a domicile or quasi-domicile within the area of the Vicar's jurisdiction will be a valid marriage, and that without any reference to, or even in opposition to, the will of the parish priest of the parties.

Moreover, it may happen in exceptional cases, that a Vicar-General would be quite justified in assisting at a marriage 'over the heads of the legitimate pastors.' If, for example, a parish priest unreasonably places an obstacle to the celebration of a marriage, it would be the right and the duty of the Vicar-General or other ecclesiastical superior to assist at that marriage, or to delegate another priest to do so. In such a case, the Vicar General will have to see that the banns are proclaimed or dispensed, that the parties are free to contract marriage, and consequently, he will, almost of necessity, have to communicate with the parish priest of the parties.

This interference of the Vicar-General, however, is quite exceptional. In ordinary circumstances, he will have no justification for superseding the parish priest.

#### A CASE OF RESTITUTION

REV. DEAR SIR,—Kindly give in your next issue a solution of the following case:—A penitent confesses that he has injured a neighbour to a considerable amount by burning a quantity of hay. But the injury was inflicted by mistake. When setting fire to the hay he thought it belonged to a different person. It now turns out that the hay legally belonged to a man whom the penitent would be very sorry to injure. Is he bound to make restitution? I see that there are various opinions on the matter. I may add that the penitent is quite willing to make restitution if I ask him to do so.

CONFESSARIUS.

If the penitent destroyed the property in mere wantonness—not caring to whom it belonged—or if he adverted to the danger that he was destroying property that belonged, not to his enemy, but to some person unknown, no one would now



excuse him from the obligation of repairing the injury done to the owner of the hay. But if he had no suspicion that he was in error regarding the ownership of the hay, and if his sole intention was to injure that person against whom he entertained the grudge, then many theologians, including Lugo, Disp. 17, n. 77; Lacroix, l. 3, p. 2, n. 200; St. Alphonsus, l. 3, n. 629; Croll, III., n. 26; D'Annibale, II., n. 232; Genicot, I., n. 522, excuse him from the obligation of restitution, on the ground that his action, though materially unjust, *was not formally unjust*—as against the person whose property was destroyed. And in the face of such authority, no confessor will take it on himself to bind the penitent strictly to make restitution.

Looking at the matter speculatively, however, and on its intrinsic merits, it seems to us much more probable, not to say certain, that the penitent is bound to restitution. When he destroyed the property by an act of formal injustice, he took upon himself the onus of repairing the injury, no matter against whom it was committed. This is the opinion adopted by Lehmkuhl, I., n. 977; Noldin, n. 452; Ballerini, III. 441; Marres, l. 2, n. 69; Vesmeesch, n. 165. Without imposing a strict obligation, therefore, we would advise this penitent to repair the injury inflicted.

D. MANNIX.

## CORRESPONDENCE

### MISSION HONORARIUM

REV. DEAR SIR,—The letter of 'Honestus' in the *American Ecclesiastical Review*, and the additional letter of 'Honestus Secundus' in your February Number, give the views of some *old Missionaries* on the subject of Missionary Stipends. With a great deal of what they say I agree. Their work is very valuable, the missionary life laborious, and one that requires a special training. The lives of the good Fathers are edifying. The simple faithful regard them, rightly, as saints, and this charitable impression is deepened when they are reminded that these are men who have left all things and bound themselves by several grave obligations, amongst others by a vow of poverty. Rectors and parish priests, who invite the assistance of religious, differ in their opinions as to the value and fruit of frequent Retreats and Missions, but the preponderating opinion is that whilst the good effects are not always lasting—it may be through their own fault—still the great ends for which the priesthood exists are promoted. All this strengthens the claim that a just, and even generous, stipend should be paid to the Fathers.

These points have been so well made by the very rev. Old Missionaries that it is almost superfluous to refer to them, except for the purpose of assent. The question, however, is not of their acknowledged virtues and merits, but of the filthy lucre with which their services are repaid. What is a just stipend? According to the opinion ventilated by your correspondent, it ought to be, in this country at least, £15 each per week of Mission or pseudo Mission. That is, suppose a Father is engaged in this work for 26 weeks, or half the year, he ought to be maintained and receive £390 for the work of the half-year. Many parish priests and a still larger number of curates, who have not taken any vow of poverty, labour for the whole year and maintain themselves on one-third of this sum. As a rule, they do not complain, but in their circumstances it is a surprise to them to find the more perfect members of the body suggest harsh treatment—that parish priests and rectors treat them with niggardliness and a disregard

of distributive justice. So long as we are men, we shall differ in our estimate of men and things, but we may take it as a universally accepted law that men do not undervalue their own work. Certainly 'An Old Missioner' has not astonished the ecclesiastical world by his under-estimate of what I should prefer to call the Mission Honorarium.

The *Synod of Maynooth*, 1875, page 70, note 19, contains a paragraph instructing Bishops and parish priests on the subject of Missions. It praises the Religious Orders and Congregations for their zeal and fruitful labours, and directs 'ne suspicio turpis lucri oriat'ur' that only the necessary expenses of the Mission be asked of the people. It would appear, then, that parish priests are not unrestricted in asking funds, or allowing them to be asked for, or in distributing the funds raised for a Mission. The earlier part of the Synodal Canon speaks of a particular object in giving a Mission, whilst later on it appears to give a general instruction.

From what I gather from many parish priests, a Mission is very often, financially, a loss to the parish and to themselves personally. They follow an established custom in giving £5 per week to each Father giving a Mission, and paid at a somewhat higher rate to one or two priests giving a Parochial Retreat. To raise larger sums would render these exercises of piety odious and irritating, and therefore, to a greater or less degree, unfruitful. It is an exceptional case where £10 remains after defraying the Mission expenses.

For the future we should divide parishes into those in which Missions are given for the purpose of raising money and those in which the object is to promote piety and eradicate vice. In the former an 'Old Missioner's' view ought to prevail; in the latter we might *jog along* in the old groove. The present writer has experience of many Religious Orders and Congregations, and found that, in their charity, they invariably deprecated all but the most moderate charges for admission to churches on these occasions. If there were any suspicion that friction would arise, a case that never occurred to me, it would be wise to adopt the suggestion that terms be arranged beforehand.

The case of 'extremely poor parishes' mentioned by your very rev. correspondent is apparently already provided for.

There is at least one Congregation which gives annually a number of *Free Missions*, and is not very exacting in the case of *paid Missions*. The expression, 'A Mission for the pure love of God,' is an unhappy one, because it might be taken to imply, what I am sure the writer did not intend, that some Missions are given from other motives than the pure love of God.—Yours sincerely,

HONESTUS TERTIUS.

[We have received several additional protests against the proposal of 'Honestus Secundus,' but as the language employed is rather *vehement* we prefer not to publish them.—Ed. I. E. RECORD.]

## DOCUMENT

## CHORAL DISCIPLINE IN ROME

## DECRETUM SACRAE CONGREGATIONIS CONCILII, DE CHORALI DISCIPLINA IN URBE

Postremis hisce temporibus, quod valde dolendum est, in ecclesiis collegiatis Urbis, atque adeo in ipsis patriarchalibus basilicis, chorale servitium paullatim elanguit; ita ut, deficiente in divini officii recitatione et ritibus obeundis congruo capitularium numero, sacrae functiones non raro sine ea dignitate et splendore peragantur, quem divinus cultus, maxime in Urbe catholici nominis princeps, exposcit.

Id non una ex causa factum, sed potissime ex mutata conditione temporum: unde novae variaeque in dies pro Ecclesia et animarum bono necessitates extiterunt; hinc sacerdotes in multis rebus distracti, exemptiones choralis servitii multiplicatae, atque etiam quandoque, praepostera adhibita interpretatione, plus aequo extensae.

Huic occurrens malo SSmus. D. N. Leo PP. XIII, cum, pro ea quam gerit Romanae ecclesiae prae omnibus aliis paternam atque apostolicam sollicitudinem, velit divini cultus iura integre in Urbe servari, simulque publicis aliis privatisque necessitatibus quantum fas est satisfieri, inhaerendo vestigiis Decessorum suorum, ac praesertim Pii IV, Innocentii XII et Pii VII sequentia statuit ac decernit:

1. Die 24 proximi mensis Decembris, in pervigilio Natalis D. N. I. C., ad primas vespertas omnia et singula indulta choralia, sive in favorem personae, sive institutorum et piorum operum causa, sive quorundam munerum ratione, quomodolibet et quocumque titulo concessa privilegiis quibuslibet non obstantibus, cessabunt, nullius proinde valoris futura, et nemini amplius suffragatura.

2. Ad exemptiones a choro in posterum assequendas qui legitimam causam habebunt, preces ad S. Concilii Congregationem adhibeant; quam SSmus. D. N. ad has expediendas gratias unice et exclusive deputat, adeo ut indulta aliter, quolibet modo, etiam vivae vocis oraculo, impetrata, nullius valoris seu obreptitia et subreptitia aestimari oporteat.

3. Quoties autem S. Concilii Congregatio pro concedendis

indultis capituli votum requiret, illud per secreta suffragia exprimendum exigat.

4. Cum ex Motu proprio '*Cum sicut accepimus*,' a Pio IV P. M. xii kal. Decemb. a. 1560 edito, omnes et singuli reditus ad capitula tam patriarchalium basilicarum, quam aliarum quarumcumque ecclesiarum Urbis spectantes, in quotidianas distributiones dividendi sint, canonicae sanctiones hac de re vigentes et a S. Concilii Congregatione saepius ac praesertim in *Valvensi* 24 Novembris 1838 confirmatae, integre et adamussim etiam in Urbe servantur. Idcirco, quaecumque contraria consuetudine, quae forte inoleverit, sublata et abolita, in posterum universi fructus ad memorata capitula spectantes in quotidianas distributiones pro diebus et horis erunt ex integro partiendi.

Quare absens sine legitima causa eos omnes fructus amittet, et si quos forte perceperit, ad restitutionem tenebitur, slavis tamen particularibus constitutionibus, ex quibus maior poena irrogetur.

Absens autem ex legitima causa, si ex infirmitate aliove iusto titulo, debito modo ac forma recognito, tamquam praesens in choro pro lucrandis distributionibus reputetur, quotidianas distributiones ex toto percipiet: si vero iuxta iuris censuram praesens in choro non habeatur, duas partes, quae locum praebendae obtinent, utique acquireret, tertiam tamen amittet.

5. Ad hanc ultimam classem absentium pertinent adiutores Sacrarum Congregationum, qui ut huic muneri vacent absentiae indultum assequuti sint. Ideoque hi duas partes quotidianarum distributionum lucrabuntur, pro diebus et horis dumtaxat, quibus suorum officiorum causa a choro aberunt; tertiam vero amittent, prout S. Concilii Congregatio expresse statuit in causa *Dubia indultorum* die 6 Maii 1820 *ad IIIum. dubium*, et confirmavit, re denuo discussa, die 25 Maii 1822. Quas resolutiones SSmus. D. N. ad plenam observantiam revocat, et quatenus opus sit, renovat et confirmat, singulorum, ad quos spectat, conscientia arcte hac de re onerata.

6. Distributiones extraordinarias, quae *inter praesentes* vulgo dici solent, nemo ex absentibus unquam percipiet, quolibet privilegio et indulto in contrarium cessante, prout cautum est sub *num.* 1 praesentis decreti, salvis tamen diversis piorum fundatorum praescriptionibus.

7. Indulta quae aestivo tempore valetudinis curandae gratia concedi solent, unius mensis spatio continebuntur, salvo tamen antiquo Lateranensis basilicae privilegio.

8. Privilegium Lauretanae peregrinationis pro capitulis eo fruentibus ad dies octo reducitur ; peregrinationis autem Hierosolymitanae ad tres menses.

Denique in iis omnibus de quibus praesens decretum non cavet, Sanctitas Sua vult et mandat, ut sacrosancti Tridentini Concilii praescripta et S. Concilii Congregationis resolutiones ad choralem disciplinam regendam editae, ad unguem ab omnibus ex conscientia servantur.

Et haec omnia praesenti ipsius S. Congregationis decreto publicari, atque inviolate custodiri iussit, contrariis quibuslibet minime obstantibus.

Datum Romae ex S. C. Concilii die 17 Septembris 1902.

✠ VINCENTIUS Card. Episc. Praenestinus, *Praef.*

✠ BENIAMINUS Archiep. Nazianzenus, *Secr.*

## NOTICES OF BOOKS

EARTH TO HEAVEN. By Mgr. John S. Vaughan, Canon of Westminster. London: Sands and Co. 1903. Price, 3s. 6d.

IN the treatment of some of the weighty practical questions which form the subject of general discussion at the present day Mgr. Vaughan has been particularly successful. His *Faith and Folly* and *Thoughts for all Times* deal in an attractive and popular style with questions which had been dealt with in a style no less popular and attractive by hundreds of Protestant or unbelieving writers. To Catholics who are liable to be influenced by all sorts of articles in newspapers and reviews, and to Protestants who desire to find Catholic doctrine expounded in an easy and attractive form, these works have proved very useful. They are now reinforced by this new volume, *Earth to Heaven*, which deals with such weighty questions as 'Man's Origin,' 'His Nature,' 'His Destiny,' 'The Fear of God,' 'Trust in God,' 'Judgment,' 'Victory,' 'The Ascension,' 'The Risen Body,' 'The Joys of Heaven.'

The characteristics of this new work are the same as those which we have noted in its predecessors. There is a freshness, a present-day colour about these chapters that make them light and readable. They would be very suitable for certain classes of Catholics who suffer from an overdose of reading of the opposite kind. Even preachers would find many a good idea here and there, and, apart from the idea, many suggestive hints as to how the circumstances of time, place, and environment may be turned to account.

J. F. H.

THE ART OF DISAPPEARING. A novel. By John Talbot Smith. New York: William Young and Co., 63, Barclay-street. Price, A Dollar and a Half.

THIS is a very thrilling story, written with great power, and dealing with a section of New York Society that has remained as yet to a great extent unexplored by the novelist. The author has certainly the gift of fascinating his reader and of drawing



him along by the absorbing interest of the plot and the vivid representation of highly dramatic incidents. Of satire, humour, and pathos there is a good deal, and many of the characters are well drawn.

Into the ways and doings of certain classes of society, and particularly of the bosses and electioneering agents and all their hangers-on we get an insight which, we suppose, is not deceptive, seeing that the author lives a good deal in the midst of the world he describes. The representative of the Dillons, who made his way from the prize-ring to become a senator of the United States, having begun life 'with nothing but his two fists,' to use the description of an enthusiastic admirer; the priest, who suggested the disappearing trick; and the hero of the story, Horace Endicott, stand out in strong relief amongst the '*dramatis personæ*,' and make their impression for good or evil with considerable force.

The defects of the achievement seem to us to be a want of restraint, too much of a headlong rush, an exuberance of imagination, and an exaggeration of sentiment that betray themselves in the imagery and the *scenes*. The writer seems to us to be working under high pressure, to be in a hurry to get through and hasten on to something else, conditions under which no work of lasting value can be produced, except, indeed, in the rarest cases.

Then we do not care very much to have the clergy made responsible for the 'disappearing trick.' There is sufficient prejudice already against the clergy amongst the class who regard them as far too clever to encourage their belief by fictions of this kind.

Then from the Irish point of view, although there are very eloquent passages in sympathy with Ireland, and the book seems to have as one of its aims to discountenance the Anglo-American Alliance, we do not see either the truth or the necessity of making a New England Puritan of Saxon blood the only possible leader and liberator of the Irish. If the Irish in America are depending on New England Puritans, and not on their own sinew and brain, we fear there is but little hope for them. This New-Englander, it would appear, is the only man in New York capable of striking an effective blow, and striking it at the right moment, for the outcast Irish. His cool brain and steady hand are needed to do a work which the Irish themselves, in their enthusiasm and meanness and slavery, are incapable of doing for themselves. They, like the niggers, are good for a

certain kind of petty service ; but when anything like effective and lasting work has to be done you must go to New England for the hand and the brain to do it. Rather hard on our countrymen in New York.

J. F. H.

THE LINEAR MEASURES OF BABYLONIA, ABOUT B.C. 2500.

By Rev. W. Shaw-Caldecott. Hastings.

OUR readers will recollect a notice of the learned author's essay on the Senkereh mathematical tablet. He has now completed his investigations, and the results are contained in the metrological essay at present under review. We may observe that it was read at the December meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society, and that it will be printed in the April Number of that Society's journal. By the courtesy of the author in sending an advance copy, we are enabled to direct attention to it in the pages of the I. E. RECORD. It is a masterly exposition of the values of the cuneiform signs on the Senkereh mathematical tablet, and one of the most fascinating pieces of original work that has appeared in recent years. The systems of measurement employed in Babylonia are explained as they never have been before. The author's interpretation of certain symbols as representing fractions, and of the *ideographs* as representing the sossus, the palm, the cubit, etc., is, indeed a marvel of indefatigable perseverance, ingenuity, and scholarship. Every statement is proved, and the result is a revelation to Assyriologists and to students of Scripture as well. It should be observed that this essay is, after all, but the groundwork of a book which Rev. Mr. Caldecott has in preparation, viz., *Bible Archaeology: A story of evolution in Architecture, being the material history of the Jewish Tabernacle and Temple, c. B.C. 1400 to A.D. 70*. Volumes innumerable have been written on the subject, and theories more or less ingenious have been put forward in regular succession, but if, as the author hopes to show, and we expect that he will show, the Hebrew cubit had its origin in Babylonia, a problem of the highest interest hitherto deemed inexplicable will have been solved once and for all.

R. W.



## DR. RICHARD O'CONNELL AND THE 'NEW RELIGION' IN KERRY

1603-1653

**I**N the manuscript work of Dr. John Lynch—*De Praesulibus Hiberniae*—described in an interesting paper by Father Boyle, in the I. E. RECORD of September, 1902, there is an account of the life and labours of Dr. Richard O'Connell, who ruled the diocese of Ardfert and Aghadoe during a very eventful period of our history. And this chapter of biography is valuable, not merely because it has preserved an interesting portion of diocesan history, but because it contains an accurate account of a bishop, who not only took a prominent part in the affairs of the 'Kingdom of Kerry,' but also in matters of decidedly national interest and importance. And the record of the labours of this almost forgotten Bishop of Ardfert would, perhaps, be also of interest to Irishmen even outside this county, when it is known he sprang from that same family which during several centuries gave many distinguished men to the service of this country, and which produced in modern times our greatest Irishman, Daniel O'Connell, the Liberator. From various documents, too, happily published by Cardinal Moran in the *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, it is clear Dr. Richard O'Connell must have been a very prominent figure in the Irish Church of his day, being very widely and favourably known to the leading ecclesiastics of that time—the archbishops of Dublin, Cashel, Tuam, etc. But more than

all is the history of this life useful, because it illustrates for us the methods adopted by the Irish bishops and priests in combating the advocates of the 'New Religion,' and thus serves to explain how, when other lands unhappily fell away from Catholic unity, Ireland remained steadfast and true to the ancient faith and Church.

Richard O'Connell, the future bishop, was born in the year 1575, at Ballycarberry Castle, pleasantly situated on the right bank of the Caherciveen river—about one mile west of that town. The family occupied this stronghold as hereditary constables of the MacCarthy More, and held then, and since, a very prominent position among the Catholic gentry of the county. Besides the bishop, the Church received from it many others, who, in times of stress and trouble, gave faithful service in the ranks of the secular and regular clergy. Archdeacon Lynch mentions particularly two brothers of the bishop, Dr. Denis O'Connell, an eloquent and effective preacher in his time, and Father Maurice O'Connell, Provincial of the Augustinian Order. Very many of its members too, devoted themselves to a military life, obtaining high rank in the army, and fighting at the Boyne, at Aughrim, and at Limerick, on the right side indeed, but unfortunately on the beaten side. The Bar, however, got the greatest scion of this ancient sept—certainly the one best known, and best loved by Irishmen, Daniel O'Connell, who won Catholic Emancipation, and thus did so much for the civil and religious amelioration of his country. And, indeed, if there is one thing more than another, for which throughout its history this family has been remarkable, it is its staunch and unswerving loyalty on every occasion to the ancient faith and Church during the long and troubled period of persecution.

The Bishop of Ardferf had the inestimable blessing of pious and religious parents, who, in those days when heresy was making insidious efforts to allure the Irish people from the faith, and when the younger members of distinguished families were made the special objects of attack, brought him up carefully in the practice of virtue and in the love of Catholic truth and principles. In his own home, too, he got—what in after years was specially valuable to him—a know-

ledge of the Irish and English languages—that bilingual training to which some attribute such important mental results. Nor had he to leave the barony of Iveragh to obtain a knowledge of Greek and Latin, which was imparted to him by one of those teachers of the ancient classics, who had been so numerous in Kerry then, and made the inhabitants of the 'Kingdom' famed, deservedly or not, throughout Ireland for their acquaintance with the tongues of Greece and Rome. Unfortunately, the classical teacher of the ancient type, owing to many causes, is almost as rare in Kerry to-day as the Megalosaurus or the Mastodon of prehistoric ages. And thus equipped mentally, able to speak fluently Irish and English, and knowing some Latin and Greek, young Richard O'Connell resolving to enter the sacred ministry, and having no opportunities in Ireland to pursue the studies suited to that sacred calling, set out for Spain which then and long after extended to our persecuted fellow-countrymen every facility and every assistance in its numerous colleges to prosecute their studies for the priesthood. Indeed, there seems to have been a special reason why Spain was selected by this young Kerryman, as the place of his studies. There was clearly constant and frequent intercourse for commercial purposes between his native district and that country. Mrs. Morgan John O'Connell, in her *Life of the Last Colonel of the Irish Brigade*, records a story of a woman in Iveragh, who went to her neighbour and borrowed a shawl, saying in an offhand way she wanted it for a short trip to Spain. Though the voyage might not have been thought such a trifling matter as this story would indicate, nevertheless there is no doubt our ancestors found it comparatively easy then to go to Spain, and young Richard O'Connell entered the ship at Valentia Harbour, which took him to that country, with little fears of such a journey.

The Archdeacon of Tuam does not state to what college in Spain Dr. O'Connell went. He merely informs us it was in that country he improved his knowledge of classical and polite literature, and got an excellent training in philosophy and theology. The learned Archbishop of Tuam, in an address delivered at Maynooth College on the occasion of its

centenary, paid eloquent tribute to the good work done by the university of Salamanca for the Irish students exiled from home in those dark days, and perhaps it was there the Bishop of Ardferd got his excellent training in the various branches of ecclesiastical knowledge. But we know for certain he obtained the degree of doctor in sacred theology at Seville, and the doctorate in civil and canon law either in Belgium or in Italy, in both of which countries he travelled much.

To those who live in the twentieth century, it may appear strange how easy Irishmen found it to travel then. But Professor G. T. Stokes in an interesting chapter in his *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, shows how our adventurous fellow-countrymen reached remote places in Palestine, Egypt, and even in Iceland, at a much earlier period—the eighth century—when too the difficulties of travel must have been very much greater. In those far-off times, men were not overburthened, nor encumbered with unnecessary or superfluous baggage, led simple lives, had simple tastes, and as a consequence showed greater mobility than the more fastidious travellers of modern times, who have all the assistance of Gaze and Cook. Moreover, the difficulties of travel for Irish students then were to a great extent removed owing to the widespread sympathy with them throughout Europe because of all our country was suffering in defence of the faith and loyalty to the ancient Church. And perhaps, too, the knowledge of the great benefits, conferred by the preaching and labours of the early Irish saints, Columbanus, Virgilius, Gall, and a host of others, prompted that ready and cheerful hospitality, which was in reality merely the paying off of a debt thus incurred in former times. In any case, it is quite evident Irish students then travelled much, and found it comparatively easy to do so, while from their subsequent careers on the Irish mission they seem to have been a striking exception to that rule, so often quoted—‘qui multum peregrinantur, raro sanctificantur.’ They returned after their Continental experiences, not only men of deep and varied knowledge, and refined manners, but men of saintly lives as well.

After such a career abroad, right well educated in the

various branches of ecclesiastical science, Dr. O'Connell returned to Kerry in 1603. The period of his absence had been a specially trying one to his native county. For nearly twenty years it had been the theatre of successive military expeditions, sent by Elizabeth against the Earl of Desmond, against the Spaniards, who had landed at Smerwick harbour, and against many of its chieftains, who had at various times been in revolt against the government of the queen. And as a consequence, the religious and moral condition of the diocese suffered severely. The passage or quartering of an army in any district, especially in times of political or religious excitement, could hardly have any other but evil effects. Moreover, it was a period when military discipline was not so strictly enforced as it is in more modern times, and the virulent bigotry not only of the leaders, but even of the common soldiers, seems to have been exercised without any restraint whatsoever. It is only natural, therefore, to expect that the Kerry with which Dr. O'Connell and the other priests who returned from the Continent with him had to deal supplied an ample field for the exercise of their zeal and energy. And this is exactly what Dr. Lynch states was the condition of things in Kerry at that particular time, and the difficulties which its bishops had to face are briefly stated by him in the following sentence. 'In hoc episcopatu magna laborandi seges enata est, in qua sentes haeresum et corruptio morum sic excreverunt ut ad cos excindendos et evellendos severioris disciplinae fax adhibenda fuerit.'<sup>1</sup>

After his appointment as Vicar-General of Ardfert by Dr. Kearney, Archbishop of Cashel, in 1611—for Kerry had no bishop for many years—Dr. O'Connell set to work diligently to check the evils referred to in this passage from the Archdeacon of Tuam—the growth of heresy and the decay of morals. And the historian goes into detail, and gives an interesting example of the difficulties which he had to meet, and which in due time he overcame. The parish priest of Tralee at that time spoke the Irish language only, and after he celebrated Mass as usual on Sunday mornings had a kind

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<sup>1</sup> *De Praes. Hib.*

of Protestant service—*ritus Calvinianus*—conducted in his church in the afternoon, which the faithful were compelled to attend, and at which a sermon in English to propagate heresy was preached and English prayers were recited by a school-master named Matthew Cooney. As a result, this people, hitherto untainted by false doctrine, began gradually to learn it. But what was the origin of this strange service, or who was its chief author Dr. Lynch does not state ; still his words are very much against this dubious parish priest. It might have been possible that this too innocent or too accommodating ecclesiastic did not know the consequences which were sure to follow from this system, which at least he tolerated if he did not initiate. Other difficulties, too, of even a more formidable kind, arose or already existed, but the Vicar-General, we are told, very soon ended these and similar innovations by a judicious but firm use of that punitive power vested in him before heresy and the decay of morals had made much advance in the diocese of Ardfert and Aghadoe.

With a view to secure the country for the future against the dangers which threatened it, Dr. O'Connell adopted all those means which he thought would be most effective to preserve religion in a satisfactory condition. And he was specially careful, first of all, with regard to the training and education of the priests who were to labour therein. Owing to persecution, the Irish Church had been then deprived for many years of colleges and seminaries in which a suitable and efficient body of clergymen could be trained, and as a consequence the Irish bishops had to be content with ministers sometimes unsuited to their work. At this time, however, the Continental colleges began to supply excellent priests and in sufficient numbers in spite of the greatest difficulties and dangers, and thus it was that Dr. O'Connell in a very short time was able to supply this remote district with a very efficient and well-instructed body of ecclesiastics. In a document published by Cardinal Moran in the *Spicilegium Ossoriense*,<sup>2</sup> giving an account of the state of the diocese of Ardfert and Aghadoe in 1633, when Dr. O'Connell was Vicar-Apostolic,

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<sup>2</sup> Vol. i., p. 184.



it is stated Kerry had then one hundred priests, six of whom were doctors in sacred theology. Considering the population of the diocese at that time, ample provision seems to have been made for the spiritual wants of the faithful. Kerry now has not so many more priests engaged in missionary work, and certainly has fewer doctors of divinity. We have happily several bachelors and licentiates—all potential doctors—not yet however fully developed, having still to pass through some further stages in the process of evolution to the full doctorate. But time will remedy this drawback.

It was with similar purpose, too, that many years afterwards, when Dr. O'Connell was at length appointed bishop he established an ecclesiastical college in Tralee, which then as now was an important centre in the county. This might also have been an effort on the part of the bishop to carry out the decree of the Council of Trent with regard to the erection of seminaries in the various dioceses for the training of ecclesiastical students. And clearly the Irish bishops at this particular period were anxious about this matter, for among the demands made by the Commissioners sent by the Supreme Council of the Confederates in 1644 to treat with the king at Oxford regarding the terms of peace and the future treatment of the Catholic body, the right to establish seminaries and colleges obtained due prominence.<sup>3</sup> In this college at Tralee the humanities, philosophy, and theology were taught, and Dr. Lynch has preserved for us the names of the professors appointed to teach therein—now for certain reasons specially interesting. They were Father Cornelius McCarthy, parish priest of Kileentierna, educated in the Irish College of Seville, who came to Kerry in 1642; Father Thaddeus Moriarty, a Dominican; Father Jeremiah O'Sullivan, of the Order of St. Francis; and Father James Mahoney, an Augustinian. The two first were subsequently martyred, and their names duly appear in the 'List of Irish Martyrs,' published in the January number of the I. E. RECORD. Evil times soon came upon this college at Tralee, and professors and students alike were compelled to fly. The Confederates were completely

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<sup>3</sup> Leland, vol. iii., p. 228.

beaten and broken, and Cromwell and Cromwellianism reigned supreme in Kerry. Driven from their occupation as teachers, those holy and learned men devoted themselves to missionary work, but even in that they did not long escape the rage of cruel persecutors. Father Cornelius McCarthy, when assisting the local parish priest in hearing confessions at a general station held in Keeloclohane Wood near Castlemaine, was taken prisoner, and was hanged at Fair Hill in the town of Killarney, on Trinity Sunday, 1652. Father Thaddeus Moriarty met a similar fate in the same place and in the same year. And it sad to think how many pass and re-pass this historic spot, unmindful of the awful scenes there enacted, not indeed so very long ago, regardless, too, of the brave and noble lives of Kerry Catholic priests and Kerry Catholic laymen, there laid down unflinchingly for the faith.

Besides founding a college at Tralee, Dr. O'Connell also, for the maintenance of ecclesiastical discipline, established even at that early period, annual synods, to which the clergy, even from the remotest districts, were bound to come, while he was most assiduous in preaching everywhere through his extensive diocese, especially during Advent and Lent, and on the more solemn feasts. And that he might carry out this scheme more effectively, he fixed his residence at Muckross, from which, as a central position, he could more conveniently and more easily pass to the northern or the southern districts of the county as occasion required.

But though Dr. O'Connell was always zealous, he was not always young and vigorous. Besides, it must have been most difficult then to reach many districts in Kerry, if we are to judge from some of the old roads which still remain from that time, when county surveyors seem to have bestowed little thought indeed on either the comfort or safety of travellers. And even now, in this day of free wheels and motor cars, and when our roads are much better, parts of Kerry are not easily or quickly reached. Hence it was that Dr. O'Connell, no longer able to travel himself, had to rely on the zeal and energy of very able and very holy vicars, who helped him much in the work which those trying times imposed upon him.

Regarding two of these, Father Edward Rice, and Father

Geoffrey O'Daly, Dr. John Lynch has preserved for us very interesting details, which throw a valuable light on the ways and methods of missionary priests and missionary life in remote districts at that period, and which go far to explain how the 'New Religion,' notwithstanding all the forces of this world brought to its assistance, made little or no headway, and won so few converts to its side. Father Rice was a native of Dingle (*in celebri municipio Dinglie—Hussiae natus*), and belonged to a very respectable family, which continued to live in that town until very recent times. He had for many years traded there as a merchant, until at forty years of age he determined to change this mode of life, and desiring to become a priest he set out for Spain to study for that sacred calling. In due time he got ordained priest, and returned to his native town, labouring principally in converting many of its inhabitants, who, owing to the threats or bribes of its Protestant governors, had fallen away from the faith. In this work, in which he was engaged in 1613, it is recorded he had been most successful, and we are told his converts had one very valuable characteristic—too often rare in them—they had the grace of perseverance, and never afterwards wavered in the faith. But neither the town and district of Dingle, nor even the diocese of Kerry, which extends from Rattoo to the Durseys, supplied a field large enough for the zeal and labours of this saintly vicar. He could never be induced to take upon himself the care of a parish, and so he travelled, Dr. Lynch tells us, through the whole of Ireland, but especially through Munster, instructing, reproving, exhorting all those who needed his ministrations. He paid special attention to the teaching of the Catechism and the prayers to the people, and enlisted and organised the schoolmasters of his time in the same useful work. While he never allowed anyone, except one dangerously ill to approach the sacrament of Penance until first thoroughly instructed in Christian doctrine. The neglect of catechetical instruction by the clergy is generally assigned, justly or unjustly, as one of the principal causes of the rapid advance which the principles of the reformation made among the laity in other countries; but from the narrative of the Archdeacon of Tuam it is clear

that the Irish priests of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries took special care and pains with regard to the due discharge of this important duty to the flocks under their care. And this holy man did not confine his energies to purely spiritual matters, but laboured also for the material improvement of his fellow-countrymen. He constructed many roads in Kerry, even in our own time the delight of the cyclist, and built there many bridges, which I fear are no longer in existence, except perhaps here and there a broken or tottering arch still allowed to remain to lend an additional charm to some of our lovely rivers. In this way it was that this Kerry Vicar of the seventeenth century lived and laboured, never accepting the care of a parish, but spending himself and whatever money he had amassed as a former Dingle merchant, in honest and constant endeavour to elevate his fellow-man, until at length after long and faithful service to his Church and country, full of years and good works, Father Edward Rice changed this life for a better in 1643.

The other Vicar mentioned with special praise in the *De Praesulibus Hiberniae*, was Father Geoffrey O'Daly, a member of the same family which gave the celebrated Dominicus de Rosario of European fame to the Order of Friars Preachers and which has been long settled in Kerry along the valley of the Maine. In early life, like all the O'Dalys of his time—for now they seem to be the most prosaic of Kerry people—he devoted himself to the study of Irish poetry, but in course of time, realising the vanity of worldly renown, he bade farewell to such studies, burned his youthful poetic effusions, and resolved to become a priest. Having acquired a knowledge of Latin in Kerry, he too set out for Spain, studied philosophy at the famous university of Alcala, and theology at Salamanca. After ordination, he returned to his native county, where in 1639 he was appointed parish priest of Tralee, and Dean of Ardfert. He was most remarkable as a preacher, and in that capacity delighted his audiences not only in the parish church at Tralee, but also in every part of the county. For the historian relates he made frequent journeys through Kerry for this purpose, and in this way it was, I would think, the bishops of that period supplied the work of our more

modern 'missions' and 'missioners.' And we are further told his efforts in this direction were attended with very excellent results on the lives of all those who had the pleasure of hearing him. And so great was his reputation for sanctity not only among his co-religionists, but even among those outside the fold, that it overcame the bigotry of the Protestant governor of Tralee, at the time, Sir Arthur Denny. So intolerant was this local magnate, that he threw into prison immediately any priests found exercising their sacred office in his district, but he was so much taken by the simplicity and holiness of life of Father Geoffrey O'Daly that he readily allowed him to perform publicly all the duties of his sacred calling. This Vicar, too, seems to have been a consulting theologian for the whole diocese, for his knowledge of Moral Theology was such that Dr. O'Connell ordered all to approach him whenever a specially difficult case of conscience arose. After a life of constant and very successful labour throughout the diocese, this great missionary, working to the end, died in his eighty-second year, somewhere in the barony of Muskerry, and was buried in the Abbey of Kilcrea, County Cork, in 1668.

With such efficient and zealous assistants, Dr. Richard O'Connell, during many years of stress and trial, carefully cultivated this remote corner of the Lord's vineyard, first as Vicar-General and afterwards as Vicar-Apostolic, having been appointed to this latter dignity in May, 1620.<sup>4</sup> Still he was not made Bishop of Kerry for very many years after that date, the Roman authorities delaying for a particularly long time before making this appointment. And several most interesting documents relating to this matter, all equally laudatory of Dr. O'Connell, have been published by Cardinal Moran in his *Spicilegium Ossoriense*. We shall be content with quoting one, the letter of Dr. Malachy Queely, the martyred Archbishop of Tuam. It would appear he had been consulted by the Cardinal-Prefect of Propaganda with regard to the appointment of a bishop of Kerry, and especially with regard to the relative merits of Dr. Richard O'Connell, and Father

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<sup>4</sup> *Spic. Ossor.*, vol. i., p. 128.

Daniel Daly, O.P., Dominicus de Rosario. The Archbishop's answer, written in the admirable Latin which the ecclesiastics of that time used, is very direct and clear, and leaves no doubt about his view of the excellent character of Dr. Richard O'Connell. This letter was written by the Archbishop on the 20th July, 1633:—

Quod vero in dubium verti videbatur de Rmo. D. Richardo Conaldo ac de Rndo. Patre fratre Donaldo Dalaeo Ord. Praedicatorum, viro quidem pio et docto, uter illorum ad dictam Sedem episcopalem prae alio vehi mereretur, citra controversiam existimo Dominum Richardum multis nominibus praeferendum, quippe qui pondus diei et aestus portavit, etiam nunc portat, quique eandem ecclesiam et gregem sibi commissum a 24 ad minus annis, non sine ingenti vitae periculo, cum maximo fructu animarum zelo, et utriusque hominis reformatione pie et fideliter gubernavit, omnibus se praebens exemplar bonorum operum et integrâ conversatione vitam ducens irreprehensam et praelato dignam.<sup>5</sup>

In accordance with the recommendation of the Archbishop of Tuam, and in response to various other documents of a similar kind sent by the Archbishops of Cashel and Dublin, and by others in high position, Dr. O'Connell was at length appointed Bishop of Kerry, and consecrated at Waterford on the 10th of June, 1643, by Dr. Thomas Walsh, Archbishop of Cashel, the assistant Bishops being William of Cork, and Dr. John Maloney of Killaloe.

It was about two years after this date that the Papal Nuncio, John Baptist Rinuccini, Archbishop of Fermo, arrived in Ireland, and Dr. O'Connell, who had been in the southern portion of the county administering the sacrament of Confirmation, went at once to meet him, overtaking him somewhere near Macroom. The historian relates that the Bishop of Ardfert was not content with the mere expression of his respect and good wishes, but gave proof of both by presenting a valuable horse to the Nuncio—probably a most acceptable and suitable gift to one who had to deal with the bad and uneven roads of that time. During the troubled period of the Nuncio's stay in Ireland, when, as sometimes since, honest and able men took opposite views with regard to the course best to follow, the Bishop of Ardfert and Aghadoe gave unwavering

<sup>5</sup> *Spic. Ossor.*, vol. i., p. 186.

support to his policy, which would seem to have been the claim for the free and public exercise of the Catholic religion, as opposed to a bare and almost contemptuous toleration of it. Dr. O'Connell was present, and signed the decrees passed at the Synod of Waterford on the 12th August, 1646. He was also at Limerick with the Nuncio on that very remarkable occasion, when after a solemn procession through the city, the standards captured by O'Neill at Benburb, were deposited in St. Mary's Cathedral. But soon, however, owing to a severe attack of illness, and the infirmities of old age, the Bishop of Ardferd was no longer able to appear at subsequent meetings of the clergy, but always sent one of his Vicars-General, Dr. John Hussey, to represent him and support the policy of the Papal envoy. Dr. John Lynch, however, states that Dr. O'Connell did not publish in his diocese the censures passed on those who were in favour of the cessation with Inchiquin, believing that such a course would entail very evil consequences, as the peace party in Kerry was much more numerous than that which advocated the prosecution of the war. But the speedy and crushing victory of the Parliamentarians put an end to all disputes regarding the nature and quality of the peace terms, and Catholic bishops and Catholic laymen had soon other things to engage their attention and a difficulty of another kind to meet—the iron rule of Cromwell and his lieutenants.

And Kerry seemed to have been specially unfortunate in the governor set over it after the siege of Ross Castle, Captain John Nelson. He was one of the commissioners appointed by General Ludlow to draw up the Articles of Surrender of Lord Muskerry and the garrison in 1652. And there is one passage in this treaty which is specially interesting in the light of subsequent events. It reads: 'As to religion, we do declare it is not our intention, nor as we conceive, the intention of those whom we serve, to force any to their worship and service contrary to their conscience.' The garrison of Ross was particularly anxious about this point. Nelson, however, soon forgot, if not the letter, certainly the spirit of this article; for Dr. Lynch relates he either put to death or sent into exile every priest he was able to seize. Nor did the

aged Bishop long escape his active agents and spies. He was forced to fly from his house at Muckcross, which was immediately burned down by Nelson's soldiers, and to seek refuge in some hiding-place not far away; for Dr. O'Connell determined, even at the risk of death, not to desert his flock. Soon, however, he was taken prisoner and robbed of any property he possessed. Even exceeding infirmity, or that respect which old age generally receives, did not save the good Bishop from the most cruel treatment at the hands of his Cromwellian persecutors. After robbing him, they put him on a horse without bridle or saddle and for the express purpose of exposing him to the ridicule of the people, took him in this way to the place of execution, Fair Hill, in the town of Killarney. This cruel act, however, so far from lowering the saintly Bishop in the estimation of his people, only excited in them greater sympathy for him in his sad position, and deep indignation against Nelson. On the payment of a fine of £300 he was allowed to remain at the house of a near relation and full namesake, Richard O'Connell of Killarney, afterwards 'transplanted' to Connaught. But notwithstanding the payment of this enormous sum, procured with great difficulty owing to the extreme poverty of Kerry Catholics then, Nelson continued to persecute the aged Bishop and the friends who took him in and gave him a home, until death brought him happy relief on the 13th July, 1653. He was buried in the old cathedral church at Aghadoe, at dead of night, as 'it was not lawful to have his funeral during the day.' And we can well imagine the feelings of those poor Catholics, as, at such an hour, and in such circumstances, they bore on their shoulders to his last resting place their faithful Bishop along the wretched and rugged road to Aghadoe, which still remains, though no longer used, and is yet called from its ancient use—Bohereen na Marav. They certainly were not the men likely to become converts to Protestantism, and it was the unflinching courage and unwavering fidelity of such men that made it possible to bury a bishop or other ecclesiastic as they were buried in after years with every public display of popular respect and reverence. If ever a monument had been erected to Dr. O'Connell there is no trace of it now in ancient Aghadoe.



It is one of those graveyards which impress upon the visitor very forcibly the truth—'etiam monumenta sua fata habent.' He has, however, that ideal grave which our poetic race loves so much—he lies 'on an Irish green hillside under green sods decked with daisies fair.' His epitaph, too, if ever written, must be sought elsewhere—let us hope it is in

. . . . . that book  
By seraphs writ with beams of heavenly light,  
On which the eyes of God not rarely look,  
A chronicle of actions just and bright.

Like many other persecutors of God's Church, Nelson died a wretched death near Kildare, in 1665, duly described by Dr. John Lynch.<sup>6</sup> His efforts to advance the 'New Religion' were attended with very little success so far as Kerry was concerned; for though there are some few Protestant families in the rural parishes, they are not numerous, and are the descendants of the various plantations from the German Palatinate and elsewhere, carried out by the Irish Parliament in the early part of the eighteenth century. The native population remained faithful to the old creed and Church, and the life of Dr. O'Connell, as recorded in the manuscript history of Dr. Lynch, shows that the watchful care of a holy bishop, aided by the zeal and energy of faithful and learned priests, constituted an important factor in bringing about this happy result.

DENIS O'CONNOR, C.C.

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<sup>6</sup> *De Praes. Hib.*

## BEGINNINGS OF THE IRISH COLLEGE, ROME

I HAD been reading Father Sydney Smith's interesting article 'on the Suppression of the Jesuits,' in the current issue (March) of the *Month*, where he states (page 272) that Pope Clement had resolved to visit the Jesuits with some afflictions which would set people talking, and suspecting that they must have been suspected of some misbehaviour in Rome itself, and were not unlikely, therefore, to have offended elsewhere. A course of policy which Clement neatly explained as a 'letting of the lightning precede the thunderbolt.'

In this way the Bishops in the Papal States were recommended to deprive the Fathers in their dioceses of faculties to preach and hear confessions: first, the Irish College, then the Roman Seminary, which for a long time had been administered by the Jesuits, were submitted to an Apostolic Visitation, over which Marefoschio and his two subalterns—Alfani and Caraffa—presided. The ordinary methods of procedure were disregarded: the Jesuits were given no opportunity of putting in any defence, and judgment was pronounced against them, accusing them of negligence, domineering, defalcations, and other crimes, and the institutions were taken out of their hands.

I had read so far when there came to my recollection an old volume, bearing on this passage, which I chanced upon some years ago in the Howard portion of the library of the venerable English College, Rome. It was an old volume bound in pergameno, and was printed at Rome, if my memory serves me, at the Vatican Press, in the year, 1772. It was a 'Sommario' or report of the relations existing between the students of the Irish College, Rome, and their Jesuit superiors, prior to the apostolic visit of Cardinal Marefoschio, to which Father Sydney Smith makes reference. Cardinal Marefoschio was appointed visitor to the College on 6th March, 1771; but his subaltern or co-visitor to the Irish College was not Alfani nor Caraffa, but Monsignor Sersale, who was appointed on March 20 of that year.

If not as throwing light on the persecution of the Jesuits

in those days, at least as a scanty record of an unpleasant chapter in the Irish College history, it may not be uninteresting to set down here some notes which curiosity led me to take from the book when chance threw it in my way.

The Irish College in Rome began in the days of Urban VIII., when Cardinal Ludovic Ludovisi, Archbishop of Bologna, and Protector of the Irish kingdom, conceived the idea and communicated it to Father Luke Wadding, an Irish Minor-Observant, who had just founded the monastery of St. Isidore.

As early as 1626 the Cardinal had interested himself in six young Irishmen who were living in Rome: four of them he placed in the English College, and the remaining two elsewhere, supplying all their necessary expenses. But Luke Wadding thought it wiser to have them by themselves under priests of their own race, who would know their character, and the events and circumstances of their country more intimately. Moreover, a trial of two years had taught Cardinal Ludovisi 'that the Irish students adapted themselves with difficulty to live with those of other nations.'

A house was rented near the convent of St. Isidore, and a sum of 150 scudi was placed in Father Luke Wadding's hands to furnish it withal. The six young men entered in residence; and the Cardinal gave an annual sum of 600 scudi for the maintenance of the six students, a rector, and one single servant; the whole being under the guiding care of Father Wadding. The new house was opened on 1st January, 1628, and the first rector was the Rev. Eugene Coleman, a secular, who died after six months, and was replaced by Rev. Martino Valesio (possibly a Latinised form of Walsh), who in turn made room for a religious from St. Isidore's.

The rules of the new College were drawn up by Father Luke Wadding, approved by Cardinal Ludovisi, and proclaimed or promulgated on January 28, 1628. Before long two more students were being supported on the modest revenue of 600 scudi a year; and in the various philosophical and theological 'disputations' held publicly in Rome these Irishmen showed remarkable ability. In fact they stood so high in favour with Pope and Curia that Propaganda allowed each student a viaticum of 15 scudi, and each religious from St.

Isidore's 10 scudi, when returning to Ireland; and Pope Urban further granted them the same privileges for ordination as had hitherto belonged to the Propaganda students.

In 1632 Cardinal Ludovisi died at Bologna, aged 37 years. His will, dated 1629, left the Irish College to the care of the Jesuit Fathers, and set apart the annual sum of 1000 scudi for its up-keep. He further ordered a house to be bought for the students, and he made over to them a 'podere,' and a vineyard at Castel Gandolfo, to serve, no doubt, as a source of income and as a 'villeggiatura.'

Prince Nicholas Ludovisi, the Cardinal's heir, bought for the College that same house in which the students lived, and which had hitherto been rented; he handed over the Gandolfo property, and began the payment of the 1000 scudi a year. My notes make no mention of the podere, but it is to be presumed all the terms of the will were obeyed.

Thus encouraged, Father Luke Wadding was anxious to make preparation for four more students, on which account, as we read in his life, he received the congratulations of the Irish Bishops.

The Jesuits now claimed the foundation, and were opposed by Prince Nicholas and Father Wadding, who, as the *Sommario* puts it, 'thought it better obey the spirit rather than the letter of the Cardinal's will.'

Urban VIII. appointed a commission of four Cardinals (Bentivoglia, Spada, Gaetano, and Ginetti), and three prelates (Maraldo, Paulucci, and il Datario), to decide the matter; but the Jesuits were successful in having the case brought before the Sagra Ruota, where they had some influence, no doubt, and the decision was in their favour.

The *alumni* protested, and petitioned the Pope not to allow the change, but on February 8th, 1635, the Jesuit Fathers took over possession, and found eight students within the College walls.

In the space of seven years the Fathers from St. Isidore's had sent twenty-one priests from the Irish College 'on 600 scudi a year,' and 'the Jesuits found the place free from all debt.'

Here begin the lamentations of the *Sommario*.

The Jesuits found the place free from all debt; but they

straightway brought three members of their own Order to live in it, and placed the College 300 scudi in debt to the Procurator-General of the Jesuits as costs incurred in the struggle against Father Wadding's party. Moreover, they soon found that for peace' sake they were too near St. Isidore's, and that they must look out for new quarters.

On May 9th, 1636, the house near St. Isidore's was sold for 2,250 scudi, and during the next three years the students are without fixed residence, living here and there, where lodgings could be obtained for them.

In 1639 a new house was bought from one Girolamo Rosolini, at a cost of 8,000 scudi. The sum, 2,250 scudi, realised by the sale of the old house was paid down as deposit money; and 400 scudi a year promised towards paying off the remainder, together with interest on the whole debt or deficit at the rate of 4 per cent. per annum. The Irish students began to dwindle in numbers, and their places were taken by those of other nations, till in 1675, an order from the Pope to all National Colleges forbade this. Prior to this, however, the students had complained of the treatment they received, and had pleaded before Innocent X. that the place should be handed over to Prince Ludovisi, and their petition was granted on 22nd May, 1647.

On September 25th, Father Caraffa, General of the Jesuits, and the Procurator della Vigna del Macao (outside Porta Pia), protested against this attack on the rights of the Society, and were so successful, as the *Sommario* relates, that 'the Pope's Brief had no effect save to keep the Jesuits in bounds as long as he lived, and to safeguard the rights of the Irish College.' Innocent X. died in 1655, and was succeeded by Alexander III., of whom the Jesuits demanded a revocation of Innocent's Brief. It does not appear that this was granted.

In 1667, on the pretext that the College was burdened with a debt of 3,800 scudi, the residue of the money owing to Rosolini, plus 800 scudi interest—arrears, Father Oliva, General of the Jesuits, and the rector of the College, bethought them of selling the Vigna at Gandolfo to the Jesuit Novitiate of San Andrea sul Monte Cavallo. The apostolic consent was gained, and the plot was sold for 6,000 scudi on 31st January,

1667. Of this sum 3,800 scudi was paid off the debt to Rosolini; a small vineyard belonging to the Jesuits was sold to the College for 1,060 scudi; and the remaining 1,140 scudi was handed over to the College.

In 1671 Prince Ludovisi sold the Dukedom of Zagaruolo to Duke Rospigliosi, and the obligation of 1,000 scudi a year to the Irish College went with it. In spite of the efforts of Prince Ludovisi and the Irish students, the Jesuit Fathers were able to compound with the new owner for a lump sum of 28,750 scudi to be invested and bear as interest to the College 1,000 scudi a year.

The *Sommario* goes on to show how opportune for the Jesuits this large sum of ready money was. The Roman College was at that time heavily mortgaged at 4 per cent. On March 6th, 1671, the 28,750 scudi was invested in the Roman College at 3 per cent.; so that by clearing off part of their 4 per cent. mortgagors, and forcing others who would not be cleared off, to come down to 3 per cent., the Roman College gained 150 scudi a year on the transaction.

Prince Ludovisi went to law over the matter, and the Irish College paid the Jesuits' expenses 251  $\frac{1}{2}$  scudi; and as the process lasted two months, no interest was paid for that time; 'another loss of 166 scudi,' which the *Sommario* laments. This was in 1671, but in 1691, May and December, the capital sum was refunded to the College—but meanwhile it appears to have been idle, if we are to believe a letter written in 1727 by one Father Della Rocca, an Irishman (possibly Roache). To help matters, in 1725 four young Jesuit postulants were living with the students at the expense of the College.

There had evidently been friction at the College in 1693, when Cardinal Barbadigo, Bishop of Montefioscone, made a visitation there, and a copy of his decrees was found by Cardinal Marefoschio in the *Secretariat of the Visita*. At that time the lowness of the revenue, which could barely support the three Jesuits in charge, and the four or five students, gave the Cardinal the idea of uniting the English, Scotch and Irish Colleges in one. But this idea was never carried out.

It would appear that the custom of those days, was for the Divine Office to be said in choir by the students on every feast day, and in the afternoon they would help the neighbouring parish priests to teach Christian doctrine. This is an interesting side-light on their life.

In 1719 circumstances had altered but little for the better, and the students appealed for another 'visitor.' This time Cardinal Renato Imperiali, Protector of Ireland, was commissioned to visit the College, and he retained this position until his death in 1737. In his time the number of students went up to eight or even to ten.

Clement XII., at the instance of King James III. of England, made gifts to the College, as did also Cardinal Corsini, and Benedict XIV.; and in 1734 King James gave a house in the Campo Marzio, Via Orsini (with an obligation of twenty Masses annually), to be sold for the benefit of the Irish College.

In spite of all this, peace was very far from the poor students; and in 1771 they once more demanded an apostolic visit to remedy their grievances. And on March 20th Cardinal Marefoschio and Monsignor Sersale found eight discontented and aggrieved students, three Jesuits, one secular cleric as prefect of students, and two secular servants. In all fourteen souls. And the students are reported as talented and obedient.

Here come to an end the notes I took down on the subject from the 'Sommario of the visit of Cardinal Marefoschio to the Irish College.' The name of the compiler is not given; but he was no partisan of the Jesuit cause.

We shall probably never know the whole story of the intrigues of those days. The *Sommario* is perhaps one of the many works of a like nature which saw the light in order to create that atmosphere which Father Sydney Smith laments, and in which Pope Clement played the part of Jupiter by sending forth his lightning before the thunderbolt.

The thunderbolt came all too surely—and when it came the Irish College passed into other hands. At the present day the College has no property at Castel Gandolfo.

JAMES GIBBONS.

## IRISH SAINTS IN ITALY

## ST. FRIGIDIAN OF LUCCA

ONE of the oldest and most interesting churches in the city of Lucca is that which bears the title of San Frediano. It is a basilica of the earliest style like those of Monza and Pavia, impressive on account of its severity and absence of ornament. Amongst the works of art to be admired within its walls are the baptismal font of the sculptor Biduino, and a picture representing the 'Coronation of the Blessed Virgin,' by Francia. The lofty walls and arches of the nave are supported by eleven columns, which are said to have been taken from a pagan amphitheatre in the neighbourhood. That they should have supported such an enormous weight for upwards of eleven centuries is regarded as one of the wonders of Italian architecture.

The saint from whom this church takes its name was a native of Ireland. By many of his biographers he is said to be no other than St. Finnian of Moville. Colgan<sup>1</sup> seems to have adopted this opinion, which he found in several of the Latin lives that fell into his hands, and through him it seems to have been generally accepted, until the time of Lanigan,<sup>2</sup> who rejected it with his usual vehemence. It is needless to say that both parties are satisfied with the arguments in favour of their contention; but as there is absolutely no possibility of settling the dispute, it would be foolish to waste time in attempting such a task.

Frigidian must have reached the Continent about the middle of the sixth century; at that time the exodus of pilgrims from Ireland had already begun. Whether he started from Moville or from Witherne (Candida Casa), at both of which places he had studied, he soon directed his steps towards Italy. It would appear that he spent some time at Monte Pisano, in the Ligurian mountains, a favourite retreat

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<sup>1</sup> *Acta SS. Hib.*, 18th March.

<sup>2</sup> *Eccles. Hist.*, vol. ii., p. 27.



of anchorites and hermits, an Italian Thebaid, from which the fame of his learning and sanctity soon reached the neighbouring city of Lucca. To him, as will now be seen, the people of Lucca turned in the hour of their misfortune and distress.

After the invasion of the Goths the country around Lucca became a vast wilderness, uncultivated and deserted. Famine, as so often happens in the course of history, followed close upon the tracks of war, and was just as speedily succeeded by pestilence. Procopius gives us a sketch of the horrors of this plague which vies in realistic power with the classic descriptions of similar visitations which we owe to Thucydides, to Boccaccio, to Defoe, and to Manzoni. Suffice it to say that the population of Lucca, clergy and laity, was swept away wholesale. The remnant that was left turned to Frigidian and implored him to become their pastor. The recluse was willing to give the people every assistance in his power, both spiritual and temporal, but could not be induced to accept the pastoral charge. It required nothing less than a formal command from Pope John II. to make him accept the episcopal dignity.

For seven years he ministered to the wants of the people in comparative peace and satisfaction; for the plague had already disappeared and the people of Lucca were engaged in the re-organisation of their government. Soon, however, another scourge, worse than any they had hitherto experienced, came to afflict them. It was the invasion of the Longobardi, a fierce race, who devastated the whole country, carrying all before them by fire and sword. They were led by the famous Alboin, one of the greatest monsters that ever walked the earth. They seized the whole of Cisalpine Gaul and a good part of Liguria and Tuscany. The people fled before them in terror. Bishops were driven into exile or condemned to prison. Honoratus, Archbishop of Milan, took refuge at Genoa where he died. Paulinus, Patriarch of Aquileia, hid himself in an island of the Adriatic. But Frigidian did not abandon the post of danger. His Italian biographers Fanucchi and Franciotti, inform us that he set himself with courage and bravery to restrain the wild forces of anarchy that were let loose over his diocese, and to subdue the ferocity of the invaders.

Now his holy life, his ascetic habits, his confidence in prayer, stood him in good stead. Nature itself seemed to obey his commands. He restored sight to the blind and speech to the dumb; and as the Jordan was turned back, and the waters of the Red Sea were divided by the power of Heaven, so now the waters of the Serchio, which by its constant inundations ruined the crops in the vicinity of Lucca, were turned out of their course at the prayer of Frigidian, and brought into a channel whose banks they could not overflow. It required nothing less than miracles of this kind, power over life and death, to keep faith alive in those dark days, and to tame the fierce hearts of men long accustomed to give free rein to their passions. Frigidian, however, neglected none of the ordinary methods of evangelisation. He built no less than twenty-eight<sup>3</sup> churches for the accommodation of his people. The Lombards, who had hitherto been either pagans or Arians, submitted to his rule and became the most ardent of his supporters. He baptized them with his own hands, instructed them, exhorted them to lead peaceable and virtuous lives. In return for the exertions he made in their behalf they loved him and stood by him in all his efforts to lift up the people.

From time to time Frigidian used to retire to some retreat in the mountains and refresh his soul in meditation and solitude. He always loved the peace of religious life, and in order to secure for his diocese the benefits of religion he established at Lucca a religious community of Lateran Canons of which he himself was the superior and guide. With these he lived, instructing them by his words and his example, training them in all the duties of the ministry, and sending them forth when mature to carry out the work of apostleship in all the country around.

At length worn out with fatigue after a long episcopate, Frigidian was compelled to relinquish his labours. His death was worthy of his life, and from the very day of his demise he seems to have been venerated as a saint.<sup>4</sup> He was deeply

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<sup>3</sup> See *Six Months in the Appenines*, p. 44.

<sup>4</sup> According to Ughelli, the death of Frigidian took place in the year 588. See *Italia Sacra, Episc. Lucc.*

mourned by his sorrowing children, who transmitted to subsequent generations their own devotion. Through all their history the people of Lucca have remained faithful to his memory. They erected churches on the spots that were most closely associated with his apostolate. They commemorated in poetry and painting the miracles that he performed. Churches in Lucca itself, in Lunata, in Lammari, at Brancoli, at Rupe Cavo, were dedicated to him.<sup>5</sup> Soon after his death the church which he himself had erected in honour of the three holy deacons, Stephen, Vincent, and Laurence, was converted by his successors into a basilica and associated with his own name. There to this day his mortal remains are preserved.

The Basilica of San Frediano is one of the most interesting buildings not only in Lucca but in the whole north of Italy. It is intimately associated with all the great events of the history of Lucca, and contains the tomb of St. Zita, on whose account Lucca itself is sometimes called Santa Zita.<sup>6</sup> This Saint was a poor servant who resisted all the advances and the threats of a wicked master, and was so loved by the people that innumerable legends have grown up around her name.

#### SILLAN AND MINGARDA

TOWARDS the close of the twelfth century some explorers in the antiquities of Lucca came upon a tomb which excited no small interest amongst the inhabitants of the city. The inscription<sup>7</sup> carved upon it said that it contained the body of the Blessed Silaus who was a Bishop in Ireland, and whose memory was held in great veneration by the people amongst whom he died. Who was this Silaus? When did he live? What brought him to Lucca? These are questions which both Irish and Italian writers<sup>8</sup> have answered with such a wealth of detail, such a display of the miraculous, such a happy

<sup>5</sup> For a complete list of the surviving memorials of St. Frigidian, see *Six Months in the Appenines*, by M. Stokes, pp. 50-95.

<sup>6</sup> See Dante, *Inferno*, Can. xxi. 38.

<sup>7</sup> 'Divi Silai Corpus qui in Hibernia Episcopus fuit, summa veneratione hoc sepulchro conditum, ob praecipua miracula religiosissime custoditur.'

<sup>8</sup> *Vita, Miracoli e Memorie di S. Silao, Vescovo Irlandese*, by F. M. Fiorentini. Nobile Lucchese. 1662.

combination of reality and fiction, that it is difficult to know where the reality ends and the fiction begins.

It would seem, at all events, that Sillan had come to Lucca long before Frigidian. Some say that he was a contemporary and disciple of St. Patrick. However this may be, it appears certain that he was a Bishop in Ireland; and judging by the mass of legends that have grown up around his name, he must have been a personage of no small importance in the Irish Church. His sister, Mingarda (Mionghar), had gone on a pilgrimage to Rome, and on her return through Lucca, she, being of princely origin, was induced to marry a nobleman named Goffredo, who was a great local potentate. She remained for the rest of her life at Lucca and died there in the odour of sanctity. St. Sillan, like the Blessed Thaddaeus Machar, was also obliged, it is said, to journey to Rome to defend certain rights of his jurisdiction that were being invaded by his neighbours. On his return journey he was received at Lucca by his brother-in-law, Goffredo. He visited the tomb of his sister in one of the convents of the city, and earnestly prayed that they might be united, when it pleased the Almighty, in the bliss that knows no end. As he was preparing to set out from Lucca he was seized with illness, and like the Blessed Thaddaeus of Ivrea, died before he could resume his journey homewards. The news of his presence and of his holy death spread rapidly through Lucca and its neighbourhood, and crowds of pilgrims came from all the country around to visit his grave and witness the miracles that were wrought in its vicinity. At the present day there are several traces of St. Sillan at Lucca. The Saint's body is preserved in a chapel in the Via delle Trombi, which serves as an oratory for the Servite Sisters. Over it is a large painting representing the miraculous cure of St. Ita by a fragment of the host consecrated by Sillan at his Mass and carried by an angel to the bed of the invalid virgin.

#### ST. DONATUS OF FIESOLE

A LITTLE to the south of Florence, on the summit of one of the most picturesque hills in Europe, stands the historic town

of Fiesole, which had as its bishop the Irishman, Donatus, from the year 826 to about 870.<sup>9</sup>

Donatus was born in 774, and was educated, according to the general opinion, at the monastic school of Inniscaltra—the Holy Island of Lough Derg.<sup>10</sup> After he had taught for some years in the school in which he had been brought up, he resolved to follow the example of many of the great monks who had gone before him, *i.e.*, to travel as a pilgrim to the holy places of the world, and ultimately to retire to some lonely retreat, where, far removed from worldly occupations, he could devote himself entirely to a life of contemplation and prayer. On this pilgrimage he took with him a favourite pupil, Andrew by name, who desired to accompany him wherever he went. The two pilgrims journeyed together with scrip and staff over a good part of the Continent, visiting the shrines in which the relics of the saints were honoured, and seeking out anchorites in their retreats to converse with them on the things of heaven.

In this way they visited the tombs of the Holy Apostles in Rome, and were returning through Tuscany when the event occurred which led to the elevation of Donatus to the vacant See of Fiesole. After the recent depredations of the Normans in Italy, the town was, at that time, without a pastor, and the people and the nobles were at variance as to the choice of a bishop. The pious inhabitants were praying with intense earnestness that they might be spared the horrors of internal discord. Whilst they were thus occupied Donatus and his pupil Andrew appeared at the door of the church in which they were assembled. Immediately, relates the biographer of Donatus, the bells of the town rang forth of their own accord, and the lamps were lighted without being touched by any human hand. This was a sign from heaven, which was well understood in a town that was famed for its auguries in ancient times. It was interpreted, moreover, by a voice which said—‘This is Donatus of Scotia who approaches; take him for

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<sup>9</sup> See Coleti's addition to Ughelli, vol. ii., col. 350; also Colgan's biography, p. 238, which says, ‘B. Donatus quem nobis Hibernia Scotorum insula transmisit.’

<sup>10</sup> In the country around Lough Derg Donat is a favourite Christian name with many families even to the present day.

your shepherd.<sup>11</sup> At once the multitude gathers round the unknown stranger. They are struck by the dignity of his bearing, and the sweetness of his countenance. They recognise in him the messenger of heaven. They crave his protection and ask him to remain as their bishop. They salute him as a heaven-sent father.

Eia Donate  
Pater a Deo date.<sup>12</sup>

They ask him to ascend the bishop's chair and assume the staff of the shepherd, that he might lead them into the pastures of heaven. Donatus almost in tears tells them how incapable he is of such a task, how unworthy of such an honour. He is but a stranger, mean and abject, half barbarous in his speech and manners, wholly unacquainted with the customs of these southern lands; they would soon begin to discover his sins and think him unworthy to teach and guide them. But the crowd would not listen to the pleadings of humility. With one voice they proclaim him elected as their pastor:—

Sicut visitavit nos oriens ex alto  
Sic agamus in viro sancto,  
Christus eum adduxit ex occiduis  
Eligamus nos in Fesulis.

To such a pressing call Donatus, however unwilling, is obliged to yield.<sup>13</sup> With due authority he is enthroned as bishop of this old Tuscan city, famous in history for its resistance to Rome, for its support of Catiline, for its fidelity to ancient Etruscan superstitions. His subsequent life was marked by all the virtues that become a bishop. He was, according to his biographers and according to tradition, holy in his life, vigilant in all the cares of a pastor, sound in doctrine, ready in speech, devout in prayer, the defender of the widow and the orphan, the friend of the poor.

<sup>11</sup> See *Six Months in the Apennines*, by M. Stokes, p. 233.

<sup>12</sup> See the biography of St. Donatus published by Colgan, p. 236; also *Delle Vite del Invittissimo Martire Santo Romolo, Primo Vescovo di Fiesoli e più Altri Santi Vescovi Suoi Successori*, del Revmo. Mgr. Francesco De Cattani da Diaccato. Vescovo di Fiesole.

<sup>13</sup> 'Sicque factum est, licet multum renitendo plurimumque repugnando resisteret; inthronizatus tamen est et presul sante Fesulane ecclesie electus.' Laur. Biog.

It is not without interest that we learn likewise that he was skilled in poetry and gave lessons in metre to some chosen disciples.<sup>14</sup> He brought with him, as Ozanam remarks, the passion for letters that agitated the schools of Ireland.<sup>15</sup> His polished Latin verses prove that, like St. Livinus of Ghent, he had imbibed rich draughts at the Castalian fountain. The natural beauties of Fiesole, which often attracted Lorenzo de Medicis, in the midst of which Pico della Mirandola made his home, which Politian celebrated in polished verse, awakened the spirit of poetry in this Celtic bishop, but inspired him to glorify in verse, not his new home, nor the Tuscan hills, nor the neighbouring brooks of Vallambrosa strewn with autumnal leaves

Where the Etrurian shades  
High over arched embower ;

but the old land of scholars and of bards, of green fields and peaceful rivers, where no wild beasts roam, no snakes lie hid, no toads disturb the night with their plaintive chatter.

Melle fluit pulchris et lacte Scottia campis  
Vestibus atque armis frugibus, arte, viris,  
Ursorum rabies nulla est ibi ; saeva leonum  
Semina nec unquam Scottica terra tulit.  
Nulla venena nocent, nec serpens serpsit in herba ;  
Nec conquesta canit garrula rana lacu :  
In qua Scottorum gentes habitare merentur,  
Inclyta gens hominum, milite, pace, fide.

These lines are quoted from one of the few fragments that remain to us of the works of Donatus—the prologue written by the Saint for a Life of St. Brigid of Kildare, which was the work of Caolin or Chilien, a monk of Inniscaltra. St. Donatus is not sparing in his eulogy of the illustrious Irish Virgin, whose virtues he compares to ‘the glittering stars of heaven.’ She was, in his words, ‘an inextinguishable light,’ ‘a blessed fountain to the Scots,’ ‘a ladder of perfection to

<sup>14</sup> ‘Gratuita discipulis dictabam scripta libellis  
Schemata metrorum, dicta beata senum.’

<sup>15</sup> Saint Donatus y parait avec cette passion pour les lettres qui agitait les monastères d’Irlande. Il s’efforce de rallumer un foyer de science sacrée et profane dans les lieux encore tout consternés de l’apparition des pirates Normans.’ *Les Ecoles en Italié*. Vol. ii. of *Oeuvres Complètes*, p. 424.

men and youths and maidens, to mothers and to saints.' We doubt if anything more laudatory has ever been said of the Virgin of Kildare. If anything has, we are sure, at least, that it has not been more elegantly expressed.

That Donatus took an active part in the ecclesiastical affairs of Italy and of the whole Church is clear from the record we possess of his presence at Rome on two different occasions; once when Louis II. was crowned king of Italy by Pope Sergius II.,<sup>16</sup> and again in 861, at the Lateran Council, in which the rebellious Archbishop of Ravenna made his submission to Pope Nicholas I.

In his episcopal city he seems to have advanced every day in the love and esteem of his people. In their favour he performed striking miracles; and although we are not bound to take in a literal sense all that his biographers relate of his command of nature and its powers, still we believe that he shared in a high degree that privilege which God confers on His chosen servants.

The date of the death of Donatus is disputed by historians as well as the date of his elevation to the bishopric. It must be ascribed, however, to some time about the year 870. He was buried in the cathedral of Fiesole, and the epitaph which he himself had composed was carved on his tomb:—

Hic ego Donatus Scotorum sanguine cretus  
 Solus in hoc tumultu pulvere, verme, voror.  
 Regibus Italicis servivi pluribus annis,  
 Lothario magno, Ludovicoque bono.  
 Octonis lustris, septenis insuper annis  
 Post Fesulana Praesul in urbe fui.  
 Grammata discipulis dictabam scripta libellis,  
 Schemata metrorum, dicta beata senum.  
 Posco, viator adies, quisquis pro munera Christi  
 Te modo non pigeat cernere vota mea  
 Atque precare Deum, residet qui culmina coeli  
 Ut mihi concedat regna beata sua.

For many centuries the relics of the Saint remained in their first resting-place, viz., the famous Abbey of St. Peter, afterwards of St. Bartholomew, which long served as the

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<sup>16</sup> *Hist. de Vit. Rom. Pont, Serg. II.* Anastasii Bibliothecarii. Vol. ii. p. 486.



cathedral of Fiesole. It was only in the year 1810 that they were transferred by Bishop Mancini to the new cathedral and placed in a shrine in one of its chapels. The head of the Saint was procured by the clergy of the church of St. Dominic on the occasion of the translation.<sup>17</sup> It is preserved in a silver shrine and is much venerated by the people of Fiesole.

#### THE MONASTERY OF SAN MARTINO IN MENSOLA

ST. ANDREW, the faithful companion and disciple of Donatus, remained at Fiesole with his master and guide.<sup>18</sup> He was promoted to the office of Archdeacon, and was held in the highest esteem by the people as well as by the Bishop. In the course of his administration Donatus entrusted to him the renovation of the sanctuary of St. Martin which stood on a neighbouring hill over the brook Mensola. This shrine had been sacked by the soldiers of Totila and had since then remained a complete ruin. Andrew set himself with devoted energy to restore and enlarge it. He got the brambles cleared away from the foundations, got stones and cement prepared, collected alms from the people in the neighbourhood, hired builders to do the work, and laboured with them as far as his little body attenuated by fasting would allow.

He was soon able to gather into his establishment a small company of monks who led a rigorous and edifying life and gave the surplus of all they required for their own scanty support to the poor of the locality.

Andrew reached a glorious old age. He is said by his biographers to have cast out demons, restored sight to the blind, health to the fevered, and strength to the infirm. He closed the eyes of his father and benefactor Donatus, and soon after went to join him in heaven.

As he lay on his bed of fever, surrounded by his monks,

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<sup>17</sup> See *Six Months in the Appenines*, by M. Stokes, p. 258; also *La Cattedrale di Fiesole*, par F. Can. Bargilli, pp. 128-30.

According to Ware, Donatus was the author of several works, including *De bono Poenitentiae*, *De Effectu Eleemosynae*, *De Actibus Donati Magistri*. All these have been lost.

<sup>18</sup> His life was written by Filippo Villani, who says, 'Fuit homo Dei Andreas oriundus ex insula Hibernica, quae alio magis vulgari nomine Scotia appellatur.' See Lanigan, vol. iii., p. 282.

memories of his childhood crowded back upon his mind, and he thought of a beloved sister, Brigid, who had wept bitter tears at his departure from Ireland and implored her brother not to leave her for ever. Andrew succeeded in persuading her that it was the will of God. She consented to the inevitable; but never during these long years that had elapsed did the love of her brother, Andrew, fade from her heart. And now, as that beloved brother lay on his bed of death far away amidst the hills of Tuscany, the sole earthly desire that he entertained was that he might lay eyes on his sister before he died. This desire was granted; for by a miracle of instinct Brigid had already set out in quest of her brother, and was led to the very door of his dying room in time to receive his parting benediction.<sup>19</sup> This touching scene is recorded with great eloquence and dramatic effect by the biographers of Andrew and Donatus, and their account of it has frequently been reproduced by later writers.

#### ST. BRIGID OF LOBACO

AFTER the death of Andrew, Brigid, now an aged woman, retired to the source of the river Sieci, where she succeeded in inducing the people to build a church. In the full spirit, however, of Celtic asceticism, she soon withdrew from all society, and high up among the mountains she found a lonely cave to which she withdrew to spend the remainder of her days in penance and in prayer. This place, which was called Opacum, now Lobaco, was haunted by wild beasts; but the venerable recluse never suffered the slightest injury or annoyance from them. The peasants sometimes went out for a day upon the mountains used to offer her a share of their spoils, but she declined their gifts and lived, like St. John the Baptist, on products of the desert. Sometimes persons moved by the spirit of God came to speak with her in her cave, and a monk—the soul friend, as he was called in Ireland—came to give her spiritual comfort.

When she died at a great age the people venerated her as

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<sup>19</sup> See *Six Months in the Appenines*, by M. Stokes, p. 251.

a saint, and built a church on the spot in which she had spent her last days. Alongside the modern church of 'Santa Brigida in Lobaco' is pointed out the grotto which this extraordinary Irishwoman made her final home on earth. Within it is an altar with the rather primitive inscription sculptured on a shield:—

Grotta nella quale S. Brigida,  
Sorella di San Donato  
Faceva penitendus nel secolo nono.

She is called by mistake in this inscription the sister of Donato. In the popular mind Donatus holds a great place; but in authentic history Andrew is not forgotten.

J. F. HOGAN, D.D.

## THE NEBULAR THEORY AND DIVINE REVELATION

### II

In the beginning God created heaven and earth. And the earth was void and empty, and *darkness* was upon the face of the deep: and the Spirit of God moved over the waters. And God said: '*Be light made.*' And light was made.—(Genesis i. 1-3.)

And God made two great lights; a greater light to rule the day; and a lesser light to rule the night: and the stars.—(*Ibidem*, verse 16.)

In the beginning, O Lord, Thou foundest the earth; and the heavens are the works of Thy hands. They shall perish, but Thou remainest: and as a vesture *Thou shalt change them, and they shall be changed.* But Thou art always the self-same, and Thy years shall not fail.—(Psalm ci. 26-28.)

**I**N the last number of the I. E. RECORD,<sup>2</sup> too much like a *penny dreadful* in its sudden interruption, the want of space obliged us to abrupt the above subject, just as we arrived at the crucial point, namely, to answer the question with which the essay opened: '*Father, does the Church permit us to believe in the Nebular Theory of Sidereal evolution?*'

In other words, having carefully examined what is really meant by the Nebular Hypothesis, we have now to consider whether it is in any way opposed to Divine Revelation.

Such are the intricacy, complexity, and importance of this phase of the subject that I trust I shall be excused if I preface it with a few

### PRÆNOTÆ.

1. By the term 'Divine Revelation,' we, of course, embrace the double channel of Divine truth, as it percolates to us either through the Inspired Scriptures or by the living voice of the Church (*per magisterium Ecclesiæ*).

2. When treating of the *Days* of Creation, we are by no means forbidden to regard them in the light of long periods of time, each *day* connoting a considerable epoch;<sup>3</sup> and there-

<sup>1</sup> On the fourth day.

<sup>2</sup> Series iv., vol. xiii., April, 1903, p. 335.

<sup>3</sup> 'One day of the Lord is as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day.'—(2 Peter iii. 8.)

fore we are not constrained by the text of Genesis to interpret them as *natural* days of 24 hours. We are at perfect liberty, *salvâ fide*, to regard them as immense periods of indefinite time,<sup>4</sup> or biological cycles. Perrone writes:—

Nondum exploratum apud omnes esse, utrum sex dies sint revera *dies naturales*, an potius sex *indeterminæ et indefinitæ* plurium aut dierum aut *annorum periodi*. Inter varias interpretationes, hoc unum in præsentia satis est animadvertur, ejusmodi sententiam *non esse ab ecclesiâ proscriptam*; ac non solum *salvâ fide*, sed etiam *absque notâ temeritatis defendi* posse, si graves rationes suffragentur.<sup>5</sup>

3. Again, when dealing with Divine Revelation in the Written Word, we must not overlook the fact, that it has its own particular scope, apart and distinct from mere natural science. Its primary object is to teach men, not geology, astronomy, mathematics, or any other physical science, but *Religion*, man's obligations to his Creator in the natural and supernatural order. Its design is rather to inform man *who* made the world and all therein, than the *manner* in which they were created. When Scripture, therefore, announces that 'God created the heaven and the earth, etc.,' it sufficiently fulfils its object, even though it may convey very scanty or imperfect information respecting the earth and the celestial bodies. This is so true that it is worthy of notice that the relation of the most noble part of creation, namely, of the *angels*, is passed over in silence. And, as we have seen on a former occasion,<sup>6</sup> in language and idiom it sometimes adapts itself to the notions of the people of a rude age and steers clear of apparent scientific difficulties. Hence, as regards astronomy, geology, and other recondite sciences, it leaves men to be capable, when sufficiently civilised, to study and inquire for themselves, and thus by a studious exercise of the faculties bestowed upon them by God, to make scientific discoveries and come to the knowledge of the secrets of nature. Even in the common parlance of everyday life, we often speak unscientifically, because it serves for the nonce to be thus

<sup>4</sup> 'Magis vel minus (temporis spatium) non mutat principium'

<sup>5</sup> Perrone, tom. v., cap. ii., *De Mosaica Cosmogoniâ*, nn. 179 et 182.

<sup>6</sup> I. E. RECORD, November, 1902: 'Is Our Earth alone Inhabited?' pp. 436 et seq.

more easily understood. If a master wants his servant to go on an errand as directly as possible and within a given space of time, he would most likely say: 'Now, mind you go in a straight line and get there before the sun goes down!' An order couched in such explicit terms would be immediately understood by his servant and no further explanation would be needed. And yet this servant has been asked to accomplish two scientific impossibilities. He could not go *in a straight line* on a rotund earth; and *the sun never does really go down*. Whether the servant knows this or not, it matters little, as long as he understands the message of his master, who is not at all concerned about conveying to his menial any knowledge of geodesy, mathematics, or astronomy, but only to make his servant conform to his directions, which are therefore given in such a form as to be equally intelligible to the learned or the unlearned.

With these preliminary notions we may find it easier to examine how far the Nebular Theory is consonant with, or, at least, not evidently antagonistic to Divine Revelation and orthodox evolution.

On a subject of no inconsiderable intricacy, the simpler terms we employ the better. We do not need to follow in this study one of the greatest luminaries of the theological sphere, and like St. Augustine, go deep into simultaneous, primordial, causal, and seminal creation. This might be highly interesting in a more scholastic disquisition than this paper aspires to be.

For the purpose I have in view, I shall simply distinguish, in a most general way, between what I shall call *direct* or *immediate* and *indirect* or *mediate* creation. While the first may be said to dispense with evolution; the second offers it a place. By the former, I mean the creative act which produces the *res creata* in its ultimate ratio—complete and perfect for its designate end. And such a creator *must* be what philosophers call a creationist. By the latter, I mean to imply a creative act which produces something with a potentiality<sup>7</sup> to develop or evolve an ultimate being of the same completion and perfection.

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<sup>7</sup> Whether active or passive.

Thus, if God wanted to create an apple tree, He has, *at least*, two *modi operandi* before Him: either he could by the utterance of a *Fiat*, bring immediately into existence an apple tree, mature, perfect, complete, and laden with fruit (behold! an *immediate* or *direct* creation): or, He could create the *seed* of the apple tree and (mediately) leave the earth, heat, light and moisture to germinate the created seed and thus gradually *evolve* the fruitful tree, according to certain natural laws established by Himself, acting under His constant administration. Whichever way God chooses, He is equally the actual and *sole* Creator.

In like manner, in the animal world, He might choose, in order to beget ostriches, either to directly create the egg from which the bird would afterwards be produced, or create the ostrich to lay the egg.

Now, applying this *modus gerendi* to the sidereal creation, in order to produce an habitable globe, such as our earth, God could either say the 'Fiat,' and the world with all its conditions suitable for vegetable, animal, and human life would spring into being, even in *natural* days (according to one reading of Genesis): or, He could create some primordial matter, which in time and by gradual evolution would naturally furnish an habitable world, such as geologists teach was actually our case in point.

In other words, He might select to produce (create) the sun, moon, stars, and planets in the direct or more immediate mode, or in the more indirect mode by creating a nebulous mass (say of attenuated gas), subject it to a universal law of gravitational attraction, and then leave time and *secondary* causes, such as condensation, shrinkage, energy to evolve the individual stars or suns, planets and planetary systems. In the first case, He would be a Creationist, according to all; in the second case, He would be the Creator-Evolutionist, according to others. Without going into the merits or demerits of contestants, it seems to me to result practically in much the same, as long as we eliminate the unorthodox phase of Darwinism and acknowledge that in all cases God must be regarded as the true and *sole* Creator and Administrator.

Hence, let us not presume to say that the indirect, or what

may be called the evolutionary process, is less honourable or glorious to God. On the contrary, it might be fairly argued that, to create a simple substance endowed with an extraordinary potentiality of gradually developing or evolving, under certain fixed laws, an ultimate form of complex beauty, power, organization, and utility, seems more enhansive to the knowledge, wisdom, and omnipotence of a Creator than an instaneous and immediate creation.<sup>8</sup> Do we not seem to realise this, when we watch the evolution of the pretty butterfly from the chrysallis, or the blushing rose from that tiny seed which needed almost a microscope to discern? At any rate, by this direct and immediate creation of primordial matter by God, we may, without violence to His attributes, suppose Him to impress upon it a certain potentiality, so that, under secondary causes or laws, equally established by Him, and under His constant administration, it would evolve sidereal *genera et species*. This principle is expressed differently by different advocates of evolution.

Some, following, I think, Dr. Zahm, hold that God bestowed upon the primordial matter certain powers and subjected it to certain laws, in virtue of which it evolved into all the myriad forms which we behold. Others, who seem to thus read the great Latin Doctor, prefer to say that God impressed upon the primordial matter a certain *passive* potentiality (*rationes causales*),<sup>9</sup> for the after-production or evolution of every species—each in its own kind; but for the *actual* development or evolution of which, God's further action (called *administratio*) would be needed, in order that the passive potentiality (of what the Saint seems to call the *first* creation—i.e., the *rationes causales*) might develop or evolve an *activity* from His further Divine influence.

Though these somewhat differ, they agree in this, that the creative act is simultaneous, direct and immediate, as far as

<sup>8</sup> 'Maximus in minimis cernitur esse Deus.'

<sup>9</sup> Even according to St. Augustine, matter at its creation was endowed with what theologians call *potentia obediētialis*,—an aptitude in virtue of which it may be formed into any organism which God may determine to create. It is in this sense St. Thomas interprets the *rationes causales* of St. Augustine. See *Recond.* v., p. 763.



the primordial matter is concerned ; and, as I have remarked before, I want as much as possible to preserve this paper from scholastic disquisitions. Astronomy is difficult enough without hampering it with the finer distinction of schoolmen.

Let us now turn our thoughts to the Mosaic account in Genesis. 'In the beginning God created heaven and earth.' Such are the opening words of Moses's account of the history of the creation in the first chapter of Genesis. We need go no further without an objection being suggested. The earth, then, our planet, exists before any light, be it nebulous or sunlight. 'And darkness was upon the face of the deep' (verse 3). This need not present a very formidable objection, whatever mode of creation one adopts. The first words of a history should be expected to announce the object of its relation. As Moses was about to describe *who* created, and *in what order* the world was created, he naturally introduces his subject by saying : 'In the beginning God created heaven and earth.' His design evidently was to describe the creation to men ; but the first thing men would be naturally interested in would be the earth on which they dwelt ; and hence he immediately refers to it and to its primal void and empty state during those many thousands, and perhaps millions of years, before it was fit for any living thing of the vegetable and animal kingdom. Hence, note the wording of the fifth verse of the second chapter : 'In the day that the Lord God made the heaven and the earth : and every plant *before it sprung up in the earth*, and every herb of the ground *before it grew*.'

If this may be said of the world or of our planets when once formed, why not be said of the whole primal creation ? Again, if between the separation of water from land *on the third day*, three whole days or thousands of years are to elapse before that same earth and water brought forth their living inhabitants, viz., the animals and fish (*on the fifth and sixth days*), why should we be surprised that the light created *on the first day* ('and the light was made'—verse 3) should be that primordial creation from which was to be evolved in due time the solar and planetary systems ? 'In the beginning' (verse 2), we are told, 'darkness was upon the face of the deep.' But immediately God said (that is, on the first day) : 'Be light

made' (verse 3). Why should not this be the creation of the great Nebulous mass—the primordial sidereal matter? In a word, we seem to find here a record of the creation of a vast nebula or a host of them, which were to be evolved in due course, and according to Divine natural laws, into stars, suns, planets, etc., in the visible heavens. Nebulæ, as we have seen in the first part of this article,<sup>10</sup> are *luminous* clouds of gaseous materials. But we know that their light is due to their heat, and their heat in turn is due to their condensation. Hence, the 'darkness' might not be actually prior to the nebulous creation, at the moment of which it would only be an invisible gaseous material infinitely attenuated and widely diffused through space; but prior, at least, to its condensation, at and after which it gradually became an incandescent, and therefore light-giving nebula. By this hypothesis, too, the recorded creation of the sun, moon, and stars *on the fourth day*, would imply that then, and then only, after the long periods—may be millions of years—between the first and the fourth day of gradual evolution, it could be said: 'Let there be lights made in the firmament of heaven to divide the day and the night, and let them be for signs, and for seasons, and for days and years—to shine in the firmament of heaven and to give light upon earth' (verse 14).

Let us repeat: any theory as to how the universe was created and by what process it arrived at its present state does not affect in any way the *Author* of the process. That there was some process of creation and not a ready-formed universe in one stroke, like the fabled birth of Minerva, is, I think, pretty generally admitted; and, therefore, as far as the Creator's methods are concerned, the Nebular Theory seems a very probable and plausible solution, and by no means affecting the question of a Creator at all, as materialists would have us think.

And here, again, we can realise that striking utterance of the Psalmist, which I also placed at the head of this paper, whereby is declared the *mutability* of matter in contradistinction to the *immutability* of its Creator. 'They shall perish, but Thou remainest: *and all of them* (the earth and the

<sup>10</sup> I. E. RECORD, April, 1903.

heavens) *shall grow old like a garment, and as a vesture Thou shalt change them, and they shall be changed.*'

Why, then, should not this figurative garment or vesture be of the material of a gaseous Nebula?

A few quotations from ecclesiastical authors appear to the writer to bear, at least indirectly, on this point.

Pererius censet primo creatam lucem, quia lux, inquit generale principaleque est *instrumentum* causarum cœlestium, quo vis omnis siderum omnisque defluxus et effectus ad nos defertur, ex quo uno fit in hoc nostrate mundo quidquid à cœlo fit.<sup>11</sup>

And to the question—'Quænam fuerit hæc lux?'—we read in the same place:—

Beda, Hugo, S. Thom., Bonav., etc., putant lucem hanc fuisse *lucidum corpus*, sive cœli aut potius abyssi lucidam partem, quæ in *circuli aut columnæ speciem* conformata orbi præfulserit quæque fuerit instar materiæ *ex quâ postmodum in partes distincta ac divisa, adaucta, et velut in igneos globos fabricata*, SOL, LUNA ET STELLÆ FACTÆ FUERINT: unde S. Thomas ait 'hanc lucem fuisse ipsum solem adhuc *informem et imperfectum*.'<sup>12</sup>

Accordingly, it is still reasoned that this was not properly created; <sup>13</sup> because God created the whole primordial matter on the first day, and cloaked it, as it were, under the form of abyssal waters, and then afterwards evolved from it this light and all other forms, whether essential or accidental; just as all other natural forms are produced from potential matter.

Deus ergo *primo die* tantum creavit *omnia creanda*, reliquis vero quinque diebus *non creavit, sed creata formavit et exornavit*. Itaque videtur Deus lucem producturus, ex aquis abyssi condensasse *instar crystalli corpus aliquod orbiculare, eique lucem hanc indidisse*.

Hoc *lucidum corpus* primo mundi triduo, scilicet, *antequam quarto die* crearetur sol; ab angelo motum fuisse ex oriente in occidentem; atque eodem modo et tempore quo sol, scilicet, 24 horis, utrinque cœli hemisphærium circumgyrasse, et illuminasse, *uninformiter, difformiter* uti jam facit sol. Lux enim hæc primos tres mundi dies suo motu descripsit et distinxit; sicuti cæteros deinde sol suo motu descripsit, et in dies describit et distinguit.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>11</sup> *Cursus Completus Script.*, tom. v., in Gen., p. 110.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 110.

<sup>13</sup> Except *primordially*.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

So far scriptural exegesis and astronomical science do not seem to be irreconcilable.

Science, as we know, cannot be at variance with revelation: for either the one is falsified or the other is misinterpreted. If opposition be shewn between them, then science, or what was looked upon as science, must give way to Revelation. But just as the whole world once thought and Revelation *seemed* to teach that the sun revolved around the earth and not the earth around the sun, and just as we know *now* and believe that the heliocentric system is *not* in opposition to Divine Revelation; so who knows, when the question receives closer attention from exegetists and theologians, that, at least, some *media via* may not be forthcoming to prove harmony and concord? One thing, I think, may be claimed, viz., that it would be very hard to prove it opposed or antagonistic to Divine Revelation.

Is it not only in recent years that geological research has proved beyond dispute that our earth is much older than mankind had believed? Is it not only a little more than a century that, despite a Pythagoras of the pagans, a Copernicus and a Galileo of the Christians, the heliocentric system has secured *universal* credence? I trust my readers will pardon me if I refer again to the opening words of the Genesiactal account by transposing a few pregnant passages of the immortal Augustine.

Cœlum et terram,<sup>15</sup> hic vocatur materia prima, eo quod ex illâ cœlum, die secundo, et terra, die tertio, producenda esset; sed non est probabile materiam solam sine formâ creatam esse, nec talis vocari posset cœlum.

Informis illa materia, quam de nihilo fecit Deus, appellata est primo cœlum et terra, non quia jam hoc erat, sed quia hoc esse poterat. Nam et cœlum scribitur postea factum; quemadmodum si semen arboris considerantes, dicamus ibi esse radices et robur et ramos et fructus et folia; non quia jam sunt, sed quia inde factura sunt.<sup>16</sup>

The illustrious Doctor adds :—<sup>17</sup>

Hanc materiam eodem instanti temporis fuisse suâ formâ donatam et ornatam. Itaque hic ejus creationem tantum nominari, quia *naturâ, non tempore*, suam formam antecessit.

<sup>15</sup> Inquit St. Aug., lib. i., de Gen. *Ibid.*, p. 104.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, *Cursus Completus*, tom. v.

<sup>17</sup> Lib. i. de Gen., ad litt., c. 14.

All things considered, then, both for intrinsic and extrinsic reasons, the hypothesis of Laplace and Sir William Herschel claims more than a passing notice, and to many might seem sufficiently probable to warrant an *affirmative* answer to the question at the head of this essay. The accumulative force of all the scientific reasons for leaning towards the Nebular Theory is exceedingly strong. Where evidence of a mathematical nature is wanting, probabilities often step in and carry a practical conviction to the human mind. If we were to discard *probabilities* in ethics, whenever *evidence* is not forthcoming, what would become of moral certitude, and where would there be even an opening for *probablism*? In our question the accumulative reasoning force is strong enough to discount our surprise that so many astronomers view the hypothesis with a favourable eye. Only some of these reasons have been advanced in these pages. Amongst those which appeal to the scientific mind, I may enumerate :—

1. The wonderful concord in the *spectra* of the celestial bodies ;
2. The similarity and homogeneity of material in Nebulæ, sun, stars, planets, etc., as revealed by Astrophysics ;
3. The satisfactory explanation the Nebular Theory affords for the bodies of our solar and planetary system both revolving and rotating *in the same direction* (with the minor exceptions noted in the Uranian and Neptunian satellites) and *much in the same plane* on the Ecliptic ;
4. The apparent changes or evolution which both applied astronomy and spectroscopy intimate to be going on in Nebulous matter, especially in Spiral Nebulæ ;
5. The plausible origin it suggests for new stars, and even for the disappearance of old ones.

Surely this is no inconsiderable cumulative force.

Nevertheless, we should not overlook the conclusion of one who, though he unfortunately overstepped the bounds of reasonable and orthodox evolution, appeals therefore with greater force to a more logical sense of moderation, when he admits that the Nebular Theory 'is merely a conjecture more or less plausible.' If here I closed my paper the impression would be left upon the reader that, both scientifically and

theologically, I regarded this theory as, at least, probable, and in no way antagonistic to Scripture. Such an opinion would be the natural result of my having made the case as strong as my poor abilities permitted on behalf of scientific evolutionists. Moreover, I have even implied that the only Doctor of the Church they attempt to claim, is open to that claim by the quotations I have given. I wanted to write as if I had a 'brief' from moderate evolutionists and to present it in all its force. But it cannot be gainsaid that, on the other side, the Creationists, as they are called, have grave difficulties to advance, if not on scientific evolution, at least, on reconciling it to the Genesiactal account of the Creation. We know that the evolution theory dare not be applied, *salvâ fide*, to any *mediate* creation of Adam's soul. We know that it would be, at least, rash, if not proximate to heresy, to apply it to creation of his body; <sup>18</sup> because even in the latter case, the *traditio Patrum* and the *consensus theologorum* are against it. Whether it may be applied to other organisms of the animal and vegetable kingdom seems little to have occupied the minds of the theologians.

A distinguished writer in the *Dublin Review* of July, 1871, admits that *it is not against Faith* to apply it to organisms lower than man. On the other hand, Lamy and Jungman hold that its application to plants and animals, mentioned in Genesis, is *incompatible* with the true meaning of the sacred text.<sup>19</sup>

Even St. Augustine, whose *rationes causales* and distinction between a *first* and *second* creation lend such colour to a very general form of evolution, is so little clear that Cornelius à Lapide writes:<sup>20</sup> 'Quare jam erroneum est dicere, omnia uno die producta, juxta S. Aug., Caj. et Melch. Canus.'

And studying the etymology of the Genesiactal history in the first and second chapters, the literal sense of separate *immediate* creations would seem to hold the field, unless authoritative exegetists and the magisterium of the *ecclesiæ docentis*

<sup>18</sup> Berti, the great expounder of St. Augustine, writes:—'Hoc aliisque exemplis, probat Sanctus Pater, Opificem omnium statim formasse hominem adultum.' Lib. xii. c. 2.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>20</sup> Vol. iii., Com. in Gen. i., p. 40.

dislodge it by a metaphorical or non-literal interpretation. If, however, in face of these difficulties, a reader should be induced to believe that the Nebular Theory of sidereal evolution rests on a true and solid foundation, and that an *affirmative* reply may be given to the question with which I opened this essay, it would seem, pending more light from exegetical theologians or explicit direction from the great *Mater docens*, somewhat harsh to condemn him.

E. A. SELLEY, O.S.A.

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## THE IRISH RESIDENTS IN ROME

THE latest news from Rome details the almost general collapse of the proselytising centres, and notably the statement that Mrs. Morgan's farm at Fara is now untenanted. It is too clear Protestantism was not made for the Italian. The Bible, however widely open, the plain, unadorned pulpit, the solemn parson, the cheerless conventicle, are but poor substitutes for the beautiful ceremonial, and gorgeous decoration and outline of the Italian churches. It is noteworthy that most of the boys, and still more generally the girls, who have been brought up at the institutions, return of their own accord, when free, to the Catholic Church. The proselytisers, therefore, have not all profit; but it is undoubted, if left unmolested to prosecute their vile traffic, many should eventually be lost to the faith. An Irishman, Mr. William Osborne Christmas, largely took the initiative in the rescue work; and, in this he was ably assisted by the Right Rev. Monsignor Stoner, Archbishop of Trebizonde. The Archbishop kindly agreed to become President of the little association inaugurated for this purpose which happily prospered, and extending its branches as well as its enthusiasm, has since become such a mighty power in Rome. This association is still in existence, and latterly the Holy Father has instituted, and as far as circumstances allow, endowed a Catholic Rescue Association whereby the young Italian is

afforded an opportunity of learning such branches, especially languages, as may be necessary for success afterwards in life, and at the same time supplied with suitable shelter, when willing to abandon proselytising institutions, entered generally, it must be said, in extreme necessity. Much praise is due to Father de Mandato, the illustrious professor at the Gregorian University, and Archbishop Adami, as well as Father Grossi, who devoted so much time, and still continue to make such sacrifices in this essential and pressing work of charity.

Archbishop Stoner belongs to a distinguished English Catholic family, and has been for many years resident in Rome. The Archbishop is about sixty, but he looks much younger. He is physically strong, of medium height, very entertaining and agreeable in manner, and generally bears distinct marks of his early training and associations. Though comparatively little known, I believe, elsewhere, he is a prominent figure in the English colony at Rome. Each new Consistory brings the news of his elevation to the Cardinalate, but the actuality has not yet come to pass, and possibly the rumours and comments never reach his Grace. He is a Canon of St. John Lateran's, which brings with it some emoluments, but it is understood he has very considerable private means. His residence is at Via Sistina, where he lives in a style perfectly in keeping with his exalted office, near the Scotch College, and in the neighbourhood of Mr. Christmas, with whom he is always pleased to be associated in any philanthropic work.

To Irish readers the name of Mr. William Osborne Christmas will not be unfamiliar. Mr. Christmas has been residing in Rome for about twelve years, and most of his time since has been devoted to some work or other of charity. He holds a very important honorary office at the Vatican, being Private Chamberlain, and on days of Papal receptions, and pilgrimages, he is, in turn, one of the officers on duty. With English-speaking visitors he is very much in request, and when there is a question of seeing the Holy Father or an audience, he spares no pains to render every assistance. He is not, however, above taking an especial interest in his countrymen. 'I am Irish,' said Mr. Christmas,



‘but I fear the real Irish would not acknowledge me, as we are only about four hundred years in the country.’ Well, this is not a bad passport, and whatever may be said about the unwillingness of the Irish to allow the claims of his family, he is quite willing to own the Irish, and at much personal inconvenience, make pleasant their visit to Rome. Mr. Christmas is a native of Waterford where he has still many interests, but there seems to be little chance of his future residence in Ireland. He is little beyond the prime of life, buoyant, overflowing with good nature, and is only happy when conferring whatever favour may be in his power. The entire family is resident in Rome; and I cannot omit to speak of Miss Grace V. Christmas, the gifted authoress, whose fascinating writings are so often to be met with in the leading periodicals of this country and America. Her writings are mostly religious; and the story of *The Conversion of Jack Enderby*, is entertaining and instructive. More than once she has been offered some very lucrative literary engagements, but as they did not quite harmonize with her religious bent of mind, she thought advisable to decline them. Her brother, Mr. Christmas, is always pleased with every new literary effort, and not unfrequently refers to her writings with feelings of unmixed pleasure; and especially that they are religious. Indeed, religion and piety are the especial characteristics of the family, and it is for this reason that Rome has for them such a peculiar attraction. Reference has been made already to the efforts of Mr. Christmas on behalf of the night schools; and it must not be forgotten that for several hours each night he himself taught the English classes. He was also much interested in providing the young Italians, who joined his classes, with opportunities for Confession and religious instruction, in which it must be said, notwithstanding the many opportunities available, they are often sadly deficient. Nor did he, at the same time, neglect to furnish them with English periodicals, and reading of an entertaining nature, taking even leading parts in their boyish sports, and excursions to the country. All this seemed to be to him no labour; on the contrary, a recreation. But the tact with which he manages young men, and the perfect control he is able to exercise over

them, without being in the least authoritative, is a study. I have known him to bear up with the utmost composure in circumstances in which the patience of the ordinary individual would have been utterly overtaxed; and yet he was in the end the victor. His advent to Rome, therefore, has been for some providential, and while Ireland is the loser, she can point to very honourable and worthy representation at the centre of the Christian world, in the subject of this sketch and family. The charming residence is at 109 Via Sistina.

There are various residents in Rome, who though not born in Ireland, are of Irish descent and are deeply interested in the country. Among these may be mentioned Valentine Patrick Marquis MacSweeney. The Marquis was born in Paris in 1871, and is son of Valentine Patrick MacSweeney of Macroom, County Cork, where still are the ruins of the old family residence. His mother was Polish, being Emma Countess Konarska. It is not improbable that to his maternal origin is traceable his rare genius for languages. He is said to speak eight modern languages with facility and accuracy. It is certain that he speaks and writes English, Italian, and French with the ease and grace of a native. His mastery of the languages is of valuable service to him in his relations with the Vatican, where he was appointed Honorary Chamberlain in 1893, and Private Chamberlain in 1895, receiving title of Marquis in 1896. In the diplomatic service of the Vatican, these three languages, at least are, it may be said, indispensable. It is understood he took part in the diplomatic negotiations between the Holy See and Montenegro, and has taken a deep interest in the union of the Oriental Churches, since the promulgation of the Papal Encyclical of 1894. He is also a litterateur, having graduated with honour degrees at the University of Paris, and has since published several works, and contributes to the leading periodicals of the world. His efforts in founding the *Cosmos Catholicus*, which deals with Catholic subjects, and the international affairs of the Holy See, are much to be commended. He is partly editor, and hopes to be able to render much service to the Church. The *Cosmos Catholicus* is beautifully illustrated, and is printed in Italian, French, and English, the same articles occupying

adjoining columns and the same illustrations for all. It is now regarded as one of the most important illustrated magazines in Italy. I cannot omit to mention that he is President of the Committee for Great Britain and Ireland, in connection with the International Scientific Catholic Congresses. The Marquis lives in truly princely style at the Palazzo Falconieri, Via Giulia, where he entertains largely, and is always glad to receive Irish visitors, but especially the representatives of the Irish Church. He has been for about ten years resident in Rome, but has now adopted the Eternal City as his home. The Marchesa is Brazilian, her father being Minister of Foreign Affairs under Don Pedro, of very many accomplishments, but prefers to speak Italian, French, or Portuguese to English. This preference, or rather want of confidence, in speaking English, is occasionally a little embarrassing.

Ireland has the distinguished honour of giving an abbot to the Italian monastery of Valvisciolo in the diocese of Terracina, in the person of the Very Rev. Fr. Stanislaus White. Father Stanislaus is a native of Derry, where he was born in 1839, and belongs to one of the most influential families in Ulster. The family is also noted for piety, several members having entered religion. In his twenty-first year, he entered the monastery, Mount Melleray, and was ordained in 1866. In the subsequent year, he was nominated Secretary to the Procurator-General, Rome, which office he held for twelve years. Pope Pius IX. appointed him one of the 'Apostles' at the 'Lavanda' on Holy Thursday, in St. Peter's, in 1869. He was elected Procurator-General of the Order in 1879, which office he continued to fill for thirteen years, residing in Rome. In 1893 he was elected Superior of the Abbey of Valvisciolo, in the diocese of Terracina, about fifty miles south of Rome, and nominated by Pope Leo XIII., *motu proprio*, Abbot in 1901. It will thus be observed that he has been rapidly promoted through the various grades, now attaining the highest position it is possible to attain in the Order. In conversation, Father White is bright and entertaining, and possesses a rare adaptability of accommodating himself to persons and circumstances. His manner is exceedingly simple, and although there is a tone of restraint and piety throughout his conversation,

he is very interesting and agreeable. This simplicity of manner is very remarkable in the case of most of those who hold offices in Rome, and the same is to an extent noticeable with regard to visitors. It arises, possibly, in part, from Italian associations and proximity to the Vatican, side by side with which all else is as nothing. But it is especially gratifying, that the Holy Father has appointed an Irish Abbot to an Italian monastery where the rule is the strictest of any Order in the Church, clearly showing his absolute confidence in Irish capacity, and Irish ideas on religion.

On arriving in Rome, the first care of the weary visitor is to secure comfortable quarters, and, indeed, on this depends greatly the success and pleasure of the visit. The language difficulty is not by any means what might be supposed. Almost everywhere at the hotels and pensions, some effort is made to speak English; and it is most annoying when one has mastered the Italian, to be confronted at every turn, with a jargon of English, distorted partly out of recognition by its Italian medium. The hotels and pensions at Rome are beautifully appointed, and in the matter of expense, correspond much with our own. Many intending visitors from Ireland will be pleased to learn they can find the very best accommodation, and an Irish hostess, at Pension Hayden, 42, Piazza Poli: Miss Mary Hayden, the accomplished proprietress, comes from Dublin, and has been for some years resident in Rome. Her early training and natural ability peculiarly adapt her for her present position. For some years she was resident governess in an Irish family, and was afterwards English mistress to Princess Bianca, eldest daughter of the Duchess of Madrid. After her term of engagement she decided to make her home in Italy, and has since been engaged in hotel business, in which she has been most successful. The Pension accommodates one hundred guests, and has been recently remodelled, and fitted with every modern convenience and comfort. Notwithstanding her absence of some years from Ireland, and her intention of fixing her residence permanently in Rome, she still continues to take a deep interest in her native land, and especially in the workings of the Irish Church. Speaking of Miss Hayden, a guest who had

the opportunity of judging, and whose opinion is worth recording, described her as Catholic first and above all, and Irish next. I believe this is a fair embodiment of her character.

To those interested in the Gaelic Revival, it will be pleasing news that the cult of Irish was not neglected in the Eternal City. The idea had its origin with the students of the Irish College, who spontaneously gave their recreation hours and vacation time to its study. They were fortunate in having some Irish speakers of their body, and they very readily gave their services. The matter was recognised, and a class was established in the College in 1899, and, although this study was not obligatory, within a few weeks almost every one became members. Marked progress was made; and in the following spring an address in Gaelic was presented to the Archbishop of Dublin, and the Bishop of Raphoe on the occasion of their visit to the College, which, it is hardly necessary to add, was much appreciated.

In this movement, Mrs. Mulhall, the wife of the late Mr. Michael G. Mulhall, the great statistician, is very much interested. Mr. Mulhall, for some years previous to his death, was resident in Rome, although a few months of each year were spent at his Irish residence, Killiney Peak, Dublin. He was for some time student of the Irish College, Rome. Having left the College he went to South America, and started the *Buenos Ayres Standard*, in 1861, which was the first English daily newspaper printed in South America. He is the recognised authority of the world on statistics, and his work, *The Dictionary of Statistics*, has had a marvellous sale; and is the author besides of several works on statistics. A few years ago he severed his connection with the Argentine Republic, and until his death resided mostly in Rome. Mr. Mulhall manifested much interest in his *Alma Mater*, and at every religious ceremony or entertainment of the College he was certain to be present. Intensely religious, he was a very agreeable companion, speaking with much fluency, Spanish, Italian, and French, as well as English. In 1900 he died at his residence, Killiney. Since the death of her husband, Mrs. Mulhall has been mostly resident in Rome. She, too, is

literary, and has published a work on South America, which appeared in 1883. Her articles to the *New York Freeman* some years ago, proving that Dante drew his inspiration from an Irish poet, created, at the time, quite a sensation. I do not know what Monsignor Bartolini, the great Roman exponent of Dante should have to say on the subject. Much of her time is occupied in attending at the ceremonies in the churches, and is now a constant student in the Vatican Library, where she is devoting her attention to the study of Irish Manuscripts. Socially, Mrs. Mulhall is much esteemed at Rome, and her rare intellectual gifts are generally admitted.

As we carry with us in physique and manner distinctive marks of our nationality, the same is generally true of accent and speech. The sweet tones of the Gaelic are still traceable in the Anglo-Irish accent of to-day. I am just reminded of this fact by an incident, which, though trifling in itself, is, perhaps, interesting. Walking leisurely towards the end of one of the principal thoroughfares of the city, where the crowd had dwindled to individuals, a cabman sauntered after me for some considerable time, and that without soliciting in any way my patronage. This struck me as unusual, and instinctively I turned to satisfy myself that I was really in the vicinity of an Italian cabman. Judge of my surprise when I found myself addressed in the softest of Dublin accents. After directing my attention to his appointments, and offering his services gratis, he freely entered on an account of himself. 'My name,' he said, 'is Kelly. A few years ago when Italian buyers came to Ireland to purchase an outfit for the Italian army, I accepted an engagement, and then came to Rome. Here I have been resident ever since, and am a registered cabman of the city. My home is Via Merulana, and my children are constantly at school. They speak Italian, for the mother brings them up her own way, and can't speak English. I get on fairly well. I know the Irish, English, and Americans by their faces, and they are glad of any one that speaks English. I am happy, and am going to live and die here.' I had occasion to meet him frequently afterwards, and found him cheerful, good-humoured, and obliging.

To readers of the periodicals and reviews on both sides of

the Atlantic, the name of Dr. William J. D. Croke, will not be unfamiliar. His name is at present before the readers of the I. E. RECORD with reference to his theory on 'The Double Personality of St. Patrick,' and he is frequently quoted in the Rome Letter of the *Irish Catholic*. Dr. Croke, though born in Canada, some thirty four years ago, is of Irish descent, and is heartily interested in everything that concerns Ireland. He is a native of Halifax, Nova Scotia, where his father was a prominent member of the Nova Scotia Bar, and Member of the Canadian Parliament. His education was acquired partly in Canada, and at St. Edmund's College, Douai. He lived some time in England, and in 1889, came to Rome, which has now become his home. Much of his time is devoted to History and Archæology, and is now engaged on a History of the National English Institutions in Mediæval Rome. It is understood he is not yet finished with his theory on St. Patrick, and that a work of his on the subject will shortly appear. It will thus be observed he is versatile, but he always secures a good grasp of his subject. Though a prolific writer and constant student, he bears no traces of the book-worm, and in his free time is a most entertaining and pleasant companion. He lives at 15, Via del Leone, and is always glad to be of service to English-speaking visitors, and especially the Irish, whom he regards as his kinsfolk.

When I mentioned the Gaelic Revival in the Irish College, I readily recalled the name of Father Louis Carew, the representative at Rome of the Reformed Cistercians or Trappists as they are commonly known. Father Louis is Irish of the Irish, and is glad of any movement calculated to elevate his countrymen; and I remember the interest he manifested in the Irish Language as revived at Rome, and on one public occasion how intently, nay jealously, he regarded the reader of an Irish essay. He entered the Order at Mount Melleray in 1869, was ordained priest in 1875, and after various offices, was appointed Prior of New Melleray, Dubuque, Iowa, United States, in 1899. Here he remained for eight years, and then returned to Ireland. At the General Chapter of 1898, he was selected as one of the five Assistants to the Abbot General, who resides in Rome, and since then has been resident at the

monastery, Via San Giovanni, not far from St. Clement's, and in the neighbourhood of the Colosseum. Father Louis in appearance is somewhat more than fifty, but healthy and full of vitality. While exceedingly simple in manner, he is by no means silent, and can with perfect ease and grace take his place at any social re-union in Rome. Visitors to the Eternal City will find in him a most cordial and interesting helper and friend, especially such as come from Ireland duly recommended. Without such recommendation, it must be said, few go to much inconvenience to serve the casual comers, for at certain seasons the influx is so great that general and indiscriminate attention would be impossible.

I find I have omitted mention of Mr. P. L. Connellan, whose name is so familiar to the readers of the *Freeman's Journal*. Mr. Connellan was born in Ireland and came to Rome from Boston in 1869, as special correspondent of the *Boston Pilot*, for the great Vatican Council. Since then he has lived in Rome, and witnessed the declaration at St. Peter's of the Infallibility of the Pope in 1870, the invasion of Rome by Victor Emmanuel two months afterwards, and was present on the occasion of his funeral in 1878. He acted in the capacity of correspondent on the occasion of the death of Pope Pius IX., and again on the elevation of his illustrious successor; so that he has seen Rome under many phases. Mr. Connellan is a regular contributor to the *Baltimore Sun* and *Boston Sunday Herald*, which is one of the great weekly journals of the United States. In 1888, the Holy Father conferred upon him the decoration of the newly established Order, 'Pro Ecclesia et Pontifice,' and lately has been created a Knight of St. Gregory. A profound student of Roman Archæology, he is vastly cultured in the antiquities of pre-Christian and Christian Rome. His lectures at the Irish College on the Catacombs, showed deep thought and patient research. Mr. Connellan is an ardent Irishman, quick to resent when the honour of his country is assailed, bright and cheerful, but a profound thinker, as well as a most accomplished writer. He is always glad to see his countrymen at his beautiful home, 6, Via Privata, as is also Mrs. Connellan, formerly of Boston.



Almost all the Religious Orders of the Irish Province have representation at Rome. Thus the Jesuits are represented at 8, Via di San Nicolo da Tolentino; the Passionists at the Convent of SS. Giovanni e Paulo; the Fathers of the Congregation of the Holy Ghost at the French Seminary, Via Santa Chiara; the Carmelites by Very Rev. J. Crowley, Collegio di Sant Alberto, Prati di Castello, and by the Very Rev. John Dowling, Convento Carmelitano, di San Martino di Monti; the Marists at 14, Via Cernaia; and I have already mentioned the other Religious Orders whose centre is at Rome. Generally, some one is to be found at these addresses who speaks English, which is often a boon to the weary and perplexed Irish visitor.

It is remarkable that since the Irish Pilgrimage of 1893, the number of visitors from Ireland to Rome, has been every year multiplying. The Irish are principally attracted to the churches, and among the churches which have for them an interest is the titular church of the Cardinal Archbishop of Armagh, Santa Maria della Pace, near the Piazza Navona. It was founded in 1482 by Pope Sixtus IV., who, in order to make reparation for an outrage by a soldier to a picture of the Madonna, as well as to save the peace of Italy from the Pazzi conspiracy, vowed to have a church built here and dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, under the title of St. Mary of Peace. Interiorly and exteriorly it is a beautiful structure, and is remarkable for its famous paintings by Raphael. Formerly it was an abbacy of the Canons Regular of the Lateran, but it is now in the hands of secular priests. Each Cardinal has a titular church at Rome, and over the high altar, there is, on one side, a portrait of the Holy Father, and on the other that of the cardinal titular. The titular church of Cardinal Cullen was S. Pietro in Montorio; that of Cardinal M'Cabe, Santa Sabina; while the titular church of Cardinal Moran, Archbishop of Sydney, is Santa Susanna. Some portion of the dress of former titulars may be seen here and there in the church.

The nuns, we have seen, rendered excellent service in foiling the efforts of the proselytisers, and still continue their good work. Of the Sisters known as the Poor Servants of the Mother of God, the present Superioress is Irish, and several

members of the community. They teach, visit the sick, and give alms. Their English schools are very flourishing. The Convent is at Via Sebastianello, and formerly they took charge of a hospice for invalids who came to Rome. This hospice no longer exists. In this country, perhaps, they are best known as associated with the name of Lady Georgina Fullerton. At Via Castelfidardo, the Blue Sisters founded by Bishop Bagshawe have a magnificent hospice, where they are pleased to receive and board visitors of a class, and on moderate terms. Their duties are mostly nursing, in which they are very proficient, and are much in request by the English-speaking invalids. They do not, however, confine themselves to visitors, but interest themselves in the poor of Rome, and act as nurses in the better class families. Although the Order was founded in England, they are for the most part Irish.

The Sisters of the Institute of Mary, Via Nazionale, were introduced to Rome a few years ago, through Father de Mandato, to combat the inroads of the proselytisers. Their Order was founded in England, and will be more familiar to us as associated with the name of their foundress, Mary Ward. They are few, but can boast of Irish in their number. The excellent work which they did, and still continue to do, fully realised all the expectations of the good Jesuit Father.

At the Convent of S. Maria Reparatrice, Via Lucchesi, an Irish nun, sister of Monsignor Raymund, was for some time Superioress, and still continues a member of the community. The Monsignor is now Coadjutor Canon of St. Peter's, and resides with his mother the Countess Raymund, at Via del Pozzetto. It will be remembered he was entrusted with the office of bearing the Cardinal's hat to the Apostolic Delegate at Washington, Cardinal Martinelli, on the occasion of his elevation to the Cardinalate. He is still in the prime of life, one would think not very robust physically, somewhat retiring, very devout, and may be often seen in the churches before the Blessed Sacrament. Everything in his regard gives much promise for the future.

Near to the Convent of the Reparatrice is the Church of San Silvestro in Capite, which is regarded as the English

church in Rome. The Rev. Basil Maturin, an Irishman, is the Lenten preacher for 1903, and here it may be observed he preached his first sermon after his ordination in 1898. His style is peculiar to himself; and he has an extraordinary command of language and ideas. He is a convert, still comparatively young, and full of life and energy. There is nothing in his manner indicative of that reserve, and unwonted restraint so generally noticeable in converts, especially, who have embraced religious life. He is attached to the diocese of Westminster, and might anywhere be taken for an Irish priest. The Very Rev. William Whitmee is the rector of this church and General of the Society of Missions. There are several Irish students in the community. In the North American College, Via dell' Umiltà, the Rector is the Right Rev. Monsignor Kennedy, and the newly-appointed vice-rector is the Rev. Father Murphy; these names are sufficiently suggestive, while most of the students bear Irish names, and in cases have never been to America. The Scotch College, Via Quattro Fontane, has its Irish students; and the English College, Via Del Monseratto, as well. In the new Collegio Beda, expressly founded for converts intending to enter the Church, Monsignor Prior is vice-rector, while of the English College proper, the Rev. D. Cronin is vice-rector. The names are indicative of their original nationality.

In the fine arts Ireland is represented by Mr. Hogan, sculptor, who has been for some years past resident in Rome. He is son of the late celebrated sculptor of that name, so favourably known in Dublin. His business seems mostly to study the finest specimens of Italian art, although he has executed work of rare merit for several Irish churches within the last few years. His residence is Via Rasella, near to the Piazza Barberini. In everything he is essentially an artist, and is studious and retiring.

As to the social life of Rome, I must observe that the best Italian society is very exclusive, and only foreigners with highest introductions are eligible. I will only here refer to that society into which ecclesiastics may, with proper propriety, find admission, and where guests are partly clerics and partly laics in strong sympathy with the Catholic Church and

its workings. After special ceremonies in the churches it is quite usual to hold a reception, where many of those who attended are presented to the officiating prelate. The whole is, of course, very informal. A dinner party is so little different as to the manner in which it is conducted from a similar institution with us, that a description would be uninteresting. An evening party is enjoyable and not in the least perplexing. The guest of the evening is usually a dignitary of the Church, and you are invited to meet him. In this matter the Italians show great tact and thoughtfulness, as well as delicate feeling. Hardly ever is more than one cardinal present, and the same is pretty generally observed as to the other various grades in the Church. The receptions usually take place from 5 to 8 in the evening; and on arrival you are received by the host or hostess, presented to the guest of the evening, and if there is no such, to the guests in general, and after some interchange of ideas, and refreshments partaken standing, sitting, or moving around, all within the space of about half an hour or so, you are then perfectly justified in taking your leave without further ceremony. Meanwhile guests continue to come and go. At these receptions non-Catholics, too, are frequently to be met with, who enter thoroughly into their spirit. Mrs. Charles Smyth, who is Irish, holds her reception on St. Patrick's Day. Her name will be best known to us associated with the Palazzo Odescalchi. She is said to be related at the White House, Washington. On these occasions the Countess Strozzi is often to be met with, she is also Irish, but is resident in Rome for many years, having formed a connection with the well-known Strozzi family. Her beautifully appointed home is at Via Palestro.

Passing over the solicitude of the Holy Father, for not merely the spiritual but the temporal concerns of the Irish, which never flags, and of which he gives so many proofs on the occasion of the visitations of the Irish Bishops, as well as that of the Irish Pilgrimages, I may be permitted to refer briefly to a few of the many residents in Rome, who, though not Irish, are deeply interested in Ireland and its people. Among them may be mentioned Cardinal Satolli. His Eminence is a native of Perugia, the former See of the Holy Father. This interest arises in a great measure from contact

with the Irish in America, during his office of Apostolic Delegate at Washington. Then the Cardinals Vannutelli ; they are brothers, natives of Genazzano, and one is spoken of as a likely Pope. Archbishop Merry del Val also manifests much interest in Ireland. His name is still remembered as arbiter in the Canadian School question, a few years ago. He is a Spaniard, being son of the late Spanish Ambassador to the Holy See. For some years he has been President of the College of Noble Ecclesiastics, and, considering his exalted position, is very young. He speaks English perfectly, having been educated at Stoneyhurst. The Rector of the Propaganda College, Monsignor Cammassei, since his visit to Ireland in connection with the Maynooth Centenary in 1895, has taken a deep interest in the country. He has frequently expressed himself gratified with all he witnessed on that occasion, as also with the great piety he observed among the people everywhere during his sojourn then, and on a still more recent occasion. Nor has Father Palliola forgotten his Irish associations. He will be favourably remembered in connection with the missions of the Redemptorist Fathers in Ireland some years ago. In 1898 he was recalled to Rome, while Superior at Perth. He is now attached to the new church of St. Joachim, built by the present Pontiff. The Very Rev. Dr. Esser never tires of recounting his pleasing reminiscences of Maynooth, where he was for some time professor. He is on the Congregation of the Index, and has lately been appointed a member of the Papal Biblical Commission. Now he is connected with the Dominican Convent, Via Sebastianello ; and so I might go on.

Having said so much on the Irish residents in Rome, I may remark that I have by no means exhausted the subject. I have only mentioned, for the most part, the residents of note with whom circumstances brought me into relationship. There are, I know, Irish employees in various business departments in the city, and Irish tutors in Roman families. I feel however, I have said enough to show that Ireland is well and favourably represented in the religious, social, and economic life of the Eternal City.

D. F. M'CREA, M.R.I.A.

## A PROTEST AGAINST PESSIMISM

THE common consent of men taken in the mass has long been regarded as of prime importance in the establishment of theories which elude the grasp of scientific demonstration. Some philosophers would almost go so far as to attribute to it the character of an infallible criterion of truth. Unfortunately, however, the common consent is extended to theses for the proof of which no other reason either of congruity or probability can be adduced than that their exploitation seems to involve a subtle satisfaction. That the world is constantly getting worse is an opinion which apparently has been held universally since the human intellect began to concern itself with the subject. In fact it is the only opinion in the matter which has obtained a currency worth speaking about. Jews, Greeks, Romans, Teutons, have all testified to their belief in degeneracy as a constant factor in human affairs. Ancients and moderns have here a common ground. Rudyard Kipling is quite as good an authority on the matter as Homer; both probably echo the sentiments of the authors who flourished in the Stone Age. In the face of a consensus one is inclined to think twice before venturing on a traverse. It would be hardly safe to deny, for example, that the men of long ago were taller and stronger and wiser than the men of to-day, that the winters were colder and the summers warmer and the grass several shades greener in that spacious and, as to boundaries, vague period of time known as the good old days. The theory is in itself of little consequence; the world presumably rolls on without reference to theories, and the matter would not be worth a mention except for the fact that it bears a close resemblance to an attitude of mind towards our national concerns, political and ecclesiastical, with which we are becoming more and more familiar with the revolving years.

A great deal has been written recently, and countless speeches have been delivered by way of shedding light on

the secret places in the national character. The spirituality, the gaiety, the humour, the patriotism, the artistic power, the idealism, and the hundred and one things that make up the Celtic temperament have been enlarged upon in season and out of season. It would be well if some authority on the psychology of the Celt would enlighten us as to the source from which proceeds the national tendency to pessimism or from what nether foundation of the mental structure arises the mist of despondency which so frequently envelops us. Is it the inevitable counterpart of the gayer and sunshiny side? Is it the dryness and bitterness which so often attend progress along the paths of spirituality? Is it the reaction consequent on the *joie de vivre* which only those gifted with artistic sensibility share? It is just possible that an exaggerated devotion to ideals, which, judged from many stand-points, are pre-eminently foolish, has something to do with it. Ideals suffer so much when they clash with the practical that their owners are bound to suffer *toties quoties* a vexation of spirit. And as any reference to Irish affairs would be incomplete without honourable mention of our rulers, it is well to say here that it is highly probable that the Government, fruitful parent of unnumbered woes, is to some degree responsible for the periodic ebbing of our dearest hopes.

But to come to the matter in hand. If ever a spontaneous political sentiment existed in the hearts of men, surely the focussing of the hopes of modern Ireland on the idea of self-government must be considered as the result of natural and inborn tendencies and reasonable ambitions. There is no necessity here to point out how deep-rooted and how universal is the belief in the ultimate triumph of what, in spite of cheap sneers at demagogues and agitators, in spite of the ridicule with which at times it seems to be tarnished by the performances of many of those who are loudest in their professions of devotion, is yet a lofty and inspiring cause. Nor is any elaborate proof required for the statement that side by side with the most buoyant hopes of Ireland's political future there exists the fear that in some occult and hitherto unexplained way the interests of religion will suffer as the material concerns of the country advance and prosper. To come to close

quarters, it can no longer be denied that many trained observers of public life in Ireland see in the present-day conduct of those affairs signs to justify the worst apprehensions, and no longer hesitate to mark the line of cleavage which they profess is visibly broadening between a section of the people on the one hand and, on the other, those who have been up till now their closest allies and their trusted leaders. This fear is not confined to any particular class of Irish Catholics, it is entertained and expressed by learned and unlearned, gentle and simple, by men skilled in the ways of the world and by men who in those ways are, to borrow a Rhodesian phrase, but as children. That political emancipation or the worldly prosperity which might follow thereon should stand for a menace to the Faith is not exactly a self-evident proposition. The perception of fear, however, does not depend on the actual presence of danger and certain mental states are in no way affected by the laws of sound reasoning. To decide to what extent this frame of mind squares with the actual facts is a business of some importance. Few Catholic Irishmen will deal hardly with an attempt to show that the nervousness about the future of religious interests in Ireland arises more from an excessive, though natural anxiety on behalf of those interests than from the matter-of-fact operation of forces which notably threaten them.

It is too late in the day for men to expect to gather grapes from thorns or figs from thistles. Anyone who hoped for a resultant good to public life in Ireland from the years covering what is popularly known as the Parnell split has thereby redeemed himself from the charge of pessimism. It was an ugly business and left ugly marks. The fever of excitement did not leave the patient with a clean bill of health, as is not unfrequently the case with fevers. During these evil days the National cause lost a considerable amount of caste, and many found it incumbent on them to retire from the fighting line. Their retirement under such circumstances scarcely prejudiced them in favour of those who filled up the vacancies, and it is not in human nature to expect their unqualified approval of the subsequent proceedings. Religion and politics are so inseparable in Ireland that the Parnell controversy was



bound to react on matters of religion, and the prestige of clerical leadership was somewhat damaged. A precedent was established. The people were familiarised with demoralising divisions and causes produced their natural effects. The Parnell controversy is over and the union between the priests and people has survived. It is a strong bond which endures such an ordeal and the breaking of it promises to be an affair of some time.

Change is ever regarded, we may suppose, by the wise with mixed feelings. It would be absurd to think that a momentous political change can take place in Ireland without influencing ecclesiastical affairs. But is there evidence to prove that any section of Irishmen hopes for, or is working for legislation inimical to the interests of the Church? The whole political programme of the Nationalist Party, if granted to-morrow, contains nothing that could be turned into an anti-religious weapon without grave perversion of its nature. There is no organ published in Ireland by Catholics which displays the slightest anti-clerical bias. There is no representative, or for that matter unrepresentative, public man who dares to introduce the anti-clerical or anti-religious note into platform utterances, nor is there the least indication of even the desire to do so. There is no known part of Catholic Ireland where such an utterance could be safely delivered. At public meetings priests are received with genuine enthusiasm, and their adhesion considered a valuable distinction. The representative and responsible Press chronicles with eagerness news bearing upon ecclesiastical matters, and nowhere are the claims of Catholic institutions—schools, hospitals, orphanages, societies—more eloquently advocated than in the columns of our most popular newspapers. In matters, too, less exposed to observation than the doings of public men, the same hopeful features are to be noted. Few parish priests in Ireland, we venture to assert, are troubled with a disposition on the part of parents to withdraw their children from schools under their management. Neither does the existence of the University of Dublin or the Queen's Colleges seriously add to the cares of the pastors of the Irish Church. The powerful attractions of these establishments are held out in vain to the Catholic

youth of Ireland, while on the other hand the influx of students to the seminaries and Catholic colleges increases more rapidly than do the facilities which they seek—in itself no mean test of the spirit of a people. Where are we to look for the portentous signs of religious decay? Is it in the churches? From Fair Head to Bantry the cry is for increased accommodation for the worshippers. Is it in the habits of the people? Statistics, it is said, will almost prove anything, but they will be taxed to the utmost to prove that the standard of morality in Ireland is being lowered. Is it in their intellectual pursuits? The literature of the philosophy of unbelief is unread and unheeded, and the glorious panoply of Christian and Catholic thought alone occupies the field. That one or two publicists of a type find their only chance of circulation in the manufacture of falsehoods about the Church to which they owe allegiance, points out nothing except that a certain amount of bread is generally buttered on that side and that renegades have a singular facility in discovering the fact. That in the heat of election speechifying or in the qualified amenities of newspaper controversy things should be said which are better left unsaid is not a matter for surprise, and still less a warrant for panic. We might search Ireland with candles, and fail to find a reason for despondency boldly stamped in the face of things, but on the contrary, in broad daylight, and in abundance, we may find clear springs of hope and courage.

The debate on the subject usually includes, on the part of the pessimists a clearly drawn parallel between France and Ireland. The state of religion in France is brought in as an unanswerable argument. It is easy to understand the feelings with which modern France is regarded by an Irish observer; it is also easy to understand that the remotest chance of a similar declension in Ireland should be zealously guarded against; but it is not so easy to see where the spirit of secularism and infidelity responsible in France is at work in Ireland. The Catholics of Ireland have not yet ranged themselves under the banner of Freemasonry, nor are they divided on any public question to the detriment of the Church, as were the French Royalists and the founders of the Republic. They are not blinded with power and maddened by success in arms,

as were the Frenchmen of the Empire. The literary field in Ireland has been almost completely abandoned in favour of the political: the few men of genius, however, whom we honour have not been scoffers. Our best achievements in literature, in art, in education, and in politics are united indissolubly to the cause of Catholicity. The brightest pages of our history are those which speak of the glories of the National Church: the dearest to the hearts of Irishmen are those which tell of the sufferings manfully endured by their ancestors because of their unpurchasable loyalty to Rome. Is there any possible parallel here between France and Ireland? The Ireland of the future will be the outcome of natural development. Whatever legislative changes may be in store for us will be accomplished peaceably and without a violent breaking with the past. The sky would not fall even if Home Rule were suddenly thrust upon us, and the change that could induce Irishmen, directly or indirectly, to part company with their proudest memories, and to barter their hardly-won heritage, has not yet loomed above the horizon.

On one side of the account must be placed the aptitude for and acquaintance with public affairs possessed by the people. The political Irishman is often made the target of clumsy witticisms; but it is just as well, perhaps, that an Irishman, shut out by the operation of unjust laws from a wider culture, should find in politics a stone on which to temper the keen edge of his intellect. It is inconceivable that Irish electors should return either to a native or a foreign Parliament men to represent them of the type which receives the suffrages of the French peasantry. At home, the interest, perhaps in some ways inordinate, which the people take in Parliamentary business, is, roughly speaking, ample guarantee for the conduct and character of their representatives. The clear perception of the issues at stake with which an Irishman enters the polling booth seems to have no equivalent in France. On all sides the parallelism collapses. To construct it one would require to re-write the respective histories, constitute the peoples of France and Ireland in similar circumstances, and subject them to the same tests, in a word, to pre-suppose a state of affairs which no man shall ever see, and to anticipate

which, is but an unprofitable thrashing of the water. It is submitted that what has been said is a fair representation of the facts, temperate and free from exaggeration. It is not argued that the millennium has arrived or that the ground is completely cleared of bones of contention. But we contend that the religious body is in a normal and healthy state, and in contradiction more will be required than the elevation to a plane of national importance affairs of a petty and personal nature. The resolutions of a District Council, for example, do not sensibly affect the political atmosphere; it is difficult to see how the irreligious action of the same body—supposing such action to be remotely probable—should shadow forth the doom of Catholicity. But if the remote probability came to pass, the pessimists would all declare that the hour had come.

Out of the mass of conflicting accounts which reach us from over sea, one thing seems clear. The Irish abroad are exposed to grave risks of losing that spirit of fidelity to the Church which distinguishes them at home. They do not leave their native shores with an animus against the Church, but with feelings of tenderness and affection for the mighty mother whose strength has been expressed to them in units of kindness. The weak spot in their armour seems to be at the point of contact with a civilization which either they cannot assimilate or which is in itself of a lower form than that in which they have been bred. If the argument were advanced that the same danger threatens the remnant of the race which still clings to the sod, through the medium of foreign manners and ideas, the worship of a foreign ideal of success and—most powerful of all agencies—a frivolous, debasing, and, because professing no belief, infidel literature, it would call for earnest attention. The cancer of worthless literature is an evil which it is to be hoped will never spread abroad its roots in Ireland. But even here pessimism is at a discount. On all sides the tide of a sound public opinion in the matter of books, newspapers, and publications of every kind is rapidly rising. The Language Revival will have achieved a great result if it succeeds in thoroughly awakening the national consciousness of what is base and what is noble in the printed matter which is daily and weekly unloaded amongst us. It will achieve a

greater result if it succeeds in creating, or helping to create, a literature racy of the soil in the best sense of that well-worn expression, congruous with the character of the people, and bringing them into contact with the culture of which the Church is the guardian and dispenser.

Time and again in the history of the Church has Ireland stood as the exemplar of a Christian nation. In learning and sanctity, and, in more modern days, in loyalty to the See of Rome, has Ireland led the way. Destiny may yet hold for her another proud distinction. When the tiller of the soil enjoys in peace and without fear the fruits of his industry, when her sons attain free and honourable access to the fountains of learning in a native University, when national affairs are administered according to native ideas, Ireland may prove to the world that commercial prosperity and enterprise, high educational achievement, and civil splendour may exist side by side with, and be graced and dignified by the profession of an uncompromising Catholicism. Ireland may again bear unimpeachable witness to the glory of that Church with which her varied fortunes have been so closely linked. When Ireland comes forth from the Valley of the Shadow she may amply vindicate the claims of the Church to be equal and necessary to every social and national development, to be triumphant over every accident of circumstance, governed by principles constant and universal in their power and application, the same in prosperity as in adversity, the source of a nation's strength in the hour of endurance, and its chiefest pride in the days of its exaltation. It is in a country such as ours, which has kept its borders clear of the prophets of irreligion, it is on the virgin soil of a self-governing Ireland that the unthwarted influence of the Church on civil affairs might be tested, and its beneficence proved. It is a consummation to be hoped for, and by courageous and righteous men of every estate to be strenuously worked for. In the face of such a future no man may lay down his arms, and no effort may be spared until Catholic Ireland stands amongst the nations in the foremost file.

THOMAS M'CALL.

## EDITORIAL NOTE ON A RECENT DECREE OF THE HOLY OFFICE

WE have been requested to draw the attention of our readers to the Decree of the Holy Office which is printed in the first place amongst the Documents of our present issue. We wish particularly to point out that one of the results of this Decree is that where bishops of a diocese have been granted faculties to bless beads, crosses, etc., and to bless scapulars and enrol the faithful in them, they can subdelegate these faculties to the priests of their diocese. We are furthermore requested to state that the authorities at Propaganda prefer that priests desiring such faculties should apply for them to their respective bishops.

It appears that the number of applications for such faculties sent to the authorities in Rome from this country without any regard to form or to the labour and inconvenience involved in deciphering their communications, and the difficulty in many cases of reading even their names and addresses, makes it quite impossible for the Propaganda authorities to attend at once to requests of this kind. Nor is it fair to expect the President of the Irish College in Rome, who has many other duties to claim his attention, to sit down and put all these applications into form, then bring them to Propaganda, and leave them to be presented, and return again to call for them when the forms are made out. The system hitherto followed implies delay and much difficulty and trouble. The alternative has the advantage of being simple and expeditious.

J. F. HOGAN, D.D.

# Notes and Queries

## LITURGY

### PRIVATE MASS AT EXEQUIAL OFFICE

REV. DEAR SIR,—In the next issue of the I. E. RECORD would you kindly favour me with a reply to the following :—

Can a priest who may or may not be able to sing, simply read Mass (a requiem) immediately after chanting the 'Officium Defunctorum' with other priests or clerics? What should a priest who is unable to sing do on (a) All Souls' Day? (b) on the death of a friend or relation?

SACERDOS.

There is nothing wrong or incongruous in a Private Requiem Mass as such following the recital of the 'Officium Defunctorum.' As to the propriety, however, of dispensing with the Solemn Requiem Mass, where it is possible, it occurs to us to make the following observations. There is no doubt that the Mass contemplated by the Rubrics in connection with the Exequial Office is the 'Missa Solemnis seu Cantata de Requite.' A glance at the singularly elaborate and beautiful ceremonies prescribed by the Roman Ritual for this solemn occasion, makes this quite clear. The same may be concluded from the very provident legislation of the Liturgy in virtue of which these Masses are granted extensive privileges, enabling them to be celebrated, with few exceptions, on almost all days of the year. It being then the mind and wish of the Church that these impressive rites should be performed, as far as circumstances permit, in all their fulness, we think that there is some obligation in not omitting, without sufficient reason, the Solemn Requiem Mass, and, consequently, the full exequial service of the Church. In the concrete case before us, judging from the data supplied, we do not see why the right and proper course ought not be followed. Certain exigencies, however, often render the substitution of the Private for the Solemn Requiem Mass perfectly legitimate,

just as the Office, and even the Mass may be altogether omitted for a reasonable cause. It must be borne in mind that the Rubrics do not always sanction the saying of a Private Requiem Mass in the same circumstances in which a Solemn one may be celebrated. There is only one case where the formal substitution of the former for the latter is recognised, and it is where the Private Mass is celebrated 'pro paupere defuncto cujus familia impar est solvendo expensas Missae exequialis cum cantu.'<sup>1</sup> In this case days admitting the solemn, admit also the Private Mass, 'De Requite,' under almost identical circumstances. From the foregoing, then, it will appear that in our opinion, for the reasons stated, the Solemn Mass ought not be omitted without some cause at least.<sup>2</sup> As to the second part of the query it is not edifying, to say the least, when a priest essays to sing High Mass, who does it so painfully that, instead of inspiring devotion in his hearers, he rather contributes to fill them with a feeling of disgust for the sacred function in which he is engaged. At the same time we fancy there are few priests who have so little music in their souls that they may not with training and practice acquire such proficiency in Plain Chant as will enable them to sing a Solemn Mass with tolerable, if not commendable, success. There is no obligation, or, as far as we are aware, no universally prevailing custom of having a Solemn Requiem Mass on the feast of All Souls. To be sure it would be desirable to have it. But we would say of this, as well as of every other occasion on which there may be question of having Solemn Requiem Mass, that it would be best to omit it altogether unless it can be carried out with due regard to the requirements of the ceremonial, and with the solemnity and sacredness befitting one of the most impressive functions of the entire Liturgy.

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<sup>1</sup> Decr. S.R.C., n. 4024 (Nov. Ed.)

<sup>2</sup> For the method of carrying out the Exequial in small churches cf. De Hert, *Praxis Lit. Rit. Rom.*, cap. vii., §18.



## ROSARY CHAPLETS AND THEIR INDULGENCES

REV. DEAR SIR,—Kindly say if a Rosary from which the cross becomes detached, or which has been re-chained or re-wired, loses its indulgences?

INQUIRER.

In the case of Chaplets or Rosaries, the indulgences are attached to the stones, or *beads* properly so called, and do not cease when the crucifix becomes lost or detached. Similarly, in an indulgenced crucifix, the image or figure retains the indulgences after it has become detached from the cruciform frame to which it is affixed. The Congregation of Indulgences has decided that the loss of a few stones does not invalidate the indulgences in the case of a Rosary, and the reason given for the decision is 'quia coronae eadem perseverant quoad formam moralem.'<sup>3</sup> Hence Beringer<sup>4</sup> concludes, 'On peut donc, sans crainte de perdre les Indulgences, enfiler les grains d'un chapelet dans un autre cordon ou dans un autre chaîne, et remplacer par d'autres les grains peu nombreux qu'on aurait perdus.' For purposes of greater security the method adopted by some people of not disengaging all the stones at once, but of renewing the wires according as the old ones are rejected, may be recommended.

P. MORRISROE.

<sup>3</sup> Prinzivalli, *Resolutiones*, etc., n. 482.

<sup>4</sup> *Les Indulgences*, vol. i., p. 333.

## CORRESPONDENCE

### THE NEBULAR THEORY AND DIVINE REVELATION

REV. DEAR SIR,—Father Selley, in his learned and most interesting article on the Nebular Theory, after remarking rightly that ‘there does not exist such a thing as a fixed star,’ proceeds to define a planet as ‘a cool opaque body, either in a solid or semi-solid state, revolving round another body, as a centre of centrifugal motion.’ I do not understand how the term, revolving, in any sense can help to define the nature of a planet. According to Sir William Herschel, our sun, with its numerous planets, is travelling towards the star Lambda in the constellation of Hercules.

Many dark bodies, such as that revolving around Algol in Perseus, are supposed to be extinct suns, now cold and dead, as they say will be the fate of our own sun some seventeen millions of years hence. May our sun then be described as a planet? Sir Robert Ball ended his series of lectures at the Royal Institution by declaring that no evidence can be conceived by the mind of man as necessary for the final proof of the Nebular Theory that we have not in superabundance already. The satellite of Neptune, revolving the wrong way (!) is only the last item of our system to settle down. In the course of ages it also will show no departure from the general rule. Final proof has only recently been forthcoming, but the great hypothesis of Laplace, with its corollary, now takes rank as the most tremendous fact in Nature. The corollary is that long after stars and suns are cold they meet in fierce collision and are dissolved into new nebulae to start their cycles of the worlds again.

Flammarion tells us that this ‘final proof’ can never be more than a speculation, and cannot be proved by calculation. Astronomy is, indeed, a wonderful and progressive science, but its votaries should not run away with their theories so much. They must agree among themselves, and prove their theories by more convincing proofs, before declaring that we have more than abundant evidence for mere speculations.

In one of his late articles on ‘The Scale of the Visible Heavens,’ published in the March number of *Good Words*, Sir

Robert Ball admits 'that it not unfrequently happens that after much labour has been expended on observations of some particular star, the work turns out to be fruitless, the cause of failure being that the star is so remote that there is no possibility of measuring its distance with the appliances of our observatories.' If mistakes may be made about stars, how can we make sure of the nature and genesis of the Nebulæ?

N. MURPHY, P.P.

Kilmanagh.

**BOOKS ON THE INDEX—ADDRESS OF SACRED CONGREGATIONS, FORMS OF APPLICATION—COPPER COLLECTIONS**

REV. DEAR SIR,—I. Might I suggest that printed copies of all the books which are prohibited by the Index be printed and circulated through the priests. I am sometimes in doubt as to whether I may read a book which I would wish to read. It is also a fact that sometimes a priest reads *bona fide* a book which is strictly prohibited. Neither can we advise lay persons unless we have certain knowledge ourselves. A small payment would cover the cost of printing.

II. Printed forms of application to Roman Congregations for the various dispensations, etc., together with the addresses of those Congregations, would be useful.

III. I would like to have an opinion on the following subject:—It is the custom in many parishes in Ireland to have Sunday copper collections. It is not the practice of bishops, so far as I know, to demand an account of those collections from parish priests. I have heard an experienced parish priest conclude from the above premises that a parish priest may put part of that money to his own personal use. I hold the opposite opinion. Who is right?

April 10th, 1903.

J. G.

I

The first suggestion or request of our correspondent is ambiguous as it stands. We infer, however, that what he wants is not a library of all the books condemned by the Sacred Congregation of the Index, but merely a list of these books. We have no doubt that it would be useful to many

priests for their own guidance and for the guidance of others to have a list of these books, and we are happy to be able to inform our correspondent that such a list is available, and can be got through any Catholic bookseller in Dublin or London for the sum of four or five shillings. The list has been recently most carefully revised and re-edited by our friend and former colleague, Dr. Thomas Esser, O.P., who is now Secretary of the Sacred Congregation of the Index. As an introduction to the list, our correspondent and all others whom it may concern, will find set forth in order the Apostolic Constitutions by which the Sacred Congregation is guided, and from which it derives its authority. For it must be remembered that it is not alone the books actually mentioned in the list that are forbidden, but also the classes of books mentioned in the Constitutions. The recent list was issued from the Vatican Press in 1900.<sup>1</sup>

## II

The Roman Congregation with which Irish priests are most frequently in correspondence regarding dispensations and all practical matters in these countries is the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda. Communications intended for this Congregation may be addressed as follows:—

All' Eccelmo. e Revmo. Signor Segretario,  
Della S. Congregazione di Propaganda,  
Piazza di Spagna,  
Rome.

There are many ways of addressing the Secretary; but this will do as well as any other.

As to the forms of application for dispensations, we must refer our correspondent to standard works, such as Putzer's *Commentarium in Facultates Apostolicas*, or Gasparri's

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<sup>1</sup> Index Librorum Prohibitorum SSmi. D. N. Leonis XIII. Jussu de Auctoritate Recognitus et Editus. Praemittuntur Constitutiones Apostolicae et Examine et Prohibitione Librorum. Romae: Typis Vaticanis. MCM. Quinque Libellae.

*Tractatus Canonicus de Matrimonio.* Feije's treatise, *De Impedimentis et Dispensationibus Matrimonialibus*, will also be found helpful; for although he does not give specimen forms, like Putzer and Gasparri, he treats the subject in such a manner as to make it easy for his readers to put a complicated case in clear and practical form. In the case of faculties to bless beads and crosses and enrol in scapulars, we would direct our correspondent's attention to the Decree of the Holy Office, page 460, and our note on the subject, page 452.

## III

Obligations differ in this matter according to the circumstances and legislation of the different countries. We are not aware that any general regulation has been made for Ireland. Our correspondent would be bound by a diocesan regulation if there be a general law in the diocese. If not, the Bishop can regulate such matters in each particular case according to the needs of the mission. If our correspondent has any practical difficulty, where no general law exists, and local custom does not come to his aid, the Bishop can easily solve it for him.

ED., I.E.R.

## DOCUMENTS

### DECREE OF THE HOLY OFFICE REGARDING THE POWER OF BISHOPS TO SUBDELEGATE CERTAIN FACULTIES

DECRETUM. SUPREMAE CONGREGATIONIS S. O. SUPER POTESTATE  
EPISCOPI DIOECESANI SUBDELEGANDI FACULTATES IPSI AB  
APOSTOLICA SEDE AD TEMPUS DELEGATAS.

In Congr. Gen. S. Rom. et Univ. Inquis. habita ab Emis. ac  
Rmis. DD. Card. in rebus fidei et morum Gen. Inquisitoribus,  
feria IV die 14 Decembris 1898, proposito dubio: *An possit  
Episcopus dioecesanus subdelagare, absque speciali concessione,  
suis Vicariis Generalibus aut aliis Ecclesiasticis Viris modo  
generali, vel saltem pro casu particulari, facultates ab Apostolica  
Sede sibi ad tempus delegatas?* Iidem Emi. Patres responden-  
dum censuerunt: *Affirmative, dummodo id in facultatibus non  
prohibeatur, neque subdelegandi ius pro aliquibus tantum coar-  
ctetur; in hoc enim casu servanda erit adamussim forma  
Rescripti.*

Insequenti vero feria VI, die 16 Decembris 1898, in solita  
Audientia R. P. D. Adessori S. O. impertita, facta de iis omni-  
bus SSmo. D. N. Leoni Div. Prov. Pp. XIII relatione, Sanctitas  
Sua Emorum Patrum resolutionem adprobavit.

Quum insuper dubitatum fuerit, an quod praefatum Decre-  
tum statuit de *Episcopo dioecetano*, intelligendum etiam sit de  
Vicariis, Praefectis et Administratoribus Apostolicis iurisdic-  
tionem ordinariam cum territorio separato habentibus; SSmus.  
D. N. in Audientia feriae V, die 23 Martii 1899, referente  
R. P. D. Adessore S. O. respondet: *Affirmative.*

### INDULT FOR PRIESTS OF THE THIRD ORDER OF ST. FRANCIS

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE INDULGENTIARUM. INDULTUM PRO  
SACERDOTIBUS TERTII ORD. SAECULARIS S. FRANCISCI

*Beatissime Pater,*

Sacerdotes Tertii Ordinis Saecularis S. Francisci, ad  
osculum S. Pedis provoluti, humiliter implorant ut, qui ex ipsis,  
muneribus Sacerdotalibus inpediti fuerint quominus adsignatis

diebus Ecclesiam vel Oratorium adire valeant ad recipiendam Benedictionem Pavalem vel Absolutiones Generales cum adnexa Indulgentia Plenaria praefato Tertio Ordini concessas, easdem recipere possint quocumque die inter festi octiduum occurrente, ne tanto bono spirituali inculpabiliter priventur.

Et Deus, etc.

Vigore specialium facultatem a SS. D. N. Leone Pp. XIII sibi tributarum, S. Congr. Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praeposita benigne annuit pro gratia iuxta preces, ceteris servatis de iure servandis. Contrariis quibuscumque obstantibus. Praesenti in perpetuum valituro.

Datum Romae ex Secretaria eiusdem S. Cong. die 11 Februarii 1903.

A. Card. TRIPEPI, *Praef.*

#### FRANCE AND THE POPE

LEO. XIII. RESCRIBIT EPISCOPIS GALLIAE GRATULANTIBUS DE 25 ANNO  
AB ASSUMPTO SUMMO PONTIFICATU

LEON XIII. PAPE.

*Chers Fils, Vénérables Frères.*

*Salut et Bénédiction Apostolique.*

En ce temps où, de toutes parts, se multiplient pour Nous les causes d'affliction, alors que Notre âme est plus douloureusement affectée des tristesses qui Nous viennent de France, la lettre que, d'un commun accord, vous Nous avez envoyée pour Nous exprimer à l'occasion de Notre Jubilé pontifical vos vœux unanimes, a été une consolation pour Notre cœur.

Dans votre empressement à Nous féliciter si éloquemment et à Nous offrir des souhaits de bonheur à l'occasion de cet heureux événement et de la durée de Notre Pontificat, prolongée au delà de toute attente, Nous avons reconnu l'urbanité et la piété filiale des évêques de France et c'est de grand cœur que Nous vous offrons, à Notre tour, Nos vœux les meilleurs avec l'expression de Notre gratitude. Mais il semble hors de doute que ce témoignage éclatant de respectueuse soumission renferme et exprime, surtout dans les circonstances que traverse présentement l'Eglise, une plus haute signification. Nous y voyons, en effet, un témoignage évident et public de votre

union: non seulement de votre concorde mutuelle, mais aussi de votre étroite union au Siège Apostolique.

Or, Nous sommes convaincu que cette concorde des évêques doit être, au plus haut point, féconde et salubre. Elle sera d'un grand exemple pour la nation française, et il en résultera, entre vous et votre clergé, puis, entre le clergé et les fidèles, une entente plus cordiale encore qu'auparavant. Cet accord des esprits et des volontés, que, plus d'une fois, Nous avons instamment recommandé, les maux de l'Eglise qui s'aggravent de plus en plus à l'heure présente, Nous portent à le recommander plus fortement encore. Qui ne se sentirait, en effet, profondément ému, en face des machinations auxquelles sont en butte aujourd' hui les lois chrétiennes?

Quel évêque, vraiment vigilant, peut ignorer qu'une influence funeste, partout répandue, inculque à la multitude les erreurs les plus pernicieuses, arrache à l'enfance toute religion, livre au mépris les institutions de l'Eglise, s'efforce enfin de ruiner cette Eglise elle-même, fondée par le Christ? Et pourtant, dans toutes les branches de l'activité humaine, les nations ont ressenti les heureux effets de la foi divine; il est évident aussi que le progrès des Etats naît du respect de la religion, et que, les plus florissantes républiques ont été ruinées par l'impiété.

Seule, l'union des bons peut empêcher que la haine des méchants ne triomphe, c'est pourquoi, conscient de la volonté divine qui a fait de la chaire de Pierre le plus ferme appui de la religion, Nous avons tout tenté pour susciter, dans le clergé et dans le peuple, des résolutions proportionnées aux maux qui affligent l'Eglise. Aussi, lorsque Nous considérons ceux qui exercent l'autorité dans l'Eglise, sommes-Nous pénétré d'une joie profonde, en voyant les évêques obéir avec un zèle ardent à Nos exhortations et donner des témoignages éclatants de leur sollicitude pastorale.

Les évêques française, principalement, méritent cet éloge. car bien qu'ils aient eu à souffrir davantage du malheur des temps et de la difficulté des circonstances, ils n'ont pas cessé d'entourer de la plus profonde vénération le siège de Pierre et de Nous aider par leur travail à porter le poids de Notre charge.

Votre lettre nous est un témoignage de ces dispositions filiales à Notre égard; vous y consolez Notre tristesse au milieu des maux qui nous assiègent et vous y montrez des cœurs, non seulement disposés à l'obéissance, mais encore prêts à aller, s'il en était besoin, au devant de Nos préoccupations. Nous vous



félicitons donc, et de votre zèle à défendre la foi des ancêtres et du bel exemple de concorde que vous donnez à votre troupeau. Vous gardez vraiment, avec une sainte et inviolable fidélité, la mémoire des premiers évêques de France, mémoire illustre et digne des louanges les plus hautes.

C'est à eux que la France doit d'avoir pu ajouter, à ses autres titres de gloire, le nom de catholique; c'est par les évêques encore que la religion y sera maintenue à notre époque, dans tout son éclat. Il faut vous attacher fortement à ces traditions si vous voulez être assurés de préserver de toute atteinte la gloire de la France très fidèle, et de repousser efficacement les efforts des impies. Comptant sur votre vertu que Nous connaissons par expérience, Nous ne doutons pas que, pour obtenir ces heureux résultats, vous ne combattiez avec la constance de vos prédécesseurs.

Et Notre confiance dans cette fermeté ne fait que s'accroître, lorsque Nous considérons tous les bons Français qui gardent dans leur cœur cette noblesse que votre illustre nation s'est acquise par l'accomplissement des œuvres de Dieu. L'épreuve qui les accable n'est pas une raison, en effet, d'attendre moins de vos fils, et la mauvaise fortune ne peut les dépouiller du nom si honorable de catholiques. Nous mettons aussi Notre espoir dans les prières que vous adressez à la vénérable Jeanne d'Arc et Nous avons la confiance que cette vierge si bonne vous sera d'un puissant secours.

Saisissant l'occasion de ces solennités jubilaires, vous Nous priez instamment de mettre Jeanne, toujours invaincue, au nombre des bienheureuses: ce serait pour Notre amour paternel une véritable satisfaction que d'accorder à la France catholique, comme une nouvelle marque de bienveillance, cette grâce tant désirée. Mais vous n'ignorez pas que, dans l'affaire si grave que vous Nous proposez, on doit religieusement observer les lois qui règlent la procédure de la Sacrée Congrégation des Rites. C'est pourquoi Nous ne pouvons maintenant que demander à Dieu de faire aboutir cette cause au gré de vos désirs.

Cependant, en témoignage de Notre bienveillance, et comme gage des faveurs célestes, Nous vous accordons de tout cœur dans le Seigneur, à vous et à vos fidèles, la bénédiction apostolique.

Donné à Rome, près Saint-Pierre, le 15 août de l'année 1902, de Notre Pontificat la vingt-cinquième.

LEON XIII. PAPE.

## FRANCE AND THE POPE

EPISTOLA EPORUM GALLIAE GRATULANTIUM DE ANNO 25 AB  
ASSUMPTO SUMMO PONTIFICATU*Très Saint Père,*

L'Eglise de France est trop fière de son titre de Fille première-née de l'Eglise, pour ne pas saisir avec empressement toutes les occasions de témoigner, au Siège apostolique et à Votre personne sacrée ses sentiments d'amour, de fidélité et de dévouement.

C'eût été pour nous, assurément, une grande joie que de nous retrouver groupés autour de Votre Sainteté en ces solennités si imposantes du 20 février et du 4 mars, qui célébraient l'aurore de la vingt-cinquième année de Votre Pontificat. Si nous n'y étions pas tous, Très Saint Père, l'épiscopat français y était dignement représenté. et tous, dans une même pensée de filiale affection, nous Vous avons exprimé, dès la première heure nos félicitations et nos vœux.

Mais voilà qu'aujourd'hui, impatient de déposer aux pieds du Saint-Siège, en poursuivant sa mission, en développant son admiration, le monde catholique, dans un élan magnifique de foi et de piété, devance les dates officielles, et que les Gouvernements eux-mêmes s'empressent de rendre hommage au Pontife providentiel dont l'énergie et la sagesse, en affirmant les droits du Saint-Siège, en poursuivant sa mission, en développant son influence, ont porté si haut le prestige de la papauté.

Les Evêques de France, eux non plus, ne veulent pas attendre pour s'associer, de nouveau, et par un acte public, à cette manifestation universelle, si consolante et très significative.

Ils tiennent à Vous redire une fois de plus, Très Saint Père, ce qu'ils Vous ont dit maintes fois déjà: qu'ils sont les fils soumis, dévoués, aimants de Votre Paternité; qu'ils protestent contre les entraves mises par l'impiété à l'action apostolique de l'Eglise; qu'ils souffrent de vos épreuves; qu'ils partagent vos préoccupations, vos soucis, vos peines; qu'ils reçoivent avec respect tous vos enseignements; qu'ils entrent pleinement dans les voies que Vous leur avez tracées et qu'ils sont prêts à tous les sacrifices pour seconder vos desseins.

Nous sommes heureux aussi, Très Saint-Père, de renouveler ici, au nom de l'Eglise de France tout entière, l'expression de

notre vive et profonde gratitude pour les marques incessantes d'affection que Votre Sainteté a prodiguées à notre pays ; car rien ne nous console autant, au milieu des tribulations de l'heure présente, rien ne nous soutient davantage que de sentir, toujours vigilante, toujours paternelle, Votre sollicitude pour la France ; et nous voudrions pouvoir Vous donner l'assurance que demain, ayant repris conscience du rôle glorieux que la Providence lui a assigné dans le monde, la France saura répondre aux avances du Saint-Siège et faire encore les Œuvres de Dieu parmi les nations.

Enfin, Très Saint Père, ce désir de pacification, cet espoir d'un relèvement prochain et d'un avenir fécond pour notre pays nous pressent de confier à Votre cœur, en la circonstance solennelle de Votre Jubilé pontifical, le vœu qui est la prière instante de l'Eglise de France, de voir bientôt-sur les autels notre Jeanne d'Arc, cette *Fille de Dieu*, comme disaient ses voix, en qui s'incara, au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle, l'âme de la patrie française et qui a passé dans notre histoire comme une radieuse apparition de l'amour du Christ pour les Francs. Que du moins cette année jubilaire ne s'achève point sans que la cause ait fait le pas décisif si impatiemment attendu !

Et nous ne craignons pas, Très Saint Père, que ces instant ces de l'Episcopat français paraissent à Votre Sainteté, ni téméraires, ni indiscrets ; car pour en avoir recueilli si souvent l'aveu sur vos lèvres, nous savons qu'elles sont l'écho de votre propre sentiment, à tel point qu'il nous semble, au contraire, entrer dans vos vues en sollicitant cette insigne faveur.

19 Juillet 1902.

#### CERTAIN RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES OF CARDINALS

DECRETUM. CIRCA JURA ET HONORES PP. CARDINALIBUS ADSERENDA IN NONNULLIS CIRCUMSTANTIIS

De iuribus et honoribus purpuratis Patribus adserendis in actis quibusdam, quae ad ipsorum munus ac dignitatem spectant, R. P. D. Franciscus Riggi, apostolicis caeremoniis praefectus, S. Congregationi Caeremoniali dubia proposuit quae sequuntur :

Dub. I.—Utrum purpurati Patres ad ordinem diaconorum vel presbyterorum pertinentes, sed episcopali consecratione non aucti, crucem ante pectus, more episcoporum, deferre possint,

sive domi intra romanam Curiam, sive ubique locorum extra ipsam Curiam.

Dub. II.—Haud semel accidit ut Patres Cardinales electi Protectores, in solemnibus possessionis, pro simplici aulaeo, duobus a solo gradibus, usi sint throno proprie dicto, tribus a pavimento gradibus elevato, superimposita umbella, seu peristromate. Contigit etiam ut, Cardinali Protectore templum subeunte, decantata fuerit, quemadmodum in possessionu Tituli, antiphona: ‘*Ecce sacerdos magnus*’; vel ‘*Fidelis namque.*’ Denique ut idem Cardinalis Protector, in ecclesia publica confraternitatis aut religiosi ordinis, palliolum, seu *mantelletum*, deposuerit.

Ad certam normam pro variis casibus constituendam quaeritur:

1°. Utrum Patribus Cardinalibus, qui alicuius ecclesiae Protectores a Summo Pontifice fuerint renunciati, cum plena in ipsam iurisdictione, memorata signa honoris, in solemnibus possessionis ritu, competant.

2°. Utrum purpurati Patres electi Protectores ordinum regularium, monasteriorum, confraternitatum, aliorumve institutorum, possint, dum possessionem ineunt, in horum aedis aula maiori, vel in interiore sacello; aut ad ianuam templi vel adnexi publici oratorii excipi cum cantu antiphonae: ‘*Ecce sacerdos magnus,*’ vel: ‘*Fidelis namque.*’

3°. Utrum iidem Cardinales Protectores ordinum regularium, monasteriorum, confraternitatum, aliorumve institutorum, possint in interiore aula religiosae domus vel confraternitatis vel instituti; aut etiam in ecclesia vel publico oratorio, thronum, adhibere triplici cum gradu, superimposita umbella, seu peristromate.

4°. Utrum liceat iisdem palliolum deponere et, relecto suppari, seu *rochetto* et *mozzeta*, adstare in ecclesia vel in publico oratorio, si in alterutro locum habeat actus possessionis.

5°. Purpuratis Patribus, qui a Summo Pontifice fuerint dati Protectores regnis, civitatibus, academiis, aliisve, competantne peculiaris honoris aliqua signa.

Dub. III.—Si contigua ecclesiae aedes propria sit Cardinalis Titularis, eademque inhabitetur a religiosa familia vel instituto subiecto alteri Cardinali utpote Protectori, utri purpurato liceat intra aedem ipsam incedere cum *mozzeta* tantum.

Dub. IV.—1°. Utrum Cardinalis Protectoris collocari insignia, seu stemmata, possint super ianua domus aut templi ad

religiosam familiam, ad confraternitatem aliudve institutum pertinentium.

2°. Item probandane sit consuetudo in Urbe recepta, ponendi super ianuis templorum ad confraternitates pertinentium insignia seu *stemmata* Prímicerii una cum *stemma* Cardinalis Protectoris.

Super proposita dubia, auditis tribus S. Congregationis Caeremonialis consultoribus, Eminentissimi Patres, in comitiis habitis die xiii mensis Maii an. MCMII in Aedibus Vaticanis, ita respondendum censuerunt :

Ad I<sup>um</sup>. *Nihil innovetur.*

Ad II<sup>um</sup>. 1°. *Affirmative.*

2°. *Negative*, i. e. excluso cuiusvis antiphonae cantu.

3°. Ad primam partem *affirmative* : ad secundam *negative*.

4°. *Negative.*

5°. *Negative.*

Ad III<sup>um</sup>. Competit utrique.

Ad IV<sup>um</sup>. 1°. Insignia, seu *stemmata* Cardinalis Protectoris super ianuas domus rite apponuntur.

— Id ubi fieri nequeat, poterunt apponi super ianuas ecclesiae, sed una cum *stemma* Romani Pontificis, et nisi ratio habenda sit potioris iurisdictionis aut patronatus.

2°. *Negative.*

Facta de his, per me infrascriptum Cardinalem S. Congregationi Caeremoniali Praefectum, relatione SSmo D. N. Leoni XIII Pont. Max., Sanctitas Sua omnia adprobavit et confirmavit, die xxx eiusdem mensis et anni.

ALOISIUS Card OREGLIA A S. STEPHANO,  
S. Congr. Caerem. Praefectus.

L. ✠ S.

LUDOVICUS GRABINSKI, *Secretarius.*

#### SODALITY OF THE STATIONS OF THE CROSS

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE INDULGENTIARUM. URBIS ET ORBIS—  
DECRETUM. DE ERIGENDIS SODALITATIBUS VIAE CRUCIS  
VIVENTIS

Pietati Christifidelium fovendae nihil est tam aptum, nihil tam efficax, quam frequens Dominicae Passionis meditatio, in qua dum ipsi recolunt quanta Verbum Dei Caro factum pro nobis pati dignatum est, eorum corda ad poenitentiam

excitantur, et ad redamandum Christum Iesum vehementer inflammantur.

Iam vero inter plura quae id praestant pia exercitia, illud procul dubio prae ceteris eminet, quod a *Via Crucis* nuncupatur, a S. Leonardo e Portu Mauritio primitus inventum, et in universa catholica Ecclesia tam salubriter propagatum.

Quoniam vero plures vel occupationibus distenti, vel valedudine laborantes, prohibentur quominus integro huiusmodi pio Exercitio vacent, nonnulli pietatis zelo praestantes viri, ne spiritualium fructum ex eodem Exercitio manantium copia deperdatur, Sodalitates quasdam instituere excogitarunt ex quatuordecim sociis constantes, qui singuli unam quotidie sibi attributam ex quatuordecim stationibus meditando peragant, ad instar Sodalitatum *Rosarii Viventis*.

Hinc Ssmo. Dno. Nostro Leoni PP. XIII preces humiliter sunt delatae, ut praedictas Sodalitates, earumque leges approbare, et nonnullas sociis indulgentias tribuere dignaretur.

Has porro preces, relatas in audientia habita die 16 Augusti 1901 ab infrascripto Cardinali Praefecto S. Congregationis Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae, Eadem Sanctitas Sua peramanter excepit, Sodalitatesque Viae Crucis *Viventis* summopere commendans approbavit, earumdemque leges, prout in subiecto schemate prostant, auctoritate sua sancivit, servandasque mandavit, simulque indulgentias omnes in indice huic Decreto inserto contentas in perpetuum benigne concessit, defunctis quoque applicabiles.

#### LEGES SERVANDAE IN ERIGENDIS SODALITATIBUS VIAE CRUCIS VIVENTIS

I. Exercitium *Viae Crucis Viventis* instituitur, ad instar *Rosarii Viventis*.

II. *Via Crucis vivens* nihil aliud est, quam invitamentum atque tyrocinium ad completam Viam Crucis, iuxta formam in Ecclesia catholica adhiberi solitam, uberiori aedificationis fructu, atque indulgentiarum ac privilegiorum a SS. Pontificibus concessorum thesauro multo locupletiore ditatam.

III. Quaelibet Sodalitas ex quatuordecim sociis constat, et nonnisi in Ecclesiis, vel Oratoriis publicis sive semipublicis vel etiam in Communitatibus, ubi Stationes Viae Crucis rite erectae existunt, constitui debet.

IV. Ius constituendi Sodalitates in toto Ordine, seu ubique locorum, residet in Ministro Generali Ordinis Minorum

S. Francisci ; inter limites propriae Provinciae, in Provincialibus ; in respectivo districtu, in Guardianis eorumque vices gerentibus, sive per se, sive per suos subditos ad id deputatos.

V. Spectat iure primario ad Ministrum Generalem ubique locorum deputare Directorem Sodalitatum religiosum eiusdem Ordinis, et ubi hic desit, sacerdotem sive saecularem, sive regularem, qui personarum ad novam sodalitatem pertinere cupientium catalogum conficiat, atque custodiat. Idem possunt Provinciales, nisi auctoritas Ministri Generalis obstet, intra limites propriae Provinciae, et etiam Superiores locales, dependenter tamen a Ministro Provinciali.

VI. Ad Directorem spectat nominare Zelatores et Zelatrices, qui vel quae personas inscribendas prudenter quaerant, eidemque Directori proponant.

VII. Ad exercitium Viae Crucis viventis rite peragendum et ad indulgentias eidem adnexas lucrandas requiritur meditatio Stationis unicuique per sortem adsignatae, et recitatio trium *Pater, Ave et Gloria*, manu tenendo Crucifixum ex materia solida confectum, et ad hoc benedictum sive a Ministro Generali, sive a Ministro Provinciali in respectiva Provincia, vel a Superiore locali, aut etiam ab ipso Directore, vel alio Sacerdote a Ministro Generali delegato.

#### INDEX INDULGENTIARUM SODALITATIBUS VIAE CRUCIS VIVENTIS TRIBUTARUM

Omnes Christifideles ab aliquo Directore in Sodalitatem admissi, sequentes Indulgentias lucrari possunt :

I. Primo die festo postquam Sodalitatem adiverint *plenariam indulgentiam*, si eodem die vere poenitentes, confessi, S. Synaxim susceperint.

II. Festis Nativitatis Domini, Circumcisionis, Epiphaniae, Paschatis, Ascentionis, Corporis Christi, Pentecostes, SSmae. Trinitatis ; item singulis feriis Sextis mensis Martii, nec non festis Inventionis et Exaltationis S. Crucis, SS. Stigmatum S. P. Francisci, et eiusdem die natali, *plenariam indulgentiam*, dummodo quisque sodalium quotidie sibi adsignatam Stationem sedulo sancteque peregerit mense integro, simulque contritus et confessus S. Synaxim sumpserit, et aliquam Ecclesiam diebus supra statutis visitaverit, et inibi aliquamdiu ad mentem Summi Pontificis preces effuderit.

III. Die semel quotannis eligenda item *plenariam*, si quilibet e Sodalibus per annum integrum quotidie stationem sibi propriam

peregerit, simulque memorata die vere contritus, confessus et sacra Synaxi reffectus, uti supra oraverit.

IV. Pro quotidiano exercitio *centum dies* diebus ferialibus; *septem annorum et totidem quadragenarum* diebus dominicis aliisque per annum festis, nec non per totam maiorem Hebdomadam.

Contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus.

Datum Romae, ex Secretaria eiusdem S. Congregationis die 16 Augusti 1901.

S. Card. CRETONI, *Praefectus*.

L. ♣ S.

Pro R. P. D. FRANC. Archiep. Amiden., *Secretario*.

JOSEPHUS M. Canonicus COSELLI, *Substitutus*.

#### POWER OF CONFERRING DEGREES IN THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY GRANTED TO THE SEMINARY OF ROCHESTER

CONCEDITUR EPO. ROFFENSI UT ALUMNIS DIOECESANI SEMINARI  
CONFERRE VALEAT GRADUS ACADEMICOS IN FACULT. THEOL.  
ET PHILOS

LEO PP. XIII.

*Ad perpetuam rei memoriam.*

Romani Pontifices Sacrarum Disciplinaryum custodes et vindices, quae in ipsarum bonum evadant atque incrementum paterno studio comparant. Cum itaque venerabilis Frater Bernardus Mac-Quaid, Episcopus Roffensis in Statibus Foederatis Americae Septentrionalis, instanter a Nobis petierit per trami-tem Congregationis de Propaganda Fide pro Dioecesano S. Bernardi Seminario facultatem conferendi gradus Academicos in facultate tum Theologica, tum Philosophica, Nos, collatis consiliis cum venerabilibus Frat. Nris S. R. E. Cardinalibus negotiis ut supra Propagandae Fedei praepositis, attentisque expositis, ac singulari commendatione tum Metropolitanis Archiepiscopi Neo-Eboracensis tum aliorum Episcoporum, Antistitis memorati preces benigne excipiendas existimavimus. Quae cum ita sint, omnes ac singulos, quibus hae litterae Nos- trae favent, peculiari benevolentia complectentes et a quibusvis excommunicationis, suspensionis et interdicti aliisque eccle- siasticis sententiis, censuris et poenis, si quas forte incurrerint, huius tantum rei gratia, absolventes et absolutos fore censentes, Motuproprio atque ex certa scientia et matura deliberatione Nostris, de apostolicae potestatis plenitudine praesentium vi



perpetuumque in modum nunc et pro tempore existenti Ordenario Roffensi facultatem facimus conferendi gradus Academicos in Sacra Theologia et in Philosophia alumni Seminarii Dioecesani S. Bernardi qui de sua probitate et doctrina experimenta praebuerint, his servatis adamussim conditionibus et legibus. I. Ut unusquisque ex candidatis in supradicto Seminario, si de Philosophia agatur, saltem per unum annum pro baccalaureatu, per duos annos pro prolytatu, per tres annos pro Doctoratus laurea Philosophicis doctrinis vacaverit; si vero de Theologia sermo sit, saltem per duos annos pro baccalaureatu, per tres pro prolytatu, per quator pro Doctoratus laurea huius sacrae disciplinae operam dederit. II. Ut opportunum subierit examen in rebus philosophicis ac theologicis orale tantum pro gradibus inferioribus, orale et scriptum pro Doctoratu, praeside Episcopo aut eius Vicario Generali vel alio sacerdote ab eodem Ordinario deputando, et coram tribus saltem professoribus. III. Ut postquam candidatorum quisque dignus habitus fuerit qui laurea decoretur, is in manibus Episcopi vel eius ut supra Delegati fidei professionem iuxta formam a fe: re: Pio PP. IV Praed. Nos. praescriptam, iis additis quae in exemplari edito in vim decreti Congregationis Tridentini Concilii decretis interpretandis praepositae sub die XX Ianuarii anno MDCCCLXXVII atque haec adiuncto continentur, rite emittere teneatur. His rite persolutis studiorumque curriculo emenso candidatus ab Episcopo vel eius vices-genente apostolica Nostra auctoritate creabitur declarabitur in Philosophica, aut respective in Theologica facultate Doctor et Magister, collatis illi omnibus et singulis iuribus ac privilegiis quibus alii sic promoti tam in athenaeo almae huius Urbis Nostrae quam in totius Orbis studiorum Universitatibus de iure vel consuetudine aut alias quomodolibet potiuntur et gaudent. Decernentes praesentes litteras semper firmas, validas et efficaces existere ac fore, suosque plenarios et integros effectus sortiri atque obtinere, ac illis ad quos spectat et pro tempore quandocumque spectabit in omnibus et per omnia plenissime suffragari sicque in praemissis per quoscumque iudices ordinarios et delegatos iudicari ac definiri debere, ac irritum et inane si secus super his a quoquam quavis auctoritate scienter vel ignoranter contigerit attentari. Non obstantibus in contrarium facientibus quibuscumque. Datum Romae apud S. Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris die XX Martii MDCCCCI Pontificatus Nostri anno vigesimo quarto.

ALOIS Card. MACCHI.

L. ✠ S.

**POWER OF CONFERRING DEGREES GRANTED TO DR. M'QUAID  
FOR HIS SEMINARY OF ROCHESTER**

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE PROPAGANDAE FIDEI. NUNTIVM DATUR DE  
PRIVILEGIO CONCEDENDI GRADVS ACADEMICOS IN SEMINARIO  
ROFFENSI

*Illme ac Rme Domine,*

Dum Amplitudo Tua Romae nuper versaretur pro visitatione  
SS. Liminum App. amplam relationem huic S. Congregationi  
praesentavit circa statum sui Seminarii S. Bernardi in  
ista dioecesi Roffensi, enixe rogans ut eidem a Sanctitate Sua  
privilegium concederetur conferendi gradus academicos in Theo-  
logica et Philosophica facultate.

Sanctitas Sua, cui haec petitio oblata fuit, valde gavisam est  
de florenti statu praedicti Seminarii et jucundissimum mihi est  
tibi significare eandem Sanctitatem Suam, attenta etiam singu-  
lari commendatione tum Metropolitanam Archiepiscopi Neo-  
Eboracensis, tum aliorum Episcoporum, tuas supplices preces  
benigne accepisse et imploratum privilegium praefato Seminario  
auctoritate sua concessisse. Hisce adnexum Amplitudini Tuae  
transmitto relativum Breve Pontificium, et interim Deum rogo ut  
Te diu sospitem servet.

A. T. addictissimus Servus,

M. Card. LEDOCHOWSKI, *Praef.*

ALOISIUS VECCIA, *Secrius.*

*Romae die 23 Aprilis 1901.*

R. P. D. BERNARDO MACQUAID,  
*Episcopo Roffensi.*

## NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE OLDEST CODE OF LAWS IN THE WORLD. By C. H. Johns, M.A. Cambridge: T. and T. Clark.

THIS is the legislation of Hammurabi. The liveliest interest now attaches to everything belonging to this great king, who is the Amraphel mentioned in Genesis xiv. Till a few years ago Amraphel was to Biblical students little more than a name, but more recent discoveries have justified Schrader's identification of him with Hammurabi, the sixth king of the first so-called 'Babylonian dynasty.' Then in January, 1902, a *stèle* was discovered at Susa (Persepolis, in Elam) which contained the laws of the famous monarch. The laws were published, with an accompanying translation in October of the same year by Père Scheil, the distinguished Assyriologist, who has made a special study of Elamite history. As, however, his rendering here and there was a paraphrase, the Cambridge lecturer on Assyriology, C. H. Johns, who is already well known by his editions of Assyrian legal documents, has now issued an exactly literal translation. Besides being a boon to students, this publication brings Hammurabi's laws within reach of a much wider circle of readers. As regards the intrinsic nature of the legislation, suffice it here to say that its high moral tone is remarkable. It may be interesting in connection with this to know that such was the veneration in which this code was held, that it was still studied in Babylonia two thousand years after Hammurabi's reign.

R. W.

EINLEITUNG IN DAS N. TESTAMENT. Dr. Belser. Herder.  
852 pp., 8vo. Price, 12s.

THERE is a marked improvement in the Introductions to the New Testament published in recent years as compared with their predecessors. Valroger and Reithmayr were indeed excellent in their day, but that day is long past. Even Schäfer's excellent little work (1898) does not contain all the information a student needs. This, of course, applies with still more reason to the general Introductions

by Kaulen, Cornely, Trichon, etc. The very nature of these works precluded any detailed and satisfactory treatment of many important questions. It was indeed, he tells us in his preface, the want of such a book that induced the Tübingen Professor of Scripture to publish his 'Einleitung.' Here we have all the problems of the present day discussed at full length. Great attention is paid to what may be called the historical environment of the composition of the Gospels and Epistles. Every reader must be struck by the unusually large number of passages and references that are quoted and explained for the purpose of delimiting the date, scope, etc., of these inspired writings. They really give the Introduction the appearance of an historical commentary. This feature of Dr. Belser's work is evidently due to the necessity of refuting the theories of Harnack, Holtzmann, Weiss, etc. The refutation is thorough-going. The Synoptic problem is ably handled. We should, though, like to see more space than from page 233 to page 259 devoted to it. However, we must say that the 'problem' has always seemed to be a fictitious one. Tradition is a safe guide, but when *soi-disant* critics attempt, by counting words and phrases, to account for the mutual relations between Gospels, there will be no end to theories. The hypothesis of the double recension of the Acts, based on the remarkable variants of codex D. is equally well treated of. But this was only what was to be expected in a work by the author of the well-known *Beiträge zur Erklärung der Apostelgeschichte*. The section on the history of the Canon is especially good. It may be said in a word that on everything appertaining to the New Testament the reader is put in possession of the results of the best and most recent criticism. No more useful book could be put into the hands of students. Dr. Belser writes in a truly Catholic spirit which cannot but have a beneficial effect on his readers.

J. C. D.

DER BIBLISCHE SCHÖPFUNGSBERICHT. Dr. Kaulen. Herder.  
Price, 1s.

ANY work from the pen of the celebrated professor of theology in Bonn University is sure to be good. Throughout his long career Dr. Kaulen has been conspicuous for the breadth of his views, the accuracy of his knowledge, and the intensity of his orthodoxy. Among Catholic scholars of the present day he

occupies a prominent place, and his nomination as a member of the Biblical Commission has given universal satisfaction. Works such as Dr. Kaulen's *Assyrien u. Babylonien, Einleitung in das N. T.*, and many others—the articles in the *Kirchenlexicon* included—are quite sufficient to establish his reputation. The latest contribution which he has made to exegesis, namely, this Commentary on the Hexaemeron, will be found very useful, especially to students of Hebrew. It has a character of its own that distinguishes it from the recent commentaries on the same subject by Hummelauer and Zapletal.

J. C. D.

HANDBOOK OF THE HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY. By Dr. Albert Stöckl. Part II. Scholastic Philosophy. Translated by the Rev. T. A. Finlay, S.J., M.A. Dublin: Fallon and Co. Price 5s. net.

STUDENTS of Philosophy will have a warm welcome for this long-expected publication. The first part of Father Finlay's translation of Dr. Stöckl's admirable work was published in 1887. A note on the fly-leaf of the present volume says: 'This part is issued separately for the convenience of those who have already procured Part I. The arrangement of the pages is continuous with that of Part I. Both parts form one volume, which can now be had complete from the publishers.'

Outside the Catholic schools, Scholastic Philosophy has been neglected and unknown, if not despised, in modern times. Hence the pressing need for a fair and clear historical presentation that may attract the English reader. The intrinsic merits of the present handbook give us grounds for hoping that it will satisfy this want. Amongst present day philosophers a juster and fairer appreciation than heretofore of the value of mediæval Philosophy, is beginning to prevail. Dr. Stöckl's historical survey of the period is concise and attractive, as well as being sympathetic and reliable, and comes out at an opportune time for the stranger to Scholasticism.

In our Catholic schools, also, the want of some such historical handbook in English was keenly felt. The teaching of Philosophy nowadays is said to have developed into a mere critical and historical exposition of the subject. That is a natural development which makes up for the absence of any

sound, comprehensive system of Philosophy in all those places where Kantism has wrought ruin and desolation. But it is a charge which certainly cannot be urged against us. Rather do we err in the other extreme. Philosophy would have an altogether new interest for students—a living human interest—if they gave a little more attention to its most attractive aspect—its history. Father Finlay's handbook will surely be an invaluable help to them in this direction. Needless to say, the translation is excellent, and will be found to be wonderfully clear, although the subject itself is not always so.

P. C.

SCRIPTOR SACER, SUB DIVINA INSPIRATIONE. Fr. Zanecchia, O.P. Pustet. 1903.

THE author of this brochure was for a time professor in the Ecole Biblique in Jerusalem. He is well known to students through his work on Palestine, and through another on the Inspiration of Scripture, which appeared about four years ago. In it he gave a very useful explanation of the relevant passages in the Biblical Encyclical, and he also reviewed the opinions of several theologians who had written on Inspiration before the publication of the *Providentissimus Deus*. Among these theologians was Cardinal Franzelin, whose classic treatise, *De Scriptura et Traditione*, is known to all. The view taken of the Cardinal's teaching did not meet the approval of Father Van Kasteren, S.J., whose article, *Franzelin en Zanecchia*, appeared in the *Studien*. The present brochure is a rejoinder.

L. T.

CURSUS PHILOSOPHICUS IN USUM SCHOLARUM. Auctoribus Pluribus Philosophiae Professoribus in Collegiis Valkenbergensi et Stonyhurstensi, S.J.

PARS I. LOGICA. Auctore Carolo Frick, S.J. Editio Tertia Emendata.

THIS treatise was first published in 1893, and it now reaches its third edition. We are not sure if it is well known or very popular, but we believe it deserves to be. It devotes about 100 pages to formal and about 200 to material logic. The author does well to bestow special care on that department of Philosophy which deals with the foundations of Truth and Certainty that are so much questioned in modern systems.

A course of study that is amply wide for any student of Logic is ably and admirably condensed into the handy dimensions of this volume. Of course it supposes the assistance of a teacher. The first part especially could not be mastered by the beginner without such assistance. With his aid it will be found most satisfactory. The power and clearness of thought are striking throughout. The terseness and crispness and accuracy of expression are very attractive features. They remind us of the valuable *notulae*, or notes, in which the teacher of experience often crystallizes his lectures for his students. We wish it a wide circulation in the schools.

PARS VI. (Ejusdem Cursus), PHILOSOPHIA MORALIS.  
Auctore Victore Cathrein, S.J. Editio Quarta ab Auctore recognita.

THIS volume forms the sixth and last of the same 'Cursus Philosophicus,' the four intermediate volumes being Ontology (Frick), Natural Philosophy (Haan), Psychology, and Natural Theology (Boedder). Father Cathrein's Moral Philosophy extends to close on 500 pages, and will be found to be a good, useful class-book. It contains ample matter for the ordinary reader, and abundant references to the scholastic masters for those who may be stimulated by the author's suggestive treatment to search more deeply into the difficult questions in which Moral Philosophy abounds. It is perhaps scarcely to be expected that a text-book would attempt a full and adequate solution of those problems. We are satisfied at finding questions clearly stated, lines of argument plainly indicated, objections fairly proposed, and principles of solutions suggested. On all these points the text-book before us is satisfactory; and when we remember the great labour involved in compiling such a treatise, especially in view of the many modern errors to be dealt with, we must congratulate the author on having achieved his share in the important work of furnishing the Catholic student with a new Course of Philosophy.

Students are often disheartened at finding obscure terms and loose reasoning in the exposition and proofs of some of the most fundamental *theses* dealt with in their text-books. This usually arises from the requirements of brevity, but sometimes, one is tempted to think, from a want of original thought or a failure to grasp the thoughts of the great masters on the part

of the authors. The present volume is an improvement on any we have met in this respect, and some very excellent pieces of clear exposition and proof are to be found in its pages. Still, in places, we have looked for light, and failed to find it. A clear distinction is rightly drawn between what natural reason can do for us in Ethics, and what Revelation has added regarding the Supernatural. It is very difficult to meet directly, in the Science of Ethics itself, the position and teaching of modern secular moralists—as we may call them—for it is in their *presuppositions* that they differ fundamentally from us, in their outlook on man's nature, life, and destiny, leaving out of the whole question, as they do, God, immortality, a future life, the fall of man, and the consequent struggle between higher and lower appetites; and Moral Philosophy is not the place to deal directly with these conceptions. They entail, however, on the moral philosopher the duty of being very clear and explicit in his treatment of the 'Finis Ultimus,' the 'Natura Moralitatis,' and the 'Norma Moralitatis.' It is in these, precisely, we could wish for something more and something better than our author has given us. We are told (not, however, in the present book alone) that the '*objectum beatitudinis humane necessarium et sufficiens*' cannot be '*voluptas*' nor '*ipsa substantia animae*.' We have never heard or read of anyone who said they were. How could the soul itself be the '*objectum beatificans*'—beatifying the soul itself? '*Voluptas*' may have been claimed by some as the '*beatitudo subjectiva*,' which is a different thing altogether; and we have always thought that the true relations between that same '*voluptas*' and '*beatitudo*' still need to be more fully and fairly explained than they have hitherto been in our hand-books of Philosophy. To us, at least, it seems that an exaggerated opposition has been placed between them, as also between the '*bonum honestum*' and the '*bonum delectabile*.' The statement that a thing is '*bonum honestum*' '*inquantum est appetibile per se et praescindendo a delectatione quam affert (bonum honestum),*' leaves much to be desired. The opinion which says that the moral goodness of an action is its '*utilitas ad finem ultimum*,' is refuted as erroneous by inconclusive reasoning, instead of being examined with a view to see if there be any truth in it or wherein it differs from the author's own opinion. According to the latter, morality consists in '*actus dependentia a voluntate libere operante et ratione advertente ad honestatem vel*



turpitudinem objecti.' In establishing this *thesis* he asserts that morality cannot consist in 'relatione conformitatis vel difformitatis cum regula morum,' for the extraordinary reason that morality is something common to both the good and the bad act, while with conformity and difformity there can be nothing in common! Have not both this at least in common that both belong to the category of 'relation'? The meaning of the above *thesis* entirely depends on the meaning of the 'honestas vel turpitude objecti.' Hence we inquire what is it that *makes* one object morally good, another morally bad? which is a different question from this: *How* is it that we know, *by what means* are we to judge, that this object (and consequently, of course, this act which is specified by it) is morally good, and that morally bad? Is it the same objective thing that formally constitutes the moral goodness of the object (the *essentiale constitutivum intrinsecum bonitatis objecti*), and is the 'norma' or 'regula' by which we are able to discern that goodness in the object? Here, where clearness of treatment is evidently of the first importance, we find in many textbooks only confusion. In addition to avoiding the latter we would wish to see in Father Cathrein's treatment of the matter a higher degree of the former. We are rightly told in a thesis that the 'norma proxima' is 'man's rational nature,' and the 'norma ultima' the Divine Essence; and a few pages farther on, in a corollary, that the 'honitas objectiva' can be rightly defined as the 'convenientia objecti per se ipsum ad naturam rationalem ut talem.'

But, then, the question arises: How does man's natural inclination towards what is 'bonum' or 'conveniens suae naturae rationali' become a *duty*, give rise to a *moral obligation*? Is that natural necessity by which every created nature tends towards its own 'good' the only moral obligation, the only constraining law of which natural reason is or can be cognisant? This, at once, brings us face to face with the godless and religionless Ethics of Modern Philosophy, with Utilitarianism and its 'good' without 'duty,' with Kantism and its 'duty' without 'good'; our task in Christian Ethics being to show that 'duty,' by implying a Superior Will and a Future Life, is thus *ultimately* identical with the 'good.' It is a disregard of those two implied truths that has doomed Utilitarianism to failure. We regret that the actual truth that is in Utilitarianism is not more candidly recognised by Catholic moralists in general. Utilitarian Ethics, if illogical, inoperative,

devoid of sanction, cannot, at 'all events, be attacked on the score of want of disinterestedness ; nor does it serve any good purpose to condemn the dark gropings of our less favoured adversaries after 'happiness' as an epicurean pursuit of 'pleasure,' while we ourselves have the eye of faith (and *hope* as well as love) fixed firmly on our All-Good, All-Satisfying Father in Heaven. The reconciliation of 'happiness' with 'duty,' of the 'good' with the 'ought,' can be effected, and is effected, in Christian Ethics ; and there alone are Epicurianism and Kantism successfully avoided. Father Cathrein's *Moral Philosophy* is an able and effectual presentation of the Christian System of Ethics.

P. C.

THE LIFE OF ST. FLANNAN, PATRON OF KILLALOE. Translated and Annotated by Very Rev. S. Malone, V.G., M.R.I.A. Dublin: James Duffy and Co. 1902.

DR. MALONE has done valuable service to Irish ecclesiastical literature by his translation, and particularly by his annotation, of this life of St. Flannan. It is well that the life should be available for popular use ; but it is of still greater importance that Dr. Malone should have given young ecclesiastical students of history an object lesson as to how these ancient lives should be read and appraised. Dr. Malone is not only well versed in Irish history, particularly of the period in which St. Flannan lived, but he is gifted with the critical eye which makes his great store of knowledge so much more useful than it would otherwise be.

We are glad to notice that Dr. Malone has endeavoured to make some sense out of the old Irish sentences quoted in the Life. Such sentences are common enough in the biographies of Irish saints ; but until quite recently one had to go to the German Zeuss for anything like an intelligible interpretation of the principal ones. We do not know whether Dr. Malone's reconstruction of the sentences would pass all the critics, but, at all events, we are glad to have his version. There are few of our native scholars more capable of giving a correct rendering of those lines.

Dr. Malone has worked steadily and fruitfully in the field of Irish sacred literature for many years. This pamphlet, and his recent article on Dr. Zimmer's book, prove that his powers are as fresh and vigorous as ever. Long may they continue so.



## ASSOCIATION OF IDEAS

THE doctrine of Association occupies a premier place in modern philosophy. Systems have been built upon it. Controversies have raged round it. Outside the domain of philosophy strictly so called its influence has been felt far and wide. Educationists cannot afford to ignore it; the students of linguistic science must take cognisance of it; and it enters largely into the deliberations of art and literary criticism. In Father Maher's *Psychology*<sup>1</sup> I find the following:—

Suggestions by contiguity, whether in space or time, is the most important and far-reaching form of association. It is not confined to cognitive acts, but includes emotions, volitions, and external movements as well. It is the principle upon which every system of education, both mental and physical, is based; and by the sensationalist school in this country (*i.e.*, England) it has been erected into an important agency, through which all knowledge and belief regarding space and time, mind and matter, have been created. We have pointed out in treating of sense-perception how the taste, smell, touch, and sight of objects mutually suggest one another. Contiguous association is also a leading source of our pleasures and pains. The process of learning to walk, to speak, and to write, and the acquisition of the various manual arts, rest upon the tendency of acts which are repeated in succession to become so united that each impels to the production of the rest. Language is possible because auditory signs grow to be associated on the one side with the visual image of the object, and on the other with the complex cluster of motor or muscular impulses involved in the utterance of the name; and literature is intelligible only through the

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<sup>1</sup> Fourth Edition. p. 183.

marvellous command which repeated associations have given us over the innumerable combinations of individual letters which cover the page of a book.

In reference to education Locke points out that great care should be taken to prevent undue connexions of ideas in the minds of young people.<sup>2</sup> But his graphic statement of the general facts of association suggests a wider application of the principle. He says<sup>3</sup>:—

Some of our ideas have a *natural*<sup>4</sup> correspondence and connexion one with another ; it is the office and excellency of our reason to trace these and hold them together in that union and correspondence which is founded in their peculiar beings. Besides this there is another connexion of ideas wholly owing to chance or custom : ideas that in themselves are not at all of kin come to be so united in some men's minds that it is very hard to separate them ; they always keep in company, and the one no sooner at any time comes into the understanding but its associate appears with it, and if they are more than two which are thus united, the whole gang, always inseparable, show themselves together.

The expression 'whole gang' is typical of Locke's view of the subject according to which association of ideas is a prolific source of error and sin. He failed like many other writers to note the subtle association of unconscious or natural logic, so accurately described in Newman's *Grammar of Assent*—this on the intellectual side ; and on the moral side he failed to note that it is an association of ideas established by God's grace and man's own efforts that enabled the saints to

Find tongues in trees, books in the running brooks,  
Sermons in stone, and good in everything.

Shakespeare paraphrases St. Paul, 'Diligentibus Deum omnia cooperantur in bonum.' Masters of the spiritual life advise us to connect in our minds the things of time with the things of eternity, so that the fleeting shadow may ever remind us of the unchanging reality. If Wordsworth in spiritual insight stands next to Shakespeare among English

<sup>2</sup> *Essay, etc.*, 2. 33. § 4.

<sup>4</sup> *I.e.*, logical, apparently.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, § 5.

poets (and eminent critics say so), it is because he can say of himself :—

To me the meanest flower that blows can give  
Thoughts that do often lie too deep for tears.

To Locke, however, associated thoughts, like associated estates to a well-known county court judge, seemed no better than a 'gang' of robbers. And this view, though partial and limited, is true as far as it goes. The important ethical principles about occasions of sin are based upon the power which external things have to stir up evil thoughts and desires in us. We must remember also the at least equally important doctrines about evil thoughts that have their origin in our own corrupt nature when all external stimuli are absent. A notion perfectly harmless in itself has the power of bringing before our minds other notions that cannot be entertained without violation of God's law. Would it not be worth while to inquire, at least in a general way, how these and other notions in our minds are linked together, so that we may break or weaken, or at least for the future try to prevent such linking of ideas as may prove detrimental to our spiritual welfare? Of course evil spirits do their own part in tempting us to sin; but the world and the flesh are sources of temptation also; and, indeed, if I mistake not, the principal way in which the demons excite evil thoughts is by setting in motion trains of association that already existed in our own minds.

Again, if language depends upon the association by which signs, vocal or written, sounds or letters, recall to our minds ideas, feelings, images, phantoms, and vivid remembrance of external objects, the science of language has to inquire into the origin of this association, its bases in human nature; and, of course, a knowledge of the general doctrine of association would prove useful here. Similarly, in criticism we have to account for the phenomena of æsthetic pleasure; we have to try to follow out the plan, the scope, the trains of ideas of great artists, the connexion between that plan and those ideas, and the symbols that are used to give them outward expression. This effort to understand, to sympathise with the artist,

to know the end he aimed at, and the means he chose, rather than the attempt to measure him by the antiquated two-foot rule of cut and dry formulæ, is the distinguishing characteristic of modern criticism; and it is generally ascribed to the diffusion of psychological knowledge, and especially of the doctrine of association. The movement can be traced from Addison's *Essays on Imagination*, down to Arnold's *Essays in Criticism*, and the *Causeries du Lundi* of Sainte-Beuve.

An agency that subtly ramifies through every department of human thought and conduct is worthy of attention. And so we find that Sir William Hamilton says, 'The importance of this subject has in modern times been fully recognised—sometimes, perhaps, exaggerated. The history of an idea or a doctrine, an account of its origin and growth in the minds of men from Thales to Spencer, is, perhaps, the best way to get a vital grasp of the doctrine itself. But when we come to review the history of the doctrine of association from the standpoint of most modern writers, an interesting and amusing phenomenon at once presents itself. It is nothing else than a further sample of modern arrogance, having its roots not in modern excellence, but in modern degeneracy. In Macaulay's Essay on Bacon Plato and Aristotle are scouted and routed with great success. Everybody is familiar with the everlasting chorus about scholastic word-splitting and cobweb-spinning. We all know that the Stagirite and the schoolmen—the master of those who know and his aptest pupils—gave themselves up to silly disputes and frantic speculation and all manner of intellectual tomfoolery. Alexander Pope, Catholic as he was, rejoiced with the children of the Protestant tradition that

Scotist and Thomist now in peace remain,  
Among their kindred cobwebs of Duck lane.

The *Instauratio Magna* was the light that first detected and then banished those spiders and their cobwebs. Patient questioning of nature, exhaustive observation, cautious generalising—this is the *novum organum*. Applied to the phenomena of mind, we are told it brought truths to light that the schoolmen never dreamed of, among them being the laws of association. So let us sing the praises of Locke and Hobbes, of Hartley,

and above all, of Hume. 'They were wise in their generation. They made better use of their time than the superstitious scholastics, who, like the German pedants of *Sartor Resartius* 'employed themselves vigorously enough in threshing mere straw.'

Yet, after all, perhaps we may say to the moderns, 'De te mutato nomine fabula narratur.' Perhaps you too have threshed some little straw now and then, not merely in the sense of looking for the grains of ultimate philosophic truth in the straw of materialism, but also in the sense of glorying in the demolition of a man of straw of your own imagination.

In a recent number of the *Review of Reviews* Mr. Stead reproduces a Canadian caricature in which 'Uncle Sam dreams that he has licked creation, and throws bouquets at himself.' Herein Uncle Sam is a type of the age he lives in—the most up-to-date of moderns. In the *Jail Journal* John Mitchel hits off this characteristic of our times in his own inimitable fashion. He says (page 3):—

Reading for want of something better Macaulay's Essays. He is a born Edinburgh Reviewer this Macaulay; and indeed a type-reviewer—an authentic specimen page of nineteenth century 'literature.' He has the right omniscient tone and air, and the true knack of administering reverential flattery to British civilisation, British powers, human enlightenment, and all that, especially to the great nineteenth century and its astounding civilisation—that is to his readers. It is altogether a new thing in the history of mankind this triumphant glorification of a current century upon being the century it is. No former age before Christ or after ever took pride in itself or sneered at the wisdom of its ancestors; and the new phenomenon indicates, I believe, not higher wisdom, but deeper stupidity.

A Mullingar statesman saw no good in putting up the street names in Irish; whereupon a brother councillor suggested that it was brains, not argument, he stood in need of. So, too, when we find Bacon, Locke, Hume, etc., beginning their philosophies by showing that all philosophy is unattainable, we begin to doubt their philosophic genius, not to speak of their common sense. Bacon's is the only genuine philosophy, quoth Macaulay, because he proposes as his end no 'unattainable frames of mind' in this world or in the next, but fruit, videlicet, bread and butter, on which basis modern philosophy,

like modern jingoism, is built. Mitchel says that Bacon's discovery of the new method 'is the most genuine piece of mare's nesting recorded in the history of letters'; and this is so for two reasons, first because of the folly-towers of pseudo-philosophy, which have been erected on its basis, and secondly, because the method was already old before Bacon was born. The case of association of ideas will be found somewhat similar.

It is not my purpose in the present article to discuss what is known as the associationist philosophy. It would appear that  $2+2=4$  simply because we always found it so, and so our constant experience has tied the two ideas together in our minds; and it is possible that  $2+2=5$  or 3 or 1 in Mars or Jupiter. So, too, if we could consult the Man in the Moon or some other individual far away from sublunary or even lunar influences, it might possibly turn out that Hume and Mill and Bain are equivalent to only one middling philosopher instead of being three uncommonly clever ones, as they fondly imagine.

But the most genuine phase of the mare's nesting process consists in the notions that used to prevail about the history of the doctrine. The history of philosophy, as told by non-Catholics, is part and parcel of the great Protestant tradition. Cardinal Newman gives a striking and somewhat humorous account of the construction of such history. The process is as follows: Dip into old annalists, old theologians, old writers generally; pick out what will suit you; if you think it valuable present it to the world as your own, as in the case of Jeremy Taylor's plagiarism from St. Francis de Sales and the *Imitation of Christ*. Dr. Murray had read a good deal of Protestant theology; but he said that he never found anything worth a τράικνίν that was not stolen from Catholic authors. Again, pick out the petty, the doubtful, the irrelevant side-issues; set them in strong relief so as to suit the book market of the hour; omit what is essential and important, and so you make up a beautiful picture of St. Eloi and the Dark Ages when Popery ruled mankind like some huge nightmare, and good Protestants will pay their pennies to see the show and go home duly edified.



The matter in hand supplies an admirable illustration of the process. Hume and his followers had not words to express their utter scorn for the schoolmen. Mr. Hume says also, 'I do not find that any philosopher has attempted to enumerate or class all the principles of association'; and, he adds with all the seeming naïveté of the genuine searcher after truth. 'it is a subject, however, that seems to me very worthy of curiosity.'<sup>5</sup> And as Sir W. Hamilton points out, he modestly claims for himself the glory of first generalising those laws.<sup>6</sup> What, now, if we got a peep into Mr. Hume's study and found him industriously and with commendable docility copying out his St. Thomas?

Coleridge<sup>7</sup> says:—

In consulting the excellent commentary of St. Thomas Aquinas, on the 'Parva Naturalia' of Aristotle, I was struck at once with its close resemblance to Hume's Essay on Association. The main thoughts were the same in both, the *order* of the thoughts was the same, and even the illustrations differed only by Hume's occasional substitution of more modern examples. I mentioned the circumstance to several of my literary acquaintances, who admitted the closeness of the resemblance, and that it seemed to be too great to be explained by mere coincidence; but they thought it improbable that Hume should have held the pages of the Angelic Doctor worth turning over. But some time after Mr. Payne, of the King's Mews, showed Sir James Mackintosh some odd volumes of St. Thomas Aquinas', partly perhaps from having heard that Sir James had in his lectures passed a high encomium on this canonised philosopher, but chiefly from the fact that the volumes had belonged to Mr. Hume, and had here and there marginal marks and notes of reference in his own handwriting. Among those volumes was that which contains the 'Parva Naturalia' in the old Latin versions, swathed and swaddled in the commentary aforementioned!

Hamilton<sup>8</sup> tries to throw discredit upon this story which is a plain statement of fact; and he refers us to a Life of Hume by a Mr. Burton. Not having access to that work, I cannot say how the very serious charge of plagiarism is met by Mr. Burton. Perhaps some reader of the I. E. RECORD could throw light on the subject?

<sup>5</sup> *Enquiry*, sect. iii.

<sup>7</sup> *Biographia Literaria*, chap. iv.

<sup>6</sup> Hamilton's Reid, note D\*\*

<sup>8</sup> Hamilton's Reid, note D\*\*

In any case, whether Hume was an unscrupulous and dishonest plagiarist or not, Sir W. Hamilton gives abundant proof that Hume's vaunted discovery was familiar to Aristotle and the schoolmen.<sup>9</sup> Aristotle was the real and original discoverer of the laws of association; 'and for this,' says Hamilton, 'but not alone for this, he stands the Copernicus and Keple and Newton of the intellectual world.' Some writers claimed the honour for Hobbes, 'but he was simply a silent follower of the Stagirite.' Sir William makes good his statement by copious extracts from Aristotle and his disciples. Father Maher,<sup>10</sup> after quoting a short passage from St. Thomas on the question, says:—

Accordingly, notwithstanding the contempt which writers of the Associationist School have invariably exhibited towards the schoolmen, we find in these terse remarks of St. Thomas, now over six hundred years old, a statement and analysis of the laws of Association, virtually as complete and exhaustive as that given by any psychologist from Hobbes to Spencer.

In reference to Hamilton's extract from Vives he says:—

A very little study of even those extracts will show how familiar to scholastic philosophers were many of the supposed discoveries of Hobbes, Hume, and later associationalist writers.

We may conclude with the remark that here as elsewhere the Catholic principle holds good that we may always learn from the past—a principle that is daily extending its influence in Ireland, and the vivid realising of which has inspired all the most hopeful movements of the day.

P. FORDE, C.C.

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<sup>9</sup> Hamilton's Reid, Note D \*\*

<sup>10</sup> *Psychology*, pp. 202-3, 4th edition.

## EMPLOYMENT v. EMIGRATION

Over-population has no existence. There is no over-population, but enough of under cultivation.'

'Our population is not too great for the productive powers of the soil.'

'At present a gulf seems placed in many places between the people and the soil--there are people able to work, and land able to produce--and they are not brought in contact.'

'It should be our effort to hold out some inducement to our people to remain at home, and devote to the cultivation of our own neglected soil those energies which are now enriching the Transatlantic world.'—JUDGE LAWSON, Statistical Society of Ireland, 1849.

THE continuous torrent of emigration from Ireland, especially to the United States, has, every decade during the last fifty years, attracted the attention and aroused the indignation of all interested in the prosperity of the country. An eminent authority has said: 'Where the people of a country leave that country *en masse*, the government of that country is judged and condemned.' Not only political economists pronounce this condemnation, but very recently a distinguished Cabinet Minister, Lord George Hamilton, in his speech on 16th August, 1901, on Indian affairs, said: 'I admit at once that if it could be shown that India has retrograded in material prosperity under our rule *we stand self-condemned*, and we ought no longer to be entrusted with the control of that country.' Whatever may be said of India, of the retrogression of Ireland in material prosperity there is no question; and will this English minister make the same admission as to the responsibility of the Government as he has done in the case of India.

On the publication of the last census, which showed a drain of 40,000 per annum, the Bishops of Ireland in a joint resolution deplored this awful state of things. They pointed out that, in addition to material misery and starvation, there awaited the emigrants to the big American cities many dangers to faith and nationality. In short, they recommended the people to stay at home. This advice raises many questions. When first the people emigrated, though their country was injured, they were benefitted. Swift has said, 'People are the

riches of a nation.' Statisticians compute that the value to a country of a healthy adult male is £200, and of every adult female £100. If we take an average of £150, the 40,000 a year who left Ireland in the last ten years in the prime of life, represent an annual drain of £6,000,000, or £60,000,000 in the decade. It is unnecessary to prove that emigration has impoverished the country, the statistics of its poverty are everywhere in black and white. for in a country not to progress is to retrograde. Judge Lawson, quoted above, saw this fifty-four years ago, 'Over population,' he said, 'furnishes to the indolent a ready solution of all our difficulties—but I am persuaded we ought to look more deeply into the matter and view emigration, not as a remedy for our distress, *which it never can be, but as the effect of a system at home* which prevents land from being and furnishing a safe and profitable investment for capital.'

Not only, however, are the evil results at home continued and increased, but the advantages to the Irish emigrant abroad, especially in America, are much decreased, if not entirely vanished. Since emigration first began the whole situation is changed. Statisticians, correspondents, prelates, priests and laymen have lately placed figures before us to demonstrate this fact. In the first place it is difficult to obtain employment, and in the second case hard and slavish is the lot of many who obtain it. Owing to the influx into the States of other nationalities, labour is at a discount. The Chinese and the Italian—the latter driven from a fertile country by the crushing taxation of a military government, work for the barest living—a living the humblest Irishman would disdain.

Few skilled workers, unfortunately, go from Ireland; Germans, Swiss, and other European nations as a rule furnish these. A recent correspondent in an Irish paper draws the following picture of the state of things which he found in New York:—

Many a young Irishman becomes a wreck here simply because he is too proud to return home and have to tell the people that he could not make out a living in America. It is to be regretted that the average Irishman coming to our shores has no commodity to place on the market save that of manual labour, and of that there is more than enough; it is supplied by the Chinese

and the Italians. The Italians can actually live on the scantiest fare, and under conditions repugnant to any other race.

In the *Bulletin* of the Department of Labour in the State of New York, dated March, 1903, I find the following figures: 'In the quarter ending 31st December, 1902, the increase in Italian immigrants from Southern Italy numbered 7,129, and from Northern Italy, 2,191.

In one of his latest utterances the late lamented Sir Charles Gavan Duffy thus spoke on this very subject in his address on the Revival of Irish Literature, published in 1894 (page 22):—

I lived for a quarter of a century in Australia, and there rarely came an English ship into the port of Melbourne that did not bring me letters of introduction with young Irishmen who hoped to make their home in the new country. Some of them were as bright and intelligent young fellows as I ever met in the world, but they were wholly untrained in any business. They had no profession and no trade. The man who had a trade prospered in a wonderful manner, the man who had a profession prospered according to his capacity, but the man who was ready 'to do anything' generally found nothing to do.

Why the young Irishmen of the middle and upper classes went out so unfitted for life's battle we shall see from the remarks I shall presently quote; but why skilled workmen, who had served their apprenticeship to a trade, did not go out from a country where they seemed too numerous at home rather surprises me. Just now the advance of machinery and monopolies in American and colonial cities has narrowed the area of skilled as well as unskilled labour. But the fact that the classes referred to by Sir Charles Gavan Duffy go abroad unskilled in practical knowledge is obviously not due to the Irish people themselves. To whom, then, is it due? In answer I shall quote a high and unimpeachable authority, that of the late Professor Fitzgerald, F.T.C.D. In a lecture delivered before the Industrial League on the 7th May, 1896, he says on page 13: 'Why are we so far behind in Ireland? Is it the fault of the farmers or the Industrial classes? No, it is the fault of our educational system. The Intermediate Board won't allow boys in an agricultural country to learn botany. Trinity

College won't allow students in their first year to learn experimental science, for fear it might encourage the schools to teach children scientific methods. It is all very well,' he continues, 'to complain that the industrial classes are not industrious. This may be all true, but who is it that sets them the example of being content with what their fathers did? It is the authorities of Trinity College, Dublin. It is the Board of Intermediate Education. It is the Board of National Education.' However, though late, a change has come. Principally by the exertions of his Grace Archbishop Walsh, an improvement has been made in the National system. Drawing, manual instruction, and the training of eye and brain now form an obligatory part of the curriculum.

The labours of the Right Hon. Horace Plunkett and his Department (though compared with less rich nations very poorly aided by the State), is doing something at last to spread technical and scientific methods amongst the ordinary youth of the country, male and female.

But if the Government of the country and the University of Dublin, and the various educational Boards were deaf to the claims and necessities of the people, there was one class of men and one institution in Ireland quite alive to the importance of practical science. In *My Campaign in Ireland*, the late Cardinal Newman says: 'Dr. Moriarty (Bishop of Kerry) directed my attention to the formation of an institution for *practical science as was to be found in Paris*.' Such a school indeed existed in the Catholic University under the guidance of that eminent scientist Dr. William K. Sullivan. Had it been fully furnished and in an endowed University and teaching practical science for the last five and thirty years, what a change would have been wrought in the fortunes of those who remained at home or whom misgovernment had driven from their native country.

The question, however, now, is not one of the past but of the present and the future. If emigration is to be checked either of two consequences follow: the people kept at home must be fed, clothed, and housed at the cost of the ratepayers, or they must be employed. To the Poor House I prefer

employment. As the greatest, nearest at hand, and least developed source of employment I shall take first

#### THE LAND.

‘Under cultivation,’ as Judge Lawson said in 1849, ‘is the greatest evil of Ireland.’ It exists to-day even to a greater extent than it did at that time. The first step is undoubtedly to abolish the present system of dual ownership. This has been long since done on the Continent of Europe. Great Britain is the only country in it which preserves a system where the owner does not till, and where the tiller does not own. Between the two the land and its resources get no fair play. In fact, as rents depreciate with less profit from the land the occupier is tempted to let it deteriorate rather than improve it. But I shall assume that this iniquitous system is about to be abandoned and occupying proprietorship to ensue on terms not too heavy for the purchaser, not unfair to the seller, and not unjust to the rest of the nation which has an interest in the land, the common inheritance of the whole Irish people.

Under those happy circumstances one of the first things to be done will be to break up the large grazing farms which employ only a couple of herds, where hundreds of happy peasant proprietors could earn an honest living.

But some one, ignorant of agricultural statistics in other countries, may ask, What will you do for fat sheep and cattle? This question has long ago been solved abroad. In Belgium, for instance, cattle and sheep are raised, not only sufficient for its own tanning population, but for export to Great Britain. The cattle and sheep are stall-fed. The dual system is carried on by an industrious population instead of the single system here by the few left behind after emigration. When the grazing prairies are replaced by small handy farms, and when agricultural banks replace the usurious financial system in agricultural districts, then will abundant employment be found for millions of people in this country. The admirable report of the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society, 1901, draws special attention to the necessity of improved banking facilities for the Irish farmer.

The German farmer, it says (page 11), can obtain from  $3\frac{1}{2}$  to  $3\frac{3}{4}$  per cent. on any money they do not require for use, even for short periods, and *they can borrow at from 4 to  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. for short periods up to two or three years.* In Ireland 1 to  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. is the usual interest on deposits; while the interest on loans varies from 5 to 10 per cent.

If, then, new land legislation is not accompanied by some reform in the financial system of the country it will be shorn of much of its benefits. Why should not the Irish Post Office Savings, now amounting to about £10,000,000 be applied to help farming and other small industries on safe conditions? Mr. Long, an authority on agricultural matters, wrote a few days ago as follows:—

From every county in Ireland comes the dread statements of land going out of cultivation and the decrease of the population. In no country in Europe except the British dominions is there a system of grazing and landlordship. Tillage, stall-feeding, and peasant proprietary make the wealth and happiness of the rural population.

Describing such a population in Germany Mr. Tetley, a well known and experienced observer thus writes in his pamphlet published in 1897:—

There is nothing which brings the industry of the peasants to the notice of the stranger more than to see them at their work, clinging on, as it were, to the rocky sides of the steep hills, where it would have been scarcely possible to stand, and hoeing up the land between the roots of trees so that a rye crop could be put in where no one but a Moselle peasant proprietor would think of putting in one at all.

Why are not our Dublin hills and Irish mountain sides cultivated (as well as the Moselle hills) by Irish peasant proprietors? Why are not 'owners' of rocks in the words of Arthur Young a hundred years ago, turning these 'rocks into gardens'? The answer is that of Judge Lawson: 'A gulf seems placed between the people and the soil.' God grant it were bridged over; no matter at what cost. And what are the consequences of this system in Germany? I should like to quote here instances of the social and financial benefits arising from tillage as opposed to grazing, even in



Ireland itself. In his report on the Downpatrick district, Mr. P. J. Kelly, Inspector of National Schools, says:

Another striking feature is the universal prevalence of tillage, presenting a strong and pleasing contrast to the vistas of moor, pasture, or meadow land in other parts of Ireland. Whatever may be the relative merits of pasture and tillage, it is to be said for the latter that by making individuals industrious, it has a healthy influence on the character of a nation. As to the financial contrast, the standard poor rate of the Co. Limerick ranges from 1s. 5½d. to 2s. 9½d. In Co. Down from 7¼d. to 1s. 1½d.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Tetley says: 'We find the Moselle peasant happy and contented, proud of the little property he owns, and of the life he leads, and in every way a credit to the fatherland.'

Is not this a result worth paying for, no matter where the money comes from? This is a different picture of a peasant proprietary from that drawn by Sir Antony MacDonnell a few days ago. He referred, however, principally to the peasantry of Italy. But their misery and enforced emigration proceed not from any faults in proprietorship, but from the crushing taxation for the support of armies and fleets which an extravagant ambition has rendered necessary. These consequences had been pointed out by Mr. Lecky in his chapter on Italy in his work on Democracy, and by many Italian writers of the present day. Mr. Lecky says (page 413): 'Most of the Italian States before the war of independence were among the most lightly taxed in Europe. No other European country in proportion to its means is now so heavily taxed as Italy.'

In addition to the increased employment which the mere tillage of the soil would afford, let us look to these unexplored mines of wealth and sources of employment which are to be found in planting, peat, fishing, quarries and minerals of Ireland.

#### PLANTING.

During the proceedings of Sir Eardley Wilmot's Committee in 1886, the late Dr. Wm. K. Sullivan gave evidence as to the

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<sup>1</sup> Sixty-fourth Report of Commissioners, 1898-9, p. 142.

effects of planting in Ireland. He said that about thirty years before, when the Government had determined to establish those expensive but useless model farms, he recommended the reclamation and planting of the mountain sides. Had that been done he said 'Ireland would that day be richer by thirty millions sterling.' The Government contented itself with sending over a forest expert from Denmark, Conservator Howitz, to inquire into and report on the subject. He reported that the country was most suitable for planting, and said 'I think the question of planting Ireland is one of vital importance to that country, and that instead of having five millions of people there ought to be twenty-five.'

What an answer in one sentence to the problem of the day, Emigration! And yet since then twenty more precious years have passed away and nothing has been done. Contrast this with the action of the French Government. The planting of the Landes districts has added in thirty years £50,000,000 to the wealth of France. Referring to this the French Forest Department says: 'This is one of the most beautiful pages in the history of civilization and progress in a region which thirty years ago was one of the poorest and most miserable in France, but which now must be reckoned the most wealthy and prosperous.'

In Ireland, for many years, not only was there nothing done to promote planting but everything was done to prevent it. The landlord could not plant without permission of the tenant; the tenant did not allow him, nor did he plant himself, for the trees became the property of the landlord. Hence, modern Ireland is almost destitute of trees and of the countless industries which their existence tends to promote. Then as for the

#### FISHING.

Sea, lakes, and rivers are teeming with fish, which means wealth and employment. Into our coast and deep-sea fishing come the well-equipped fleets of the Cornishmen, the Manxmen, and even the Frenchmen. Their governments look after them, and it is well known that the Lenten fish for France is mainly caught along the Irish coast.

From the Board of Trade the following figures appear as regards Sea Fisheries in Scotland and Ireland for the year 1900:—Scotland, cwts., 5,369,141; value, £2,225,742. Ireland, cwts., 603,788; value, £278,946!

As for our inland fisheries, they are regarded more as sources of private rights and of sport than as sources of national wealth.

But we also have the vast wealth of 'peat,' which is practically undeveloped in Ireland. Arthur Young spoke of it; Sir Robert Kane wrote scores of pages about it; Dr. Wm. K. Sullivan gave days of evidence upon it. Holland and Bavaria to-day furnish existing examples of its numberless advantages for manufactures, locomotives, etc.

But what does all this end in in this country? Committees and commissioners' reports and recommendations; but as Mr. Lucy says frequently in *Punch* of Parliament: 'Business done—nothing.' So it is with Ireland. No matter what the subject of inquiry, there are lots of reports, but the result is nothing.

#### MINERALS AND STONE.

Then underneath in the womb of the earth of Ireland lie hidden stores of wealth requiring but the labour of man to reveal and realise them. In every county of Ireland stones, marbles, porphyry, slates, coals, etc., abound, and with the exception of what the Church has done in erecting temples and buildings all over the land, these resources are mostly undeveloped. I remember well how on that Committee of Sir Eardley Wilmot, to which I have before referred, Dr. Sullivan, on this subject of stones and marbles was asked by an English member, 'Are you aware that the altar to St. Patrick at the Brompton Oratory is made of Italian marble?' 'I don't know,' he replied, 'how that may be, but I know that all the stone used in the Albert Memorial, within a stone's throw of it, is Irish.'

In the church of the Catholic University, Stephen's-green, one can see how Irish marble and stone can be used for church purposes with great and beautiful effect.

Clays and sands abound for pottery and glass. In fact

there is nothing which we daily use and import from foreign countries that could not be produced at home ; but we lack the institutions of foreign countries to which I shall presently refer.

#### TOWN INDUSTRIES.

These being matters more for creation than development, and depending on the number of consumers, come naturally for consideration after that development of the land and consequent increase of the population to which I have referred. In fact, in most countries, but in Ireland most especially, the prosperity of the towns depends upon that of the rural districts. Our economic condition, especially in three provinces, are quite exceptional and different from those in other countries and even of a great portion of the North of Ireland. In the North the linen trade was fostered, in the South the woollen trade was crushed ; in the North there was the security given by tenant-right, in the South the insecurity entailed by landlord wrong, critics seem to forget or ignore these facts. However, I do not quite agree with the statement in the report of the Recess Committee when they say, 'we have in Ireland a poor country, practically without manufactures except for the linen and shipbuilding of the North and the brewing and distilling of Dublin.' Now, I beg leave to question the accuracy of this statement. At the National Exhibition in 1882, referred to a few days ago by the Chairman of Arnott and Co., as giving a great start to industries, there was exhibited almost every article of consumption that a people could require. Not, perhaps, as an equivalent to the linen of the North, but as a most important item of manufacture, I may point out the woollen manufacture now spread all over the country. It does not deserve to be ignored. At the opening of the Exhibition of 1882, there were, I believe, not more than a dozen manufactories, there are now, I believe, about one hundred. Before the Exhibition Irish tweeds could not be sold in Ireland except they were marked Cheviot ; now they are sold in Scotland marked Irish.

But we have a more recent instance of the multitude of things manufactured in Ireland at the present moment. In

the Cork Exhibition over three hundred manufacturers exhibited goods of every kind including clothing, food, furniture, household requirements of every kind, including glass, china, soap, matches, etc.

The problem is, why have we not more of these factories? Why do not the Irish people, crying out for employment and the stemming of emigration, buy these products and multiply these factories? At Cork, during the Exhibition of last year, a circumstance struck me which places this matter in a very strong light. At the Exhibition I had been admiring the very beautiful furniture made in Cork and Dublin and other parts of Ireland, and yet to the very hotel in which I was staying in the very city of Cork, furniture from America was coming. Why is this? These imported goods had to pay the artisan and labourer in America, the manufacturer, the exporter, all the export charges, the freight, the charges and railway carriage in Ireland, the importer and all his profits, and yet they can be sold cheaper in the very streets of Cork than the goods subject almost to none of these charges. Is it that our manufacturers will not or cannot produce goods at home as good and cheap? or is it that our own Irish people give preference to foreign goods? or is it that the Irish producer or distributor wants more profit? or is it that the foreign producer gives the Irish distributor better and easier terms than the native manufacturers? or is it that the immense large output enables the foreign producer to sell cheaper than the Irish one whose output is restricted? or is it a question of higher cost of production in Ireland than elsewhere? Wherever it comes from I cannot blame the people with narrow means for looking for what will best suit these means.

From a long acquaintance with neighbourhoods such as Camden Street and Henry Street in Dublin, and similar streets in other towns, I am aware that into these streets pour on a Saturday night, not English people, not fashionable people, but the wives and daughters of the working classes. They are the real purchasers. Why do not they buy Irish boots and shoes, and clothes, and household requirements? I will tell you why.

No Chancellor of the Exchequer looks more anxiously into

how he can economise his millions than does the Irish housekeeper into the disposition of her few shillings, ranging between fifteen, twenty, or thirty shillings. She has to provide clothes and food and lodging and other matters for husband, self, and children. All the patriotism in the world will not expand five shillings into ten shillings, or ten shillings into twenty shillings. It is no use saying if she wants two pairs of children's boots for five shillings that she must give eight or ten shillings because they are Irish. No doubt they may be better, but she must pass on and make the payment suit the purse. No one wants dear goods for cheap money; but why do not Irish producers as well as foreign, offer cheap goods for small money as well as dear goods for large money. The retail character of the manufacture in Ireland, no doubt, enhances the cost of production. How is that to be met? By increased demand. And from whence is that to come? Surely from an increased population.

In this way the towns and their industries depend on the population; but if that dwindles year by year the manufacturing difficulty becomes more acute. The connection between the population of the agricultural districts and the population of towns is obvious and close, and the first must take place before the latter can be achieved. Even ratepayers should remember this fact, if the people do not emigrate and if they remain at home employment must be found for them, or they must be housed and fed and clothed at the cost of the ratepayers at the standard poor rate of 1s. 9¼d. in Dublin, in Cork at 2s. 6¼d., and in Limerick at 2s. 9½d., instead of 1s. 1½d. in Belfast, and 7d. in Derry, where employment is abundant.

I have endeavoured to show the industries we have even in our depressed condition, and I should like to point out the industries which might be extended or created. The Report of the Recess Committee deals with these in Part II., page 10 to page 43.

Beetroot sugar could be made a profitable manufacture if properly handled. Professor Wm. K. Sullivan thus humorously but graphically describes the cause of the failure at Mountmellick. He said 'the beetroot should be kept dry; it

was left steeped in water. It required a new bolier to economise fuel; an old, worn-out one was employed that wasted tons of coal. The manager never saw a ton of sugar made in his life, his only qualification was that he was an old soldier of Garibaldi. And if that does not account for the failure at Mountmellick I have no more to say.'

'As for tobacco,' says the Report, 'it is successfully grown in the Pas de Calais, where the soil and climate are harsher than those of many parts of Ireland.' 'And the next question, Whether this crop is suitable to Ireland? is precisely one of those which it would be the function of a Department of Agriculture to settle by means of its experiment stations.' In answer to the queries of the Department, who sent them samples, the Irish manufacturers report: 'We consider the experiment a success in many ways, and a very great improvement on previous efforts in England.' The matter is now receiving parliamentary attention.

Flax could be produced of better quality. 'Belgium flax realises £74 and £61 per ton as against £56 and £54 for Irish flax.' One of the reasons for the decline of flax growing quoted by the Report is significant. 'Mr. J. D. Barbour, at the meeting of the Flax Supply Association in 1894, said, "the real stumbling-block ahead (to the Ulster linen trade) was that they could not get enough Irish flax"; he added that he did not believe the reluctance of the farmers to grow more flax arose from unwillingness on their part, "but because there was difficulty in getting hands to steep the flax and attend to it at the critical moments."' The Report continues, 'The scarcity of labour here referred to is plainly one of the results of emigration; *and it is an indication that emigration from non-congested districts of Ireland has now reached a point beyond which it cannot go without serious detriment to the country.*'

This is a grave remark in view of the fact that since the Report was presented in 1896, according to the last census the population since that time has lessened by 240,000 persons, and this apparently whilst hands are wanted at home.

There is evidently a bureau of labour wanted, such as exists in the United States, where the labour is brought to places where it is required.

It is thus described in a leaflet sent me lately from New York :—

Just a word or two about the state of New York Free Employment Bureau. What is the Bureau? The Bureau is a labour exchange conducted by the State of New York and is free to employer and employed, the State paying the running expenses of the same.

The Recess Committee point out the necessity of having 'a dead meat trade in substitution for the present wasteful and cruel method of shipping cattle to Great Britain.' The benefit of a dead-meat trade to Ireland would be two-fold. 'The first and less important would consist in the avoidance of the loss through deterioration of the cattle in transit; the second in the transference to Ireland of all the industries connected with or arising out of the slaughter of their cattle.' The Committee point out amongst these the tanning trade and the making of leather, now almost lost industries to Ireland.

I remember reading lately of a comb manufactory near Lyons where the material used was mainly the horns of Irish cattle imported from England. But it would be wearisome to go in detail into the wealth of opportunities which Ireland affords. Before I come to the conclusion as to how these can not only be talked about but practically developed. I wish to refer to another aid which Providence is sending in addition to land reform to help on the manufactures and productinos of town and country. I refer to the diffusion of

#### ELECTRIC POWER.

At the beginning of the last century after the discovery of steam and its concentration in the hands of capitalists in big factories, the individual worker was annihilated. Coal was its chief producer, and in the huge factories human beings lost their personality and were not much more than parts of the vast machinery around them.

Now, the electric current being cheaply produced and diffused, the new century is opening with another revolution destined to restore in a great measure the individual worker to his home. The new force cannot be cornered—it can be, and is being spread all over the



face of the earth. Far more profusely, however, on the Continent of Europe and America than in England or Ireland. But it is bound to come. The economic, industrial, and social effects of its development it would be hard to exaggerate. The English people are becoming alive to the progress of the new agent. Writing lately of its development in Newcastle-on-Tyne, the *Daily Telegraph* says, 'The current is supplied to small manufacturers, such as printers, cabinet makers, organ builders, cutlers, etc.' The writer, I am glad to say, can also refer to Ireland. 'Of still greater interest,' he says, 'is the experiment made in the city of Cork. There are 110 motors connected with the Cork Company's mains, and they aggregate 930 horse-power. They range from  $\frac{1}{4}$  horse-power up to 50. Thus intelligently does Cork get the better of dear fuel in the unequal struggle.'

The same paper thus refers to the Shannon Scheme:—

The Shannon Scheme is particularly interesting. It purposes to derive the electrical energy from the falls of that river; and there be those who think that the waters of the Shannon, now running waste, would not only supply Limerick but all Dublin with light and power; and some enthusiasts dream of a time when great towns will be decentralised, when smoke will no longer defile, and when village industries will spring up all round, thanks to this Electric Talisman.

Touching this scheme it is a matter of regret that on its being floated the other day the necessary capital could not be raised. With millions in the Savings Bank at  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., and millions ready for some wild speculation in some distant land, the sum of £300,000 could not be raised in the three kingdoms for the promotion of a scheme calculated to give immediate employment and to be the source of a revived industry in a district now almost destitute of employment.

As a matter of fact on a mountain called La Croix Rouge, near Lyons, the sides are full of cottages where the motors of the weaver, the carpenter, the ribband maker, etc., can be heard in their healthy suburban dwellings.

Before I try to develop the several agencies which can practically deal with the development of Ireland I should like to refer to another oracle which might be much better worked for the enriching of the country; I refer to

## THE TOURIST DEVELOPMENT.

The essential points for working this oracle well are first the advertisement of places of beauty and interest. The Irish Tourist Association and their active representative, Mr. Crossley, have done much to make known and exploit these scenes. But much yet requires to be done. Full many a lovely spot blooms unseen and unheard of. Similar places on the Continent, in England, Scotland, and the Isle of Man are better advertised in Ireland than places of equal beauty at home.

The next essential is comfortable, clean, and moderate hotels. With as yet restricted patronage one cannot expect them all, especially in new and unfrequented districts, to be elegant or provided with the luxuries of fashionable resorts. But we can at any rate expect, and tourists from other countries will demand, cleanliness, good food, and fair cooking. Now, it is undoubted that with some few exceptions these necessary conditions are not to be found. Some couple of years ago I got out at a station *en route* to the West. The exterior of the hotel looked imposing. At the door were a few strong girls who took slight notice of the visitors. The tiles of the hall were covered with the remains of cigarettes, burnt matches, and evidently unswept for days; the coffee room was untidy, the clock was down, and all things were slipshod. A remark ventured in good humour was received with derisive laughter. The dinner was of the plainest and the vegetables ill-cooked. Now, tourists, either Irish or English, will not seek such places again. Surely these things can be reformed. Another passing need in Ireland for touring is

## BETTER ROADS.

The *Irish Cyclist* of 27th December, 1899, wrote :—

Some caustic politician once said that Ireland had received most of her injustices from the hands of Irishmen. Whilst not prepared to follow this argument to its full length, we must admit that it allows of application to many affairs in the hands of the Irish people which are suffered to deteriorate till they cause injury to the country. The Roads Question is a fine example. Our highways are wretched, yet very little is done to improve them.

The writer drew special attention to the roads of Kerry, 'which of all counties in Ireland can ill afford to have bad roads.'

Whilst on this subject it may be interesting to describe how this question of road up-keep is managed in France. The roads are divided into three categories—the national roads, the departmental roads, and the village roads. The national highways form the links of communication with the most important towns. These are kept up at the national expense. The departmental are from one town in a department to another, and are kept up by the department. The village roads connect village with village. These are under the superintendence of the Prefect of the Department. The system adopted is admirable. Each portion of a road is under the care of a 'cantonnier' who passes his life in the portion allotted to him. He has a book in which is written his name, the length of the road in his charge, with the rules and instructions from his superintendent. The result of the system is that in France one never comes across lengths of roads covered with three-cornered stones as in this country. Nor does he meet with roads full of holes. In France roads are never allowed to get into bad order; the moment the least inequality, not to say a hole, is visible, the cantonnier goes to work. He scoops out the gravel to the depth of four to six inches, and the hollow he fills up to the level of the road. He then rains a flood of water over the stones and covers them with a layer of soil. Then with a heavy hammer he presses the stones into the ground made soft by the water. Save for a very slight elevation in the patch of new ground nothing betrays the operation which has taken place.<sup>1</sup> Now, what I must admire in this system, and what I think leads to its success, is the division of labour and of responsibility. Each man has charge of, and must account for, his own length, each department for its own district, and the Government for the national roads.

In Ireland we want in many matters beside road maintenance, for instance in our development of our resources, defined responsibility and control. Always of importance,

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<sup>1</sup> Extracted from *Pyrenees to the Channel in a Dog-cart*.

this question of roads is now, in this age of touring, cycling, and motor traffic, of supreme importance for the benefit of the country.

My concluding remarks will deal with the three great factors in the regeneration of the country and the employment of its present and future population—they are the responsible Government, the Local bodies, and the People themselves. What can each do?

#### THE DUTY OF THE GOVERNMENT.

Without in the least degree desirous of harping upon past grievances or of shutting my eyes to the many manifestations of the sympathetic attitude which has been assumed towards this country by the present rulers from the head of the State, the King, and the present Chief Secretary, Mr. Wyndham, still I cannot refrain from saying that owing to the neglect in the past of the development of the country's resources, and, in some cases, of the direct destruction of the chief trade of the middle and south of Ireland, when the woollen trade was sacrificed to the demands of the Bristol merchants, a great work of restitution devolves on the Government. It should undo the wrong it has done, and do the right it has failed to do.

Now, what should it do? In the Report of the Recess Committee, pp. 44 and 45, we find the sums voted by the State in other countries for agricultural and industrial purposes, and after stating them the Report says:—

If Ireland spent the same proportion as Denmark, France, or Switzerland on the promotion of agriculture, namely, *1s. per inhabitant*, her State expenditure—apart from local—for agricultural purposes would be £230,000 annually.

If she spent as much per inhabitant as Switzerland on technical education and the promotion of industries, her annual expenditure, State and local, under this head would be £2,314,000.

Well, up to the establishment of the Board of Agriculture, the State spent practically nothing, and now it only gives about £160,000, a wholly inadequate sum for a rich country as compared with Denmark or Switzerland. The example of

Württemberg quoted in the Report, page 57, is very interesting and applicable to this country.

Forty years ago Württemberg, in the words of the man who had most to do with its uplifting, was purely agricultural and impoverished by over-population. Its condition was described as 'deplorable.' To-day it is one of the most thriving hives of manufacturing industry on the Continent. 'To-day,' as the director of the Royal Bank of Stuttgart told Mr. Mulhall, 'there is not a pauper in the Kingdom of Württemberg.' The King sent Dr. Von Steinleis, President of the Board of Trade, on a mission of investigation through Europe. On his return there was founded in Stuttgart, in connexion with the Ministry of Commerce, a Board of Industries, to which was entrusted the task of introducing and developing crafts and industries, and devising and carrying out a system of technical instruction.

Never was there a time when practical aid would be more useful. It should foster electrical development in the towns and villages and at once assist in the reclaiming of the 6,000,000 acres of waste lands which might be reclaimed for agriculture or planted.

For all this work of development, reclamation, and starting of industries, the State should liberally help the various local bodies through the means of a Government Department like the Central Stelle in Württemberg, which, says the Recess Report, 'keeps in close touch with the trade organisations of the country, with the merchants and manufacturers, and with the municipalities and local authorities. Volunteers and amateurs, no matter how high-ranked or wealthy, will not do. Experts well paid by Government must be employed as in Württemberg.' And this brings me to the next factor in the national industrial revival,

#### THE COUNTY, BOROUGH, AND URBAN COUNCILS.

Their function should be, *each in its own district*, to inquire into its own resources of every kind, making known the industries and advantages of scenery, etc., existing, and of the resources of every kind which might be developed for the benefit of their district and the employment of the people. No source should be neglected. General and abstract resolutions about industries will not do; each locality should develop

its own district. Let country districts take up the agricultural land first, its division into handy farms; the stall-feeding of cattle; the reclamation of marsh and bog; the planting of mountains; the development of fishing; inland and deep sea fishing; the development of minerals, stones, clays, and sands. In many counties, in fact nearly in all, there are many beauty spots and sporting centres; these can be developed by advertising, by the good up-keep of roads, and the cleanliness and comfort of hotels and lodgings. In fact there are mines of unexplored wealth and employment in all these resources if those responsible for the imperial and local governments will only do their share.

As far as the councils of large towns and urban districts are concerned, their duty is first to inquire into the state of existing industries. There is not a town in which many manufactories do not exist. The point is, can they be increased? It has been said he is the best patriot who makes two blades of grass grow where one only grew. They are the best town and urban authorities who start a second factory where only one exists, and they are still better who succeed in creating a new industry.

In progressive countries like Denmark they have not only associations for promoting manufactures for home consumption but they have export associations to dispose of the surplus. When towns have ascertained their condition as regards existing industries and the possibility of future ones, they should establish depots for the exhibition of their productions and for the raw materials of their neighbourhood. Such depots are to be found in many towns abroad.

And now I come to the last, but all-important consideration of

#### THE PEOPLE THEMSELVES.

When advocating the intervention of the Government I referred to the exceptional economic conditions of at least three-fourths of the country warranting exceptional treatment. These very same conditions require from the working people exertions and self-sacrifice. I fear these qualities have been forgotten. When industries

are started in a country with little capital every man and woman must assist. The Irish producer has not the back behind him which centuries of prosperity have placed at the back of the employers in England and other countries. Is the man, or are the men who venture capital to run the risk of ruin, and the other element of production, labour, to make no sacrifice but at once to kill the producer of the golden eggs? Will they insist from the employers investing their hundred or their thousand, the same terms as those which can be given by men who count their capital by thousands and by millions? The makers of Ireland's future industry, capitalists, and workers, are more like partners in a joint concern than mere employers and employed. The one cannot indulge in the tyranny of the trusts and combines, nor can the employed indulge in the luxury of capricious strikes. Things must be brought by combined efforts to a level first with other countries.

We know, as a fact, that when Irishmen go to America they must work well and frequently even when ill-paid. Will they not work to build up the future of their own country as we have seen the people of Würtemberg do, and as they have done themselves in the olden days to build up the industrial supremacy of transatlantic countries?

On the responsible government on the local authorities, therefore, rural and urban, and on the people of Ireland, each of them in their own sphere, devolves the duty to develop the resources which God has spread around on every side, and thus, instead of fruitless bemoaning about emigration, to raise up the only barrier to its tide in the shape of increased Employment of the people in developing the resources of this country.

But who will get the local bodies to rise to the situation, who can wield the people to co-operate in the great work of regeneration by doing their part by honest work, who can do this so well as that mighty organisation of the priesthood of Ireland, whose influence permeates the homes of the Irish people of every grade, and to whom I humbly dedicate the foregoing remarks.

CHARLES DAWSON.

## WHAT IS A REASONABLE FAITH?

**I**F we consider the attitude they assume in practice in regard to the question of the ultimate ground of Religious Belief, Catholics may, roughly speaking, be divided into two classes. There are those 'who live and die in a simple, full, firm belief in all that the Church teaches, because she teaches it—in the belief of the irreversible truth of whatever she defines and declares—but who, as being far removed from Protestant and other dissentients, and having but little intellectual training, have never had the temptation to doubt, and never the opportunity to be certain.'<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, there exists a large and constantly increasing class of persons, who, from one cause or another, have been driven to doubt, to speculate, or at least to enquire, concerning the content of the 'material object' of divine faith, and the nature and weight of the 'evidences' of Catholic Christianity, upon which, in the last analysis, our beliefs in matters of religion are commonly thought to repose. Among the causes which operate in this direction may be reckoned contact with the great world, the enquiring spirit of the age, the multitudinous influences of books, and of current scientific and philosophical ideas; the extraordinary diversity of religious convictions as disclosed by the comparative study of religions and the ascertained erroneousness of some of which cannot fail to suggest to the philosophic mind the possible erroneousness of all; the exigencies of theological or philosophical training; and finally that inborn propension towards doubt and disbelief which constitutes at once the glory and the bane of a certain type of mind.

With the former of these classes I have here nothing to do. Theologians endeavour—with what success I do not now enquire—to explain how such an interpretative certitude as alone its members are possessed of, can be regarded as in any real sense reasonable; though, to be sure, all are agreed that such persons can and do elicit genuine acts of divine faith. But since, by hypothesis, they never undertake formally to

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<sup>1</sup> Newman, *Grammar of Assent*, chap. vii., § 1, p. 204 (second edition.)



examine into the ultimate grounds of credibility, and are thus never called upon to appraise the weight of conflicting lines of evidence, the difficulty to the discussion of which the present paper is intended as a contribution is not one that in any way concerns them. Again, it behoves me to state at once and emphatically that I am not now engaged in arguing any point of theology. I lay no claim to special theological knowledge, and I have no desire to enter into the complex and difficult technical questions which are inevitably broached by the attempt to subject to analysis the internal constitution of the act of divine faith itself. How, for example, the 'formal' object of faith stands related to its 'material' object; whether the so-called 'principles' of faith—the authority of God and the existence of a divine revelation in such and such definite terms—are apprehended in a single complex act of assent, or must be assented to separately in two distinct acts; whether the *virtualis discursus* involved in belief of a specified dogma on the sole ground of (*propter*) its revelation by divine authority is or is not a strictly logical process; whether assent to the 'formal object' of faith is mediate or immediate, and how we are to remove the paradoxes which both these alternatives seem superficially to imply—these, with hundreds of others of a like nature, are matters which lie entirely beyond my province, nor has the discussion of these any bearing whatever upon the problem I am about to take in hand. I am concerned solely with the mode of formation of the *judicium credentitatis* (i.e., the practical conclusion that certain truths, viz., the existence and veracity of God and the fact of a divine revelation in such and such terms, are credible in themselves, and further, that they ought to be believed), and its existence before the operation of divine grace, consequent upon the individual's free determination to embrace the truths that God has revealed, has invested it with a supernatural character. In other words, I purpose investigating the motives which lead up to the judgment that the truths already specified are to be believed—motives of credibility as distinguished from motives of faith. As to the latter, it is beyond controversy that the sole motive of divine faith is and must be the authority of God as the

revealer of the specific truths believed, and I mention it merely to put it aside as foreign to the present issue. No doubt, too, belief in the authority of God and the existence of divine revelation somehow enter as factors into the complete formal act of faith, but it is no part of my business here to treat of them in that aspect.

On the other hand, it is universally allowed, and is indeed self-evident, that a reasonable faith presupposes and depends upon some kind of 'natural' (as distinguished from 'supernatural') knowledge of, or rather belief in, three grand facts, often spoken of as the *praeambula fidei*. These facts are (a) the existence of God, (b) His absolute veracity, and (c) the fact that the truths proposed for our belief have actually been revealed by Him. It is frequently claimed for these facts that they are provable by 'evidence,'—whether historical evidence or philosophic argument—of course, through the exercise of our natural unassisted powers. As will appear more fully in a moment, I am very far indeed from thinking that the available evidence in favour of these facts is in itself, objectively considered, conclusive. And my immediate object in the following pages is to delineate, and, if possible, to recommend, a particular way of looking at this available evidence—one such as may in some degree compensate for its inconclusiveness and render belief in 'unprovable' verities not merely possible and legitimate, but in the best sense reasonable as well. In a word, I desire to shew, that we have a right to believe, if we will, in the existence and veracity of God, and the genuineness of revelation in the sense understood by Catholics, even though our merely logical intellect should not have been coerced into such belief; and further, that such voluntary assent to the credibility of its necessary antecedents is sufficient to enable the will, with the co-operation of divine grace, to elicit a genuine act of divine faith. Further determination of the nature and inherent constitution of the latter act must be left, as before observed, to professed theologians.

#### I.

I will begin by considering in some detail the position of one who from whatsoever motive is led to reflect upon the ulti-

mate grounds of religious certitude, and who seeks to justify, or, at least, to give some reason for, the faith that is in him. In connexion with this I shall have to review the actual conditions under which our hypothetical enquirer must be presumed to enter upon his self-imposed task, and to exhibit the bearing of these conditions on the nature of the conclusions at which it is possible for him to arrive. Once in a moment of rhetorical enthusiasm, St. Paul saw fit to exhort his disciples to 'prove all things'; and Catholic theologians have most unfortunately interpreted his injunction in the most literal sense, thereby obscuring the perception of the nature of the 'evidence' upon which faith must ultimately be grounded, and inducing a false conception of the relation of the human intellect to truths of the practical order. The question is not whether a creature of unlimited intelligence, occupying a world where doubt and error had no place, could succeed in proving the existence of God (and other necessary pre-suppositions of a rational faith) in such a way that not to be convinced of their reality would be for him a downright impossibility; but whether, given that men are men, and given that the facts which bear upon the problems in question, and upon which our human conclusions concerning them must perforce be based, are what they are—whether, I say, in this case it is reasonable to talk of 'real proof' at all. We may apply to the matter in hand the words which Browning, in one of his most philosophical poems, puts into the mouth of Bishop Blougram:—

The common problem, yours, mine, everyone's,  
Is—not to fancy what were fair in life  
Provided it could be—but finding first  
What may be, then find how to make it fair  
Up to our means; a very different thing!  
No abstract intellectual plan of life  
Quite irrespective of life's plainest laws,  
But one a man, who is man and nothing more,  
May live within a world, which (by your leave)  
Is Rome or London, not Fools' Paradise.

Bearing all this in mind, let us now see how far the individual enquirer, whom I will suppose to be in no way deficient in regard to intellectual capacity, and furthermore to be

actuated by an honest desire to get at the truth, can seriously pretend to set about proving the necessary facts as defined above. Now, the causes which co-operate to prevent his reason from coming to a positive conclusion may, I apprehend, be grouped under two main headings, subjective and objective. We so often hear of those who, like St. Thomas and other great doctors of the Church, are able to discuss doubt without doubting, and to hold converse with sceptics of every school without yielding one jot of their faith. But such intellects will always, I suppose, be rare, and with the great majority of us investigation and reasoning will almost inevitably issue in a wavering assent, if not in absolute scepticism. It is Newman who says:—

Introspection of our intellectual operations is not the best of means for preserving us from intellectual hesitations. To meddle with the springs of thought and action is really to weaken them ; and, as to that argumentation which is the preliminary to certitude, it may indeed be unavoidable, but, as in the case of other serviceable allies, it is not so easy to discard it, after it has done its work, as it was in the first instance to obtain its assistance. Questioning, when encouraged on any subject-matter, readily becomes a habit, and leads the mind to substitute exercises of inference for assent, whether simple or complex. Reasons for assenting suggest reasons for not assenting, and what were realities to our imagination, while our assent was simple, may become little more than notions, when we have attained to certitude. Objections and difficulties tell upon the mind ; it may lose its elasticity and be unable to throw them off. And thus, even as regards things which it may be absurd to doubt, we may, in consequence of some past suggestion of the possibility of error, or of some chance association to their disadvantage, be teased from time to time and hampered by involuntary questionings, as if we were not certain, when we are. Nay, there are those who are visited with these even permanently as a sort of *musca volitantes* of their mental vision, ever flitting to and fro, and dimming its clearness and completeness—visitants for which they are not responsible, and which they know to be unreal, still so seriously interfering with their comfort and even with their energy that they may be tempted to complain that even blind prejudice has more of quiet and of durability than certitude.<sup>2</sup>

All this is unquestionably true ; to my mind, in fact, New-

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<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 209-10.

man rather understates the influence of such obstinate questionings. I conceive it would be difficult for anyone who had once come, I do not say to falter in his belief, but really to doubt concerning the cogency of the evidences in favour of revealed religion, ever to regain the feeling of absolute security and repose in 'truth' which is so remarkable a characteristic of the religious faith of unreflecting persons. Nor must we allow ourselves to forget that for minds in which this critical intellect holds undisputed sway—and they are, perhaps, more numerous than is often thought to be the case—the construction of a system of dogmatic beliefs is literally an impossibility. Howbeit, the influence exerted by such subjective factors, though undoubtedly real, is necessarily hard to estimate, and so I pass at once to consider exactly what kind of evidence is forthcoming, and how far the nest of problems raised by the attempt to enquire into the foundations of faith can possibly be approached at first hand by any one man.

To speak first of the latter point: It is plain that the first business of any one who sets about 'rationalising' his religious convictions in the old-fashioned orthodox way will be to 'demonstrate' the existence of a personal God. That is to say, his first concern will be with Philosophy, with the most abstract and difficult department of metaphysical speculation. In order to appreciate at their worth, nay, in order even to understand, most of the technical 'proofs of the existence of God,' he will require to familiarise himself at the outset with the language and methods of metaphysics, and will be compelled—if he genuinely desires to accomplish even so much as this—to master at first hand the writings of the philosophers, from Plato and Aristotle to Comte and Hegel. Even to ask intelligently, 'Does God exist?' is possible only to one who has already made up his mind upon the most fundamental problems of Philosophy, and consequently upon those concerning which it is hard to come to any conclusion. What does it mean to 'exist'? What is the significance of the ontological predicate? This question must obviously be answered, yet it can be answered only by constructing a theory of reality. What then is reality? Shall we say it is to be 'independent of my finite consciousness,' or shall we interpret it with the

mystics in terms of feeling? Shall we agree with Kant that the real is what is valid for all possible experience, or must we go on to say with Berkeley that only spirits and their ideas are real? Are we to seek reality with the materialists in brute matter, or is Hegel right when he declares that the more a thing is spiritual so much the more is it veritably real? Are we to be realists or idealists, empiricists or transcendentalists?

Not only so; the last question confronts us with the problem of knowledge, in my opinion the ultimate problem of Philosophy. What is knowledge? What can I know? Again, these questions must be solved before we go on to enquire: What is? What is real? and few will care to quarrel with the assertion that these are questions which cannot be lightly set aside or lightly answered.

Next, supposing these questions solved, it remains to determine what we understand by God, and especially what we understand by a personal God. I have been engaged now for some years upon the study of Philosophy and philosophers, and I think I know what I am talking about when I express my personal belief that the question of personality, and in particular that of the personality of the Infinite is one of the hardest nuts the metaphysician has to crack. But, again, the further progress of our searcher after truth is absolutely blocked so long as he is unable to decide upon this point, for assuredly the corner-stone of Christianity is belief (and we are now speaking of beliefs that can be 'proved') in the existence of a personal Deity.

All this is surely, as Aristotle puts it, a tolerably large order; yet it is a mere fragment of the work our supposed investigator must accomplish. Having got his personal Deity, he has next to shew that such a Deity must be veracious in his alleged communications with mankind. This may seem an easy matter; and so, to be sure, it is, so long as one has to do merely with the abstract deduction of divine veracity from some of the more fundamental among the divine attributes. But the case is otherwise when you seek to explain in the concrete how and through what channels the thought and will of the Infinite can be made manifest in a way comprehensible to finite minds like ours. Then, there is the question of

the alleged fact, or more accurately the alleged facts, of historical revelation. I say 'facts,' for it must be remembered that Christianity is very far from standing alone as a claimant to be the actual depository of divine revelation. Buddha reckoned himself a mediator between God and man, and professed to be inspired from on high; and, if numbers go for anything, his claim has been accepted by the vast majority of the human race. So, too, Zoroaster, and, at a later period, Mahomet, to mention no others; while it is notorious that sacred books (or inspired writings) form part of the stock-in-trade of almost every religion that has ever stirred the hearts or even a small fragment of humanity. Now, *a priori*, so to say, and apart from any pre-conception or personal bias, the claim of each of these revealers or 'prophets' stands on an equal footing. Christ and Buddha are both, in the first instance, and as it were most obviously *men*—there is no presumption either of law or of fact in favour of the divinity of either. Our unfortunate enquirer is therefore driven to scrutinise the merits of each of the known claimants to supernatural endowments, that is, supposing him to have first succeeded in satisfying himself of the inherent reasonableness of a revelation, which, by hypothesis, is addressed only to a 'chosen people,' *i.e.*, to a comparatively insignificant section of the human race.

To decide upon these and similar issues he must next determine what are the 'marks' or tokens of a genuine revelation. At this point he finds himself confronted by questions concerning miracles, their import, possibility, and significance—questions which, notwithstanding the complacency of certain well-meaning persons in high quarters, are presumably of a kind to give him pause. Here, too, he must face the complex historical, critical, and antiquarian problems presented by the Old and New Testaments, and the vast and daily-increasing literature that has grown up around them. This involves (among other things) an acquaintance with Hebrew and other Semitic tongues, to say nothing of Greek and Latin. Further, he must settle exactly what is meant by 'inspiration,' and open up the subject of 'prophecies' and their fulfilment. I pass over the difficulties he will encounter in

endeavouring to free these ancient texts from the glosses which, after centuries of study and exegesis, have come to encircle them like a halo, shedding rays which cannot but distort their original signification, and the influence of which it is next to impossible for a modern critic to shake off. And finally, after he has disposed of these preliminaries and convinced himself of the divine character of Christian revelation, he will still have to discover in which of the Churches which seemingly have rent the garment of the Master and divided it amongst themselves the original teaching of Christ has been most faithfully preserved. To do this he must study ecclesiastical history in detail, and add to his already ample store the whole vast array of dogmatic, patristic, and controversial learning.

In this rough sketch of the road our enquirer must travel if he is to reach his appointed goal, I have been compelled to omit all mention of the numerous by-paths and *culs-de-sac* into which his manifold studies must inevitably lead him: but I think I have said enough to convince the reader that it is, to say the least, extremely doubtful whether any one man (even giving him robust health, indefatigable industry, and length of years), could be competent to acquire and successfully to manipulate such a formidable apparatus of learning.

I must now hark back to my former point, and consider briefly the intrinsic nature of the available evidence for Christianity, or rather for Theism, since it is manifestly impossible to enter minutely into the details of all the questions suggested above. I will accordingly confine myself to reviewing the more important of the so-called 'proofs of the existence of God' (not indeed with the intention of shewing them to be illusory—for after all, they are, I suppose, as valid, and, so far as mere logic goes, as stringent, as we can decently require proofs to be anywhere, in Philosophy—but), in order to make plain their practical insufficiency, when taken by themselves, to bring about the desired result, viz., certitude that a personal Deity exists.

It is almost a commonplace of Hebraism that we cannot 'by searching find out God.' This distrust of the 'meddling intellect' with its lust for analysis is re-echoed by a great



modern poet, who contrasts with the miserable failure of such intellectual scrutiny the real disclosure of the Infinite which is vouchsafed to the exercise of a 'wise passiveness' and to a heart that is content to 'watch and receive.' Something of the same spirit breathes through the *Grammar of Assent*, and doubtless to many minds besides Newman's the fullest revelation and manifestation of God is given in the sphere of moral experience. But, however valuable as poetry, however consoling to the world-wearied spirit, such 'emotional theology' is hopelessly insecure as a basis on which to found a reasonable faith. Religion is, on this view, less a doctrine to be proved or disproved than a kind of consciousness whose justification lies in its rank among the various inner impulses of human nature. Of its essence such a subjective illumination is flickering and intermittent. Wordsworth himself allows that it is

The most difficult of tasks to keep  
Heights which the soul is competent to gain.

Not all of us are possessed of 'the inward eye,' and even admitting that a man may have

Faculties within  
Which he has never used,

it is clearly impossible always to remain on the mountain-tops of such intuitional evidence. It is palpable, in a word, that to base a conviction of such transcendent importance as that of the existence of a God on the evidence of transient moods is to base it on 'ecstasy,' and, therefore, not on the Rock, but on the shifting sand. To the philosopher, at all events, the haze of abstract thought is preferable to the coloured clouds and distorting lights of metaphor and symbolism, or the *ignis fatuus* of emotion, be it kindled by never so vivid a moral or æsthetic experience. For the object-matter of Philosophy is the nature of things viewed in the light of the most critical examination of reason, and unless he be permitted to *think* things 'all the way through,' the philosopher must perforce retire from business altogether. And as we are here professedly dealing with the case of a thorough-

going critic of the foundations of faith, it is to the celebrated modes of proof by which philosophers have sought to establish the existence of a personal Deity that we must now give our attention.

Our enquirer being then supposed to enter on the task of establishing the inference of Theism by means of ratiocination or argumentative deduction, I must beg leave to make one or two remarks before I proceed to tax the respective values of some of the more important among the modes of proof he will be constrained to adopt. It was a fancy of the schoolmen, as it was of Rousseau's, that the intellectual evidence in favour of Theism is so strong that it cannot be resisted by any who are not wilfully blind; or that, as Jean-Jacques pointedly expresses it, if a child were placed on an uninhabited island he would grow up in the unsophisticated knowledge of one Supreme Being. The experiment has never, I believe, been made; but it is easy to foresee its inevitable result. 'Unassisted reason,' we are frequently told—though the seers in Palestine thought otherwise—'suffices to lead men to God.' Well, unassisted reason is—to put it bluntly—a fiction. No single mind could by any possibility construct for itself a theodicy or doctrine of God. Modern psychology and anthropology have made it abundantly clear that what we are pleased to call reason is the very breath of sociality. All that we are as rational creatures, we are in the give and take of society. Society is τὸ ὡς ὕλη λεγόμενον ἀναγκάιον, or the condition to which our rational φύσις must conform, if it is to realise its end. Works of human intelligence are produced only under definite conditions or limitations imposed by the social *milieu*. Our intellectual world, or morality, art, and religion, are built up—built up to a certain extent by each of us individually—but always by an act which is collective and social. Shakespeare, in a passage of extraordinary psychological insight, has told us,

That man, how dearly ever parted,  
How much in having, or without or in,  
Cannot make boast to have that which he hath,  
Nor feels not what he owes but by reflexion;

As when his virtues, shining upon others,  
Heat them, and they return that heat again  
To the first giver.

And again,

That no man is the lord of anything,  
Though in and of him there be much consisting,  
Till he communicates his parts to others ;  
Nor doth he of himself know them for aught  
Till he behold them formed in the applause  
Where they're extended ; who, like an arch, reverberates  
The voice again ; or, like a gate of steel  
Fronting the sun, receives and renders back  
His figure and his heat.

So far this, perhaps, will be accepted. But I must press it further home. We have all grown into the beliefs we now entertain through the myriad influences of civilization, by education, and no less by inheritance. Our certitude of the existence of a personal God has been, if not created, certainly elicited and evolved by tradition and training. It has not been built up, in the case of any individual of the human race, by the sole labour of his own understanding, but has been at the same time communicated *ab extra* and evolved *ab intra* ; and this double process has gone on through countless ages, so that the notions which now form part of our common heritage have literally been enriched and expanded by the thought of all our predecessors.

To return from this digression to the ratiocinative 'evidence' of Theism. The schoolmen are in the habit of ranking the 'arguments for the existence of God' in three main classes, metaphysical, physical, and moral : and though it is possible to bring objections against such a classification, no great harm can come of our adapting it for convenience' sake here. The order of enumeration may be suitable as regards speculative dignity, but it is worth noting that as regards simplicity and historical priority this arrangement may be exactly reversed.

(a) Under the first heading come the ontological and the

cosmological arguments.<sup>3</sup> The former seeks to prove the objective existence of the Deity from the subjective existence of the notion of God in the human mind. The notion, it is said, implies the reality: the ideal carries the actual with it, or in it. This argument need not detain us long. The representative philosophy of the greater scholastic period abandoned it, along with that of St. Augustine, as invalid; and Kant thought he had sufficiently refuted it by the notorious remark that a hundred real dollars differ in no nameable essential or logical character from a hundred ideal or possible dollars. No doubt this particularly baffling argument will always possess a singular fascination for speculative minds; it promises so much, and would accomplish so much, if only it were valid! And its refutation may possibly be a more difficult matter than some of its critics seem to imagine. Nevertheless, it will be allowed, that, as a piece of 'evidence,' the ontological argument, whether in the form in which it was originally cast by St. Anselm, or as presented in the more elaborate theories of Descartes and Leibnitz, and in the bulky treatises of English Platonising theologians, or finally as rehabilitated by Hegel, is of little weight—even supposing it can be successfully defended from the charge of *petitio principii*.

The cosmological proof is at least as old as Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, and was a great favourite with the schoolmen. It is the argument *a contingentia mundi*, and may be briefly stated thus: If the contingent exists, the necessary also exists. We ourselves, the world, and all objects of sense are contingent existencies, but there must be a cause of these, which cause must also be an effect. If we try to go back to the cause of that cause, and to its cause again, we must at length pause in our regress; but by rising to a first (uncaused) cause, we escape from the contingent and reach the necessary. From our observation of the manifold series of natural effects, we ascend at length to a causal fountain-head, since we cannot travel back for ever along an infinite line of dependent

<sup>3</sup> Of the abstruse *argumentum ideologicum* of St. Augustine, or the so-called *argumentum henologicum*—the fourth of St. Thomas's famous Five Proofs—I prefer not to speak in this place. Their import and validity are much disputed among scholastic writers.

sequences. This argument depends upon the admission that a *regressus infinitus* is impossible. That is to say, the cosmological argument requires us to admit that an actually infinite number of secondary causes, a series of causes which never had a beginning, is an intrinsically impossible chimera. Now, I have no wish to dispute its impossibility. Aristotle thought he saw something contradictory in the idea of such a series, and I should be the last to set up my opinion against that of the philosopher except for the gravest reasons. Not everyone, however, will be of the same way of thinking as Aristotle on this point. Recently there appeared, in a German periodical devoted to the discussion of philosophical questions from the scholastic point of view, an able article in which the writer maintains, in opposition to the majority of the schoolmen, the possibility of an actually infinite number, both as a philosophical concept and as existing in nature; and after refuting various objections he goes on to affirm this possibility by means of a series of indirect proofs.<sup>4</sup> Among mathematicians the question is still, I understand, an open one; there is nothing to prevent an investigator from taking the affirmative side in the controversy; with the result, I take it, that he must abandon the most venerable of all the arguments for the existence of God. Again, to many minds, there appears something illegitimate in the sudden leap by which we pass from the series of phenomenal antecedents to the existence of an ἀρχή or uncaused cause. One cannot (it will be said) thus 'suddenly scale the height' of necessary being—from contingent to necessary there is no road. All who have learnt the lesson of Kant's earlier *Kritik* will refuse to take such a step. And because imagination boggles at the thought of an endless regress of infinite antecedents, that of itself affords no ground for supposing that the world must have had a beginning, as we illogically phrase it, in time. Contrariwise, Aristotle held the world to be eternal, though he rejected the thought of an actually infinite series.

<sup>4</sup> J. Baur *Die aktuelle unendliche zahl in der Philosophie und in der Natur*. (Philosophisches Jahrbuch. Bd. xiii., Heft 4). There is a very full discussion of the whole subject, with special reference to recent mathematical investigations concerning the concept of the Infinite, in the Supplementary Essay to Prof. Royce's *Lectures on The World and the Individual* (First Series).

But granted the validity of the cosmological argument, it nevertheless remains practically worthless as a premiss for the establishment of Theism. For, as Sir William Hamilton has somewhere said, the notion of a God is not contained in that of a mere first cause, since in the admission of a first cause atheist and theist are at one—an admission, therefore, of no account theologically. Indeed, it is hardly probable that these metaphysical arguments, which are all of a highly abstract character, would ever prove, either singly or in conjunction, of much service in converting an enquirer from atheism to theism. Abstract reasoning is usually inefficacious in such cases; you cannot, as Newman has it, make converts at the point of the syllogism. So much in general, and assuming the cogency of the reasoning employed to be admitted. But it is by no means certain that its cogency will always be admitted. As we have already seen, and as might be shewn on a much larger scale, if space permitted and the exigencies of the present argument required it, there are proofs and counter-proofs. It were by no means too much to say that there is not one among the numerous arguments advanced by theologians in proof of the existence of a personal Deity but has been rejected at one time or another by some equally learned theologian in favour of proofs which the former in his turn repudiates with scorn.

(b) The teleological argument, or argument from design (*argumentum physicum*) seeks, as its name implies, a way 'through nature up to nature's God.' As Kant has justly remarked, 'it is the oldest, the clearest, and the most agreeable to ordinary human reason, and deserves to be spoken of in terms of the utmost respect.' Though never popular in the school, it has carried conviction to many minds who have been unable to stomach the arid reasonings of the pure metaphysician. This idea of 'making the book of nature a commentary on the book of revelation' has specially commended itself to the English mind. Speaking of the literature of the subject, Bacon remarks, in the *Advancement of Learning*, that 'so far from noting any deficiency, I note rather an excess'; and what the French call the *vulgarisation* of this topic has gone on ever since, at all events up to the time of Paley and the Bridgewater Treatises. The substance of the argument

may be very shortly stated. Intelligence is a condition precedent of the world of which we have experience. So striking is the evidence of design or adjustment in the correlations of phenomena, and so manifold the appearances of wise arrangement, moulding everywhere materials for the use of humanity, that it is impossible to suppose these to be the result of chance or the undesigned consilience of independent agents. The validity of the suggested inference of a contriving mind has been often impugned, but I am here concerned only to point out the impossibility of establishing absolute monotheism by means of an argument of this nature—an impossibility which remains entirely unaffected by the particular form (and there are, of course, many such forms) in which the argument is stated. We are dealing with an inductive, or more accurately, an analogical proof; but inductive enquiry can only yield conclusions which are valid within a finite field. The field of experience is always finite, and so can yield no conclusions which must govern the infinite. Or put it thus: Every inductive enquiry starts with the assumption of the unity of nature within the field of inquiry; if it contemplate a universal conclusion it must contemplate an absolute unity of nature. It seems, therefore, that to seek to establish monotheism by a process of inductive enquiry is to reason in a circle, for such an enquiry directed to such an end involves the assumption of an absolute law of universal causation, and such a law implies monotheism. Should it be supposed that the intelligence which is a condition precedent of the world in which we dwell is one of many co-ordinate intelligences, each ruling in a different region; or even that such intelligence is in conflict with such other intelligences; the argument from design does not disprove the hypothesis, but even offers not a few considerations which might be thought to strengthen it. For we must remember that monotheism is an absolutely universal proposition, while the argument from design is an inductive argument, and it is against the nature of an inductive argument to support a universal proposition.

(c) Theism has been supposed by some to rest solely on an ethical basis, and to have no other root. Kant was one of

those who thought so. But his reading of the ethical argument is scarcely likely to commend itself to many, depending as it does upon the recognition of the 'categorical imperative' and the necessity of immortality—which can only be guaranteed by Theism—in order to bring about the ultimate union of virtue and felicity. Stripped of the dross with which Kant has encrusted it, the ethical argument seeks to interpret the hints of conscience as the suggestions of an *alter ego* within the individual, or as the subjective echo of an objective voice beyond and without him. The existence of God, the moral Governor, is thus viewed as a 'suppressed premiss' of morality, an implicate of the practical reason. Newman has stated this argument in his admirable manner in a chapter of the *Grammar of Assent*, from which I cannot forebear quoting a few passages. His words are these:—

Now certainly the thought of God, as Theists entertain it, is not gained by an instinctive association of His presence with any sensible phenomena ; but the office which the senses directly fulfil as regards the external world, that office devolves indirectly on certain of our mental phenomena as regards its Maker. Those phenomena are found in the sense of moral obligation. As from a multitude of instinctive perceptions, acting in particular instances, of something beyond the senses, we generalise the notion of an external world, and then picture that world in and according to those particular phenomena from which we started, so from the perceptive power which identifies the intimations of conscience with the reverberations or echoes (so to say) of an external admonition, we proceed on to the notion of a Supreme Ruler and Judge, and then again we image Him and His attributes in those recurring intimations, out of which, as mental phenomena, our recognition of His existence was originally gained.<sup>5</sup>

Again:—

The feeling of conscience being, I repeat, a certain keen sensibility, pleasant or painful—self approval and hope, or compunction and fear—attendant on certain of our actions, which in consequence we call right or wrong, is two-fold:—it is a moral sense, and a sense of duty ; a judgment of the reason and a magisterial dictate. Of course its act is indivisible ; still it has these two aspects, distinct from each other, and admitting of a separate consideration. Though I lost my sense of the

<sup>5</sup> *Op cit.*, chap. v., § 1., pp. 100-1.



obligation which I lie under to abstain from acts of dishonesty, I should not in consequence lose my sense that such actions were an outrage offered to my moral nature. Again, though I lost my sense of their moral deformity, I should not therefore lose my sense that they were forbidden to me. Thus conscience has both a critical and a prejudicial office, and though its promptings, in the breasts of the millions of human beings to whom it is given, are not in all cases correct, that does not necessarily interfere with the force of its testimony and of its sanction: its testimony that there is a right and a wrong, and its sanction to that testimony conveyed in the feelings which attend on right or wrong conduct. Here I have to speak of conscience in the latter point of view, not as supplying us, by means of its various acts, with the elements of morals, which may be developed by the intellect into an ethical code, but simply as the dictate of an authoritative monitor bearing upon the details of conduct as they come before us, and complete in its several acts, one by one.<sup>6</sup>

Once more:—

So much for the characteristic phenomena which conscience presents, nor is it difficult to determine what they imply. I refer once more to our sense of the beautiful. The sense is attended by an intellectual enjoyment, and is free from whatever is of the nature of emotion, except in one case, viz., when it is excited by personal objects; then it is that the tranquil feeling of admiration is exchanged for the excitement of affection and passion. Conscience, too, considered as a moral sense, an intellectual sentiment, is a sense of admiration and disgust, of approbation and blame: but it is something more than a moral sense; it is always what the sense of the beautiful is only in certain cases—it is always emotional. No wonder, then, that it always implies what that sense only sometimes implies; that it always involves the recognition of a living object, towards which it is directed. Inanimate things cannot stir our affections; these are correlative with persons. If, as is the case, we feel responsibility, are ashamed, are frightened, at transgressing the voice of conscience, this implies that there is One to whom we are responsible, before whom we are ashamed, whose claims upon us we fear. If, on doing wrong, we feel the same tearful, broken-hearted sorrow which overwhelms us on hurting a mother; if, on doing right, we enjoy the same sunny serenity of mind, the same soothing, satisfactory delight which follows on our receiving praise from a father, we certainly have within us the image of some person to whom our

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<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 102-3.

love and veneration look, in whose smile we find our happiness, for whom we yearn, towards whom we direct our pleadings, in whose anger we are troubled and waste away. These feelings in us are such as require for their exciting cause an intelligent being ; we are not affectionate towards a stone, nor do we feel shame before a horse or a dog ; we have no remorse or compunction on breaking mere human law : yet, so it is, conscience excites all these painful emotions, confusion, foreboding, self-condemnation ; and on the other hand it sheds upon us a deep peace, a sense of security, a resignation, and a hope, which there is no sensible, no earthly object to elicit. ' The wicked flees, when no one pursueth ' ; then why does he flee, whence his terror ? Who is it that he sees in solitude, in darkness, in the hidden chambers of his heart ? If the cause of these emotions does not belong to this visible world, the object to which his perception is directed must be Supernatural and Divine ; and thus the phenomena of conscience, as a dictate, avail to impress the imagination with the picture of a Supreme Governor, a Judge, holy, just, powerful, all-seeing, retributive, and is the creative principle of religion, as the moral sense is the principle of ethics.<sup>7</sup>

These be brave words ; but what of the logic of the argument which they embody ? For this after all is our sole concern here. I have no doubt whatever that the argument in question differs from those we have hitherto been considering in that it is wholly illusory. Let us see what it amounts to. Conscience is a ' feeling,' a ' certain keen sensibility attendant on certain of our actions.' It is a ' moral sense,' an ' intellectual sentiment.' Again, ' it is emotional.' That is to say, it is something subjective, personal, human ; not something objective, transcendent, divine. It is a psychological fact, whose genesis may be explained by means of psychological causes. As subjective, it cannot serve as a bridge over which we may pass to an objective conclusion, nor can it legitimately be invoked as a witness to aught beyond itself. To be of any real service, our ethical analysis would require to be more minute. To say that the moral world is under moral law means properly no more than that it is moral. That it is presided over and pervaded by a moral governor is not an obvious fact on the surface of experience. In plain terms, the

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<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 150-7.

'law of conscience,' as the phrase is ordinarily understood, is a chimera. It must mean either that conscience enacts and issues, or that it discloses and receives, the law. The former alternative is easily disposed of. Martineau puts the case against it as well as anyone:—

Idealism reduces moral obligation, as well as everything else, to a mere modification of self ; in making the mind universal lawgiver, makes it also *its own* ; and thus dissipates the very essence of imperative authority, which ever implies a law above and beyond the nature summoned to obey it. Without objective conditions, the idea of *duty* involves a contradiction, and its phraseology passes into an unmeaning figure of speech. Nothing can be *binding* to us that is not higher than we ; and to speak of *one part of self imposing obligation on another part*—of one impulse or affection playing, as it were, *the god* to another—is to trifle with the real significance of the sentiments that speak within us. Conscience does not *frame* the law, it simply reveals the law that holds us ; and to make everything of the *disclosure* and nothing of the *thing disclosed*, is to affirm and to deny the revelation in the same breath.<sup>8</sup>

This was well understood by Kant, who was led by a consideration of the fact that one and the same entity cannot at once issue and receive law to hold that the noumenal self gives to the phenomenal self the idea of an unconditional moral law. And Kant's own introduction of God at the end of his ethical system is in itself sufficient proof that the imperative of duty cannot stand wholly in the human conscience. Moreover, as the 'romantic' development of Kant's thought (with its negation of the double character of the soul of man, which, in effect, it simplified into a kind of *anima mundi*?) soon shewed, no monistic system, be it idealist, materialist, or evolutionary, can succeed in setting up an absolute standard of duty. But to say that conscience merely *reveals* the law is, in my opinion, equally futile. I have elsewhere argued that there can be no such 'intuitive' knowledge of moral law, for the simple reason that knowledge of law implies knowledge of, or at least belief in, the existence of an authoritative lawgiver, so that to begin with the moral law and

<sup>8</sup> *Types of Ethical Theory*, vol. ii., pp. 4, 5 (third edition).

conclude to the existence of a moral governor is to be guilty of a *ὑστέρων πρότερον*, or rather is a mischievous perversion of the method which the mind spontaneously follows in such cases.<sup>9</sup>

To designate 'ethical laws' as the will of God is possible and legitimate only after it has been shewn, or after one has elected to believe, that God exists and that His will, as righteous and holy, commands just such conduct as is reasonable, or, in other words, that the content of the divine moral law is identical with the content of the ethical consciousness of man. The so-called moral proof is consequently not merely inadequate, but radically fallacious.

So far I have been considering only the futility of the speculative argument for Theism. I am equally convinced of the breakdown of the historical proofs of Christian revelation, or to say it better, of the utter incompetency of a procedure which, as Mr. Balfour neatly expresses it, seeks to treat Christianity as a mere 'foot-note to history.' There must still, however, be a motive for holding fast to religious convictions. One such motive I have already dealt with. It is of no avail to appeal as is often done to an 'immediate inner experience,' which attests the truth of the content of religion, 'as directly and as independently of logic as sense-perception attests the reality of external objects' (as if sense-perception could possibly attest any such thing!) Even if their existence be conceded—and I have no desire to contest this—such influences can consist immediately in nothing more than certain modes of *our* being affected, certain phases of *our* experience, or of *our* feeling. Just as a sensation as such is something quite subjective, a mere mood of ourselves (and no cognition, but only the material for cognition); so these supersensible impressions being mere feelings, moods or movements of our own minds, can never be employed as evidence of any truth of religion whatsoever. They do not, in fact, even admit of expression in a definite communicable proposition.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup> See my articles, 'Wanted: a Philosophy of Duty,' in the *New Ireland Review*, vol. xviii., No. 6, vol. xix., No. 2.

<sup>10</sup> Similar objections may be levelled against Prof. James's attempt, in his brilliant *Lectures on The Varieties of Religious Experience* (1902), to extract some sort of proof of the reality of the object of religious belief out of that

In what follows I shall proceed to expound my own views on this great subject. The substance of these is contained in the assertion that religion is never a demonstrable theorem at all, but that conviction of its truth is an act, a *deed*, the outcome of character, that is to say, of a completely-fashioned will.

W. VESEY HAGUE, M.A., B.L.

[To be concluded.]

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twilight, semi-conscious experience of the kind revealed by psychical research. Certainly Prof. James has my sympathy in his humorous comparison of himself to a man who throws himself into any opening that offers into the infinite, when all the doors about him are being closed one by one in his face. But it is still a question whether the door against which he has set his foot actually leads; some will think it is only to the cellars. Moreover, the results of psychical research do not really give him what he seeks. We must refuse to accept the subliminal as evidence for, or as substitute for, the sublime. As James elsewhere says, 'It weakens religion to hear it argued on such a basis.'

## THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF HIGHER CRITICISM

### JEHOVA AND EL-SHADDAI

[ T has often been asserted that the name Jehova was not known to anyone before the time of Moses. Taken in itself the assertion, though erroneous, cannot be regarded as savouring of higher criticism, for it has been made by those who, in holding it, would consistently have been opposed to the vagaries of Astruc and his followers. That Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob never heard the name Jehova has been stated by such eminent personages as Josephus, Theodoret, St. Basil, St. Cyril of Alexandria, Diodorus of Tarsus, Procopius, St. Gregory the Great, and in later times by Abulensis, Marius, Nierenberg, Capellus, Cornelius a Lapide, and Tirinus, and by Calmet, Sylvius, and Hummelauer, etc.<sup>1</sup> It was, however, in the case of some scarcely more than an *obiter dictum*. But it has since been raised to the rank and power of a first principle by the critics, and now as if it were an incontrovertible truth it is commonly employed in the explanation and defence of their various systems, and has in fact become one of their battle-cries.

We do not say that every higher critic denies that the sacred name was known before the son of Amram received his mission to deliver the Hebrews from the Egyptian bondage. For instance, the late Professor Davidson, of Edinburgh, in a painfully rationalistic article on 'God' in *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible* admits as probable that the tribe of Levi was acquainted with it before the birth of Moses. Of course this paltry admission will not satisfy believers in Scripture; it is in fact utterly insufficient, but we mention it in order to guard against a possible misconception.

What we say is this. There is a plain mark by means of which in our own day those who are infected with higher criticism may be known. It is the affirmation, whether

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<sup>1</sup> See Reinke, *Beiträge*, iii., p. 112.

explicitly or implicitly made, that the word 'Jehova,' which Moses heard uttered from the burning bush, was then spoken for the first time. We, of course, do not mean that this is the only mark; though indeed by the general reader it is, perhaps, the one most easily recognised, but what we would respectfully invite attention to is, that it is a useful sign. Suppose we happen to take up an anonymous writer's article in a review, or a modern book by some unknown author, and when we have read a page or two still remain uncertain about his Biblical orthodoxy or heterodoxy, and then at length come on a sentence in which he not casually, but of set purpose makes the assertion referred to—at that instant all doubt vanishes, and *apparent dirae facies*.

Only a higher critic will take what may be called a *delectatio morosa* in consenting to this thought, in expressing it, and in emphasizing it. Only a higher critic will maintain as an essential part of his system, that Exodus iii. 15—'And God said unto Moses: thus shalt thou say to the children of Israel, "Jehova, the God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, has sent me to you,"' is the first passage in which the name legitimately appears. Only a higher critic will quote as self-evident proof of this, Exodus vi. 2, 3—'And God spoke unto Moses and said to him: I am Jehova. And I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac and unto Jacob, as God Almighty (El-Shaddai), but by my name Jehova I was not known to them,' and then assert that this latter passage is in direct contradiction to all the passages in Genesis where Jehova occurs in the history of these patriarchs. As Professor Green, of Princeton, remarks:—

The critics interpret Exodus vi. 3 to mean that the name Jehova was then first revealed to Moses, and had not been in use in the time of the patriarchs. They hence regard all prior sections containing the name Jehova as in conflict with this statement, especially as Jehova is used not only in the language of the writer himself, but when he is reporting the words of those who lived long before Moses' time.<sup>2</sup>

Here we may observe in passing that even if it could be

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<sup>2</sup> *Hebraica*, 1889, January number, p. 112.

shown that the three patriarchs never heard the name, this would not prove that it was unknown to others. It might have been quite familiar to their ancestors, to their contemporaries, and to their descendants before Moses. In fact it was so. But we shall not take up this matter here, we shall confine ourselves to the Jehova-passages in the history of the patriarchs, for it is the genuineness of these that is denied. The question is an all-important one at the present day. Those who believe in Scripture maintain, because it teaches so, that Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob knew the name, and they hold that the statements in Genesis regarding these patriarchs are and must be in complete harmony with Exodus vi. 3. On the other hand, the critics who do not believe in Scripture say that the passages in Genesis and in Exodus are incompatible as they stand, and that those sections in Genesis have been interpolated, in other words—that the name Jehova was inserted by a Redactor. We can easily see why some of the critics decide in favour of Exodus; it is because they hope thereby to get a pretext for asserting that monotheism, of which Jehova is the characteristic formula, was not the primitive religion of the Hebrews. But as it is enough to allude to this here, we pass on. What we would direct our readers' attention to at present is, that so far as the document theory is concerned, on the alleged contradiction between Genesis and Exodus the whole structure of Pentateuchal higher criticism rests.

The *Oxford Hexateuch* may fairly be taken as representative of the views now current among a party in England. It states that <sup>3</sup> :—

The real key to the composition of the Pentateuch may be said to lie in Exodus vi. 2-8. The passages which are gradually found to be allied with it confront us in turn with all the complicated questions concerning the constituents of the Five Books. It opens with the solemn declaration of Elohim to Moses :—‘ 2b. I am Yahweh; and I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, as God Almighty (H., *El Shaddai*), but by my name Yahweh I was not known to them. 4. And I have also established my covenant with them, to give them the land of Canaan, the land of their sojournings, wherein they

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<sup>3</sup> Introduction, p. 33.



sojourned. 5. And moreover I have heard the groaning of the children of Israel, whom the Egyptians keep in bondage; and I have remembered my covenant.' Two facts of the utmost importance are here definitely asserted. In revealing himself as Yahweh, God affirms that He had not been known by that name to the forefathers of Israel; but He had appeared to them as El Shaddai. On the basis of these words it would be reasonable to look for traces in Genesis of Divine manifestations to the patriarchs under the title El Shaddai, and their discovery would afford presumption that they belonged to the same document. On the other hand, the occurrence of similar manifestations in the character of Yahweh would directly contradict the express words of the text, and could not be ascribed to the same author. The distinction which Astruc adopted has thus the direct sanction of the Pentateuch itself, and its immediate application is simple and easy. Does the Book of Genesis contain revelations of God to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob as El Shaddai? To Abraham and Jacob, certainly: 'I am El Shaddai,' Genesis xvii. 1 and xxxv. 11; but the corresponding announcement to Isaac is missing. Mingled with these, however, are other passages of a different nature, such as the Divine utterance to Abraham, xv. 7: 'I am Yahweh, that brought thee out of Ur of the Chaldees'; or to Jacob, xxviii. 13: 'I am Yahweh, the God of Abraham thy father and the God of Isaac.' Side by side with these stand many others describing the recognition of Yahweh by the patriarchs and their contemporaries. 'Between Bethel and Ai, Abraham builded an altar unto Yahweh, and called upon the name of Yahweh,' xii. 8, *cp.* xiii. 4-18, xxi. 33. To the king of Sodom, Abraham declared that he had sworn to Yahweh to take none of the goods recovered from the Mesopotamian invaders, xiv. 22. Sarai complained to her husband, 'Yahweh hath restrained me from bearing,' xvi. 2. When the mysterious visitor rebuked her for her incredulity, he asks, 'Is anything too hard for Yahweh,' xviii. 14. Lot is warned by the men whom he has entertained, 'Yahweh hath sent us to destroy this place,' xix. 13. But it is not needful to accumulate further instances. The name is known beyond the confines of Canaan. The man in search of a bride for his master's son is welcomed with it at the city of Nahor by Laban, 'Come in, thou blessed of Yahweh,' xxiv. 31. And it is of such ancient use, that it can be said of the family of Adam, 'Then began men to call upon the name of Yahweh,' iv. 26. But unless the writer of Exodus vi. 2 contradicts himself, not one of these passages can have issued from his hand. (It does not, however, follow that he would never have employed the name in narrative.)

Everyone knows that the name Jehova occurs frequently

in the history of the three patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. In some passages emphasis is evidently laid upon it. We read, for instance, in Genesis xv. 7, 8: 'I am Jehova who brought thee out from Ur of the Chaldees, to give thee this land that thou might possess it. And he said, O Lord Jehova, whereby may I know that I shall possess it?' Afterwards, with explicit reference to this promise Abraham says: 'Jehova, the God of Heaven, who took me out of my father's house' (xxiv. 17).<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> And another instance of special interest may be mentioned. In the most solemn act of his whole life, in the supreme exercise of his virtue, Abraham utters the sacred name. We read in xxii. 2, that God commanded the patriarch to take with him the son he loved, Isaac, into the land of Moria, and there to offer him as a holocaust upon one of the mountains which He would show him. Then in verse 14 we read:—'And Abraham called the name of that place *'Jehova-jire'*—the Lord sees; *i.e.*, provides. Cf. verse 8, 'God will provide (*jire*) a lamb for a holocaust, my son;' as it is said to this day, on the mountain of Jehova, it is seen, *jeræ*, *i.e.*, 'it is provided.' Vulgate:—'Appellavitque nomen loci illius, Dominus videt. Unde usque hodie dicitur: in monte Dominus videbit.' The place mentioned in both these verses, 2 and 14, is, of course, the same; and there appears, moreover, to be a close etymological connection between its two names, *Jehova-jire* and *Moria*. If we suppose that the latter was given on account of God's having provided a victim, verse 8, then it seems to be used proleptically in verse 2, but such usage is not uncommon in Scripture. The meaning of the word is 'shown by Jehova' (Cheyne): according to König, however, the meaning is 'established by Jehova.' König supposes that *Morijah* is an abbreviation for *Moriath-ja*. It is at all events regarded by many as certain that the last syllable *ja* is the short form of *Jehova*.

In the only other passage where the word *Moria* occurs (2 Par. iii. 1.) it is the name of the place where the temple was built. 'And Solomon began to build the house of the Lord in Jerusalem, on mount *Moria*, which had been shown to David, his father, in the place which David had prepared.' Josephus, who was so learned in the traditions of his race, says expressly that it was on that spot the sacrifice mentioned in our chapter of Genesis was offered. 'Accordingly He commanded him (*Abraham*) to carry him (*Isaac*) to mount *Moria*. It was that mountain on which king David (*sic*) afterwards built the temple.'—*Antiquities* 1.13. (Josephus means that David pointed out the spot on which the temple was to be erected.) The Jerusalem Targum and Pseudo-Jonathan's version, agree with Josephus. Dillmann, who was a great scholar, in spite of his critical aberrations, accepts the statement. In his Commentary on Genesis, he says—'Ha-Moria, with the article, is the name of the temple-hill in Jerusalem, from the time of Solomon the most important place of worship in the country. In spite of the objections raised, this is the place we must suppose to be intended here, for no other place of the name is found, and Abraham's greatest deed of faith was best localized in a sacred spot of importance. Besides, the indications of verse 14 point to it at least not less plainly than the play on the word in 2 Chron. iii. 1.' What he alludes to, is fully stated by Gesenius, *Thesaurus Ling. Hebr.*, p. 819: 'Ad originem quod attinet, non dubium est, quin sacri scriptores *Moria* acceperint pro *Mori-ja*, vel secundum Genesim *electus a Jehova*; vel secundum Paralipomena, l. c. *monstratus a Jehova*, quod idem, spectarunt Symm. *γῆς της οπτασίας* Aqu. *εις την γην την καταφανη*. Hieron. 'terra visionis,'

Abraham uses the name also in xiv. 22, xv. 2-8, xxii. 14, xxiv. 3. And Isaac uses it in xxvi. 22, and xxvii. 27 ; see also verse 7 of this last chapter. And Jacob uses it, xxviii. 16-21. Other instances might be given, but these it is hoped will be thought sufficient. It should be observed that we do not mean to prove from Scripture, against those who do not admit its authority, that the name was known to the three patriarchs. In the first part of our discussion with them we intend solely to call attention to the fact that Scripture states that the name was known. This has been done ; and now we shall call attention to the way in which the critics who say there is a contradiction in Scripture, offer to solve it.

In spite of all the evidence, the critics will not admit that

quodque scriptura adeo mutata commendare volebat cod. Sam. Neque linguae rationibus contrarium est hoc etymon : nihilominus primum et nativum non videtur, sed eo demum tempore excogitatum, quo templum jam in hoc colle extractum erat.' Driver does not accept the derivation. In his article on *Moria* (*Hastings' Dictionary*), he remarks that 'Hebrew proper names when accompanied by the article have the presumption of possessing, or at least of having once possessed an appellative force ; but the meaning of *Moria* is obscure : and the etymologies that have been proposed are far from satisfactory. It is at least certain that it does not mean shown of Jah, or vision of Jah, neither of which forms could pass into *Moriah*.' Nevertheless we will keep the etymology indicated in Scripture, even though it be a popular one. The Hebrews must be supposed to know their own language best. Many expressions are good English, even though a foreign grammarian might not see his way to approve of them. But enough of philology. The following explanation, however, deserves to be quoted :—'This derivation forms the basis of the passage in Gen. xxii. 14. 'And Abraham called the name of that place JEHOVAH-JIRE, *the Lord will see*, as it is said to this day, in the mount of Jehovah, *he will appear*.' The name of the place, in its peculiar form, occurs in verse 2, and is assumed to be universally known. For this reason an explanatory paraphrase is substituted for it in JEHOVA JIREH ; and in such a case, throughout Genesis, it is usual to give not a strict etymological derivation, but only an allusion to the etymology. That *God's seeing* here, where it is mentioned with a reference to verse 8, is only so far noticed as it is inseparably connected with His *being seen*, His *appearing*, the following words prove : 'As it is said to this day,' etc. The hope of the future appearing rests on the certainty of the present appearing. On *Moria*, the place of God's appearing, He has appeared, and there faith hopes that He will manifest Himself in the future. Thus, the expression 'as it is said to this day,' etc., is to be regarded as a prophetic anticipation on account of Exod. xv. 17, where this anticipation, the hope of a future and more glorious revelation of God upon the site of the former, is yet more clearly expressed, 'Thou shalt bring them in and plant them in the mountain of Thy inheritance, in the place, O Lord, which Thou has made for Thee to dwell in, in the sanctuary, O Lord, which Thy hands have established,' Hengstenberg, *On the Genuineness of the Pentateuch*, Eng. tr., vol. i., p. 276.

To those who believe in the all-guiding providence of God, especially in what has direct reference to the Redemption, to those who regard the chief events in the Old Testament as typical of still greater ones in the New ; the

these three patriarchs knew the sacred name. Scripture may affirm the acquaintance, but higher criticism knows more about these things than Scripture. Wellhausen and his associates attempt to get rid of all the troublesome texts referred to above, by boldly asserting that wherever the name 'Jehova' occurs, it is an interpolation. The Jehovist did not write it, therefore the Redactor inserted it. We may once more take the *Oxford Hexateuch* as an expression of critical views. It blandly states in its note on Genesis xv. 2-8, that 'the title, Lord Jahweh, does not necessarily make for J, as it may be redactional.' So, too, in reference to xxii. 14, Abraham's alleged use of the name is 'an editorial insertion,

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appropriateness and the significance of the spot chosen is quite evident. It was fitting that the sacrifice of Isaac which foreshadowed that of Christ should be offered near Calvary, and that the temple which was a figure of Christ's body (St. John ii. 19) should be near Calvary too.

There are, however, we willingly acknowledge, some ancient versions of great authority, which give a very different meaning to the word that the Masorets, the Vulgate (Paralipomenon), the Jerusalem Targum, and Aquila pronounced as *Moria*. In both passages (Genesis and Paralipomenon) the Peshitta has 'the land of the *Amorites*.' In Paralipomenon the Septuagint also has *Αμωρια*, but in Genesis *την υψηλην*. And the newly discovered Palestinian Lectionary (published by Mrs. Lewis, Cambridge, 1897) containing a translation from the Septuagint has '*arha ramtha*'=the high country. In Genesis, the Septuagint presumably derived the word in the Hebrew text from the verb '*amar*'=to be high. And it has been thought that the gentile name 'Amorites' had a connection with this. However, the following remark of Sayce's seems to be true, viz.:—'The name Amorite has been supposed to signify "mountaineer"; but the two Hebrew words "*emer*" and "*amir*" by which the signification is supported mean "summit" and "tower," not "mountain."' Then, as we learned from Gesenius, Symmachus has 'the bright land,' and Aquila 'the land of vision.' The last explanation is certainly that of the Samaritan Version, and probably that of the Samaritan Pentateuch. For the word found here in it may mean 'vision,' though judging from Gen. xii. 6, it may be the name of a place near Sichem. Calmet says the Samaritans asserted that the sacrifice of Isaac was offered near Sichem. This is of a piece with their 'tradition' that Abraham met Melchisedech, and Jacob had his vision, on Mount Gerizim. If they were able to put Salem and Bethel there, there could have been no difficulty about transferring *Moria*. Hummelauer, from whom a great deal of information is taken, thinks that the land 'of the Amorites' is the original meaning, though he does not deny that the name of the particular mount in question may have been *Moria*. We, however, see no reason for doubting the explicit statement of Josephus. In conclusion, we may observe that the authors of versions mentioned above seem not to have read *Moria*. The Septuagint (Paralipomenon) apparently presupposes *Haamir*; Symmachus presupposes *Hammare*; Aquila and the Samaritan version, *Mare*; Septuagint (Genesis), *Haamir*; and Onkelos and Samaritan Pentateuch, *Hammore*, (See Hoberg's Genesis, p. 198). We suspect, therefore, that the explanations they respectively give may not unfairly be regarded as guesses.

but whether by R<sup>e</sup> or R<sup>j</sup><sup>6</sup> cannot be determined.' (N.B.—R<sup>e</sup> is the symbol for the editor of E, R<sup>j</sup><sup>6</sup> that of the editorial hands which united and revised J and E.) Again when Isaac is said to utter it, xxvii. 7, the *Oxford Hexateuch* evidently thinks that statement to be unworthy of serious consideration. Isaac could not have done so by any possibility, so the only question the Oxford editors condescend to treat is, whether J or E is accountable for its presence in the text. They explain that 'the words "before Yahweh" involve a serious difficulty in the ascription to E. They may have been introduced accidentally from J through the similarity of the word "before (my death)" contrasted with "before" in 2b. Other unexpected occurrences of *Yahweh*, due to various causes, have been noted in xvii. 1, xxi. 1b, xxii. 11.'<sup>5</sup> This deliberate

<sup>5</sup> These three passages are part of the narrative itself, not alleged reproductions of the patriarchs' words. The seventeenth chapter of Genesis, which treats of the covenant and of circumcision, is on that very account ascribed to the priestly writer (P) by the critics. They assume that a priest is the author of all those sections in Genesis, etc., that have reference to subjects connected with religion. It needs hardly be said that neither this hypothetical writer, nor the other equally shadowy creations J and E, ever existed in reality. But to return to the first of our passages xvii. 1. In the note on this verse, the *Oxford Hexateuch* takes care to remind its readers that 'the name *Yahweh* is assigned here to a redactor or copyist as it is contrary to the usage of P before Ex. vi. 2.' The critics who published this work either will not admit, or fail to see that they are begging the question. The same perverse ingenuity, or blissful ignorance, is shown in its treatment of xxi. 1b. 'And Jehova visited Sara as he had said: and Jehova did unto Sara as he had spoken.' This is obviously nothing more than an instance of the synonymous parallelism so characteristic of Hebrew literature. But the critics are quite sure that it presents traces of double authorship; the first part must belong to J (because Jehova occurs in it); and the second part may be given to P. But Jehova occurs there, too. That does not matter, says the *Oxford Hexateuch*, 'the name *Yahweh* being due to a copyist or redactor as in xvii. 1.' First, the critics say that there is a contradiction in the traditional text of Scripture, and then they show how it may be got rid of, by eliminating or altering one set of passages! With regard, moreover, to this verse, xxi. 1, they considerably explain that 'all three sources, J, and E, and P, seem to have contained the account of the birth of Isaac.' And so they do not oblige us to regard the second half of the verse as written by P. They say 'it is possible, however, that 1b belongs to E (*cf.* the formula "to do" . . . which P does not use in Genesis.)' This is the veriest trifling. So, too, in regard of xxii. 11. The text is 'the angel of Jehova called unto him'; but the critics dismiss it summarily, with this remark: 'The angel in the original story was no doubt the angel of Elohim, xxi. 17; the name has been editorially changed to *Yahweh* in preparation for the important assertion 15-18.' What can be hoped for from people who wantonly alter the text of Scripture in order to make it suit their own fancies, and who not content with this deed of libertinism deliberately invent what they are pleased to call 'the original story'!

manipulation of the sacred text is carried out with unblushing consistency also in the history of Jacob's vision and the vow he took in consequence, xxviii. 11-21. The name may occur in verses 13 (*twice*; used once by the inspired narrator, and once by God when speaking to Jacob), 16 and 21 (both times by Jacob), but that matters nothing to the critics, who have recourse to their customary subterfuge. After some flippant remarks about 'editorial expansions,' the Oxford commentary complacently observes that 'Kuenen and Cornill accordingly propose to attribute the theophany to R. The opening words, however, "And behold Jahve stood beside him," do not sound like a harmonist's combination with verse 12; they belong rather to an independent narrative.' Then it confidentially informs us that J and E had at one time different accounts of the origin of the sacred pillar at Bethel, and concludes with the lucid explanation that 'in that case, however, verse 15 will be an editorial reflex of verse 17, due probably to the same combining hand which added the words, "And Yahweh shall be my God," 21b.'

Enough has now been quoted to show how some of the modern rationalists treat the history of these great patriarchs. Even were that history not sacred, these unbelievers could not be excused for violating one of the fundamental laws of textual criticism. No one may alter the words of an author at will. Now, as regards the Pentateuch, we know that its text is one of the best certified in existence. Besides hundreds of Hebrew MSS. and those of the Samaritan transcript, there are ancient versions in several languages. They all testify to the presence of the word Jehova in the passages quoted above, but in defiance of their unanimous testimony the rationalists will have it that at some indefinitely early period the word was foisted into the text. And for this statement there is not a particle of evidence! 'Stat pro ratione voluntas.' When, where, and by whom was the alleged insertion made? The rationalists have no answer to give. One cannot fail to perceive the family likeness which exists between them and Luther. He deliberately mistranslated Scripture in the texts

that did not suit his ideas, they go further and put such texts out.

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And now we come to the most interesting part of our subject—namely, to the explanation of Exodus vi. 2, 3, that famous passage in which God declares that he was known to the three patriarchs as El-Shaddai, but not as Jehova. Here we are confronted with one of the test-questions in exegesis at the present day. It is, as we said already, between this passage and those we have quoted above in order to show that the patriarchs knew the name, that the apparent contradiction exists (*critics call it a real one*), on which rests the whole structure of the document theory in the higher criticism of the Pentateuch.

The words in Exodus vi. 2, 3, may be thus translated:—‘And God spoke unto Moses and said to him, I am JEHOVA. (3.) And I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob as EL-SHADDAI, but by my name JEHOVA I was not known to them.’ The significant antithesis which is so striking in the Hebrew text is not preserved so well as usual in the Vulgate, though its translation there is substantially correct. ‘Locutusque est Dominus ad Moysen dicens, Ego Dominus. (3.) Qui apparui Abraham, Isaac, et Jacob, in Deo omnipotente et nomen meum Adonai non indicavi eis.’<sup>6</sup>

The Vulgate has been influenced here by the Septuagint, but is nevertheless superior to it, as appears from this:—‘Ἐλάλησεν δὲ ὁ Θεὸς πρὸς Μωυσῆν καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτόν Ἐγὼ Κύριος (3) καὶ ὤφθην πρὸς Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ, Θεὸς ὢν αὐτῶν, καὶ τὸ ὄνομά μου Κύριος οὐκ ἐδήλωσα αὐτοῖς.

The immediate context states that God promised the patriarchs that He would bestow on their posterity the land of Chanaan. ‘Pepigique foedus cum eis, ut darem eis terram Chanaan, terram peregrinationis eorum, in qua fuerunt advenae,’ Exodus vi. 4. He gave his word to Abraham (Genesis xvii. 8), to Isaac (xxvi. 3), to Jacob (xxviii. 13). It is in consequence of this that Chanaan is called the promised land (‘terra repromissionum,’ Hebrews xi. 9). But Abraham,

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<sup>6</sup> See on Adonai, I. E. RECORD, March, 1903, p. 233.

Isaac, and Jacob themselves were only sojourners in the country, sheltered for the time as nomads under tents. They moved up and down in search of pasture, and where they found a suitable spot they pitched their camp. The reason is explained by St. Stephen in his address to the Sanhedrim (Acts vii. 5). Speaking of God's dealings with Abraham he says :—‘*Et non dedit illi hereditatem in ea, nec passum pedis, sed repromisit dare illi eam in possessionem, et<sup>7</sup> semini ejus post ipsum, cum non haberet filium.*’ And the verse of the Epistle to the Hebrews just referred to directs our attention to the faith of Abraham and its significance. ‘*Fide demoratus est in terra repromissionis, tanquam in aliena, in casulis habitando, cum Isaac et Jacob coheredibus repromissionis ejusdem.*’ Abraham, though certain of his own ‘*jus ad rem,*’ his by right divine, neither had, nor desired to have, nor wished to be regarded as having, any ‘*jus in re.*’ That was reserved for distant posterity. Even in time of urgent need his action bears witness to his submission to this divine arrangement. When Sara died he said to the Hethites :—‘I am a stranger and sojourner among you ; give me the right of a burying place among you that I may bury my dead.’ And for the double grave in which, when his own time came, he was to be laid to rest by his wife's side, he paid the full price to Ephron the Hethite. And afterwards, when the Philistines repeatedly drove Isaac's shepherds from the wells in the desert that his father's men had dug, his only course was to go on further and to dig a well for which the Philistines contended not. So, too, when Jacob came to Sichem, and wished to settle there for a time, he had to buy a field. ‘All these,’ as the Epistle to the Hebrews goes on

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<sup>7</sup> ‘Et’ here is not conjunctive, but explanatory. There are several examples of this Hebraism ; *e.g.*, ‘*Si peccaverit anima et audierit vocem jurantis,*’ Lev. v. 1. ‘*Reddidi consolationes ipsi, et lugentibus ejus,*’ Isaias lvii. 18. ‘*Dabo in manus inimicorum suorum, et in manus quaerentium animas eorum,*’ Jeremias xxxiv. 21. In these passages ‘et’ is equivalent to ‘*scilicet.*’ It is to be understood as the particle of closer definition. As the Oxford Hebrew Lexicon explains very well, ‘such particles as *namely, &c.*, were reserved for cases in which special emphasis or distinctness was desired ; their frequent use was felt instinctively to be inconsistent with that lightness and grace of movement which the Hebrew ear loved.’ For examples of the same usage in the New Testament, see St. Matthew i. 24, xiii. 41, and St. John i. 16, x. 53.



to say, *ib.* v. 13, 'died according to faith, not having received the promises, but beholding them afar off and saluting them, and confessing that they are pilgrims and strangers on the earth.' It was not until long after their own time that their descendants were to obtain actual possession of the promised land, as God declared to Abraham (Genesis xv. 13-16): 'Know thou beforehand that thy seed shall be a stranger in a land not their own, and they shall afflict them four hundred years. But in the fourth generation they shall return hither.'

The three patriarchs were pre-eminently men of faith, so much so that by their lives St. Paul illustrates the meaning of his definition of faith—viz., the conviction regarding things unseen, the virtual possession of things unattained. They themselves were never to behold the fulfilment of the promises, but the patriarchs were absolutely certain that their posterity would one day own Chanaan. To them God had revealed Himself as the All-Powerful and the Ever-Faithful, and they believed that He could and would keep His word. What St. Paul says of Abraham applies to Isaac and Jacob also. 'Plenissime sciens quia quaecumque promisit, potens est et facere' (Romans iv. 21). Chapters of Genesis and passages of the Epistles have been written to show that the guiding principle of their lives was unbounded confidence in the Divine Omnipotence.

This apparently is the reason why God says that to them He had revealed Himself as El-Shaddai. This name is fifteen times out of thirty-one translated by παντοκρατωρ in the Septuagint Job, and generally by 'Omnipotens' in the Vulgate (and in Genesis always). Its meaning is partly conveyed by ωχυρος in the Septuagint Job, by 'hesina' in the Peshitta Job, and by 'halia' elsewhere (both Syriac words mean *strong*), by αλκιμος occasionally in Aquila's version, and by κραταιος in the Graecus Venetus. In all probability Ανταρκης, which is sometimes found in the Septuagint as well as in Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, and ικανος, which occurs in Hesychius and also six times in the Septuagint, may be safely dismissed as not being specific enough; but, nevertheless, they all point in the same direction. On the other hand, however, it must be observed that in all

the six passages of Genesis where 'El-Shaddai' occurs, the Septuagint has simply *ο θεος εμος, σου, κ.τ.λ.*, and that the Peshitta only transliterates or reproduces in Syriac characters the mysterious Hebrew name. Nor will the proposed etymologies enable one to arrive at greater probability regarding its meaning. The *Encyclopædia Biblica* says :—' It is incorrect to appeal in support of the common explanation Almighty to the Arabic root *sadda*, to be strong, firm ; for the Hebrew equivalent for this would be not Shaddad, but Saddad.' In *Hastings' Bible Dictionary* Dr. Davidson, who reviews and rejects quite a number of etymologies, evidently regards the origin and meaning of the word as an unsolved philological problem. He, however, refers with some consideration to an interpretation put forward by Delitsch and recommended by Hommel. As it has been quite recently recommended by Pinches also, his words may be quoted :—

It is to be noted [he says] that there is in Semitic Babylonian a word *Shadu*, often applied to deities, and expressed in the old language of Akkad by means of the same ideograph (Kura) as is used for mountain (*Shadu* or *Shaddu* in Semitic Babylonian). This word *Shadu*, applied to divinities, Professor Friedrich Delitsch regards as being distinct from the word for mountain notwithstanding that they are both expressed by the same word in Akkadian, and renders it by the words, 'lord,' 'commander.' Have we here in this word an Assyro-Babylonian form of the Hebrew Shaddai? We do not know ; but the likeness between the two is worth referring to. That the idea of almightiness should be expressed by means of the borrowed Akkadian idiomatic use of the word *kura*, 'mountain,' as that which towers up commandingly, a mighty mass, would seem to offer an acceptable explanation of what has long been felt as a difficulty.<sup>8</sup>

It seems, therefore, that the case for the interpretation omnipotent, strong, may be summed up thus. It has partly in its favour the authority of the ancient versions, it suits the context, it commends itself to almost all commentators, and the last-mentioned etymology of the Hebrew word may be the true one.

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<sup>8</sup> *The Old Testament, in the Light of the Historical Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, 1902, p. 248,

But another and a very ingenious derivation and interpretation has been proposed which deserves notice here. Oleaster, O.P., surmises that the word Shaddai comes from *Shad*, a breast, and remarks:—‘Si a *sad*, significabit Deum quatenus praebebat ubertatem, seu bona sua in nos effundit; quemadmodum ab ubere lac diffunditur.’ This tentative explanation has been independently maintained by the learned Oratorian, Abbé Robert, in a very able article which appeared in the *Revue Biblique*, April, 1894. He says:—‘Sous ce titre, *El Shaddai*, Dieu s’est manifesté comme la source de tous les biens temporels, c’est à dire comme la cause de l’accroissement et de la prospérité des familles, de la fécondité des troupeaux et de la fertilité des champs. En un mot, *El Shaddai*, c’est *Dieu fecondateur*.’ It must be said that this interpretation suits the context better even than the one given above does, for it indicates in what way precisely omnipotence was exercised. It is therefore a supplementary, not an adversative interpretation. L’Abbé Robert refers in proof to all the six texts in Genesis where the appellation occurs. They are the following:—

(God speaking to Abraham.) I am El-Shaddai; walk before me, and be perfect. And I will make my covenant between me and thee, and I will multiply thee exceedingly. Gen. xvii. 7.

(Isaac to Jacob.) And may El-Shaddai bless thee, and make thee to increase, and multiply thee. xxviii. 3.

(God to Jacob.) I am El-Shaddai; increase thou and be thou multiplied. Nations and peoples of nations shall be from thee, and kings shall come out of thy loins. xxxv. 11.

(Jacob to nine of his sons.) And may my El-Shaddai make him favourable to you. xliii. 14.

(Jacob to Joseph.) El-Shaddai appeared to me at Luz, which is in the land of Chanaan, and he blessed me and he said: I will cause thee to increase and multiply, and I will make of thee a multitude of people; and I will give this land to thee and to thy seed after thee for an everlasting possession. xlviii. 3, 4.

(Jacob’s blessing of Joseph.) The God (El)<sup>10</sup> of thy father

<sup>9</sup> *Comm. in Pent.* 1569.

<sup>10</sup> According to Roediger (in Gesenius’ *Thesaurus*), some Hebrew MSS. and the Samaritan Pentateuch have El-Shaddai here. It is also used here in the Peshitta (Lee’s ed.). These six passages of Genesis, and Ezech. x. 5, are the only ones in which the compound appellation occurs. Elsewhere

shall be thy helper, and the Almighty (Shaddai) shall bless thee, with the blessings of Heaven above, with the blessings of the deep that lieth beneath, with the blessings of the breast and of the womb. xlix. 25.

And l'Abbé Robert gives the correct explanation of the last passage :—

Les 'bénédictions de cieux en haut,' c'est la rosée des cieux qui, en Orient, tombe chaque matin, et de laquelle dépend la fertilité des champs. (Gen. xxvii. 28; Deut. xxxiii. 13, 28.) Les 'bénédictions de l'abime en bas,' ce sont les sources, les puits, qui, comme on constate dans la Genèse, sont d'une importance majeure pour les tribus des pasteurs. (xxi. 25, xxvi. 15-22.) Enfin, par 'bénédictions des mamelles et de la matrice' il faut entendre l'abondance des enfants et des troupeaux. (Il est intéressant de remarquer dans ce verset le rapprochement du mot Shaddaim 'mamelles' avec le nom divin Shaddai. On reconnaît aussitôt la parenté des deux mots qui évidemment découlent l'un et l'autre, comme nous l'avons déjà dit, du radical *Shadah*, lequel indique la profusion, l'abondance, et par conséquent la fécondité.)

L'examen est complet et concluant, croyons nous. Lorsque Dieu dit : 'Je me suis manifesté à Abraham, à Isaac et à Jacob, en tant que El-Shaddai,' il faut donc traduire que Dieu a donné une grande fécondité aux patriarches, à leurs champs et à leurs troupeaux.<sup>11</sup>

From all these passages one conclusion appears to follow.

Shaddai alone is used ; twice in Numbers, twice in Ruth, thirty-one times in Job, twice in the Psalter, once in Isaias, twice in Ezechiel, and once in Joel. In Job it has the same meaning as it has in Genesis, in Numbers and Ruth its use affords no clue to its import, but in the Psalms and the Prophets it signifies 'the destroyer.' But here it is evidently derived from another root, viz. : *Shadad*, 'to devastate, ruin.' The primitive meaning of the word appears to have become obsolete, a phenomenon which in the opinion of some affords indirect proof of the antiquity of Genesis.

<sup>11</sup> Whatever may be the true derivation of the word, and even supposing for the moment that Robert's proposed etymology is wrong, still there can be no doubt of the correctness of his explanation of the meaning and purport of the name Shaddai in Genesis. This is not surprising. We may know the meaning of a word yet be unable to tell its derivation, or, on the other hand, we might be well acquainted with it, and nevertheless find that the etymology was no clue to the signification. Take, for instance, the word 'Alma' in the prophecy of Isaias (vii. 14) :—'Behold a Virgin (Alma) shall conceive,' etc. It denotes a Virgin, this is absolutely certain : but its etymology only informs us that it is a name for a young woman. It is the usage and the context that determine the meaning, here and elsewhere. So, too, even though readers were found to disapprove of Robert's derivation of Shaddai, at least they must accept his explanation of it, and this is the point about which we are concerned.

God was called El-Shaddai, in order to signify His bounteous benevolence in bestowing on the patriarchs a numerous offspring and vast wealth. Abraham was exceedingly rich. Scripture, not a word of which is without deep purpose and meaning, lays emphasis on the fact. Genesis xiii. 2-6: *cp.* xxiv. 35. So, too, with regard to Isaac (xvii. 13, 14, 16) and to Jacob (xxx. 43). If these statements have been made with a view to indicate that opulence was the correlative result of El-Shaddai's action, they must be regarded as furnishing us with an authentic explanation of the import of that name. It may be noticed also that as appears from some of these passages, in time of trouble and distress both Isaac and Jacob invoked God as El-Shaddai. They must have known the nature of the attribute which it denoted. And on the other hand, it should be observed that in Genesis whatever the reason may be, the fact is, that where there is no reference to tranquillity and abundance, this divine name is not used. Hence it would seem, so far as we may understand Scripture, that while El-Shaddai is well translated by 'Almighty,' nevertheless this word does not exhaust its meaning. The name connotes as the specific effect of the exercise of omnipotence in regard to these patriarchs, the extraordinary favours alluded to, and, therefore, 'All-Bountiful' is included in its signification.

Still all this was but a faint foreshadowing of the future glory and greatness of their race. The patriarchs communed with God in secret, they received revelations in private; and by the world their quiet lives passed unnoticed. Later on there was an amazing change. The world was forced to attend. A countless multitude of Israelites, enriched with spoils, irresistible in might, went forth from Egypt. Their purpose was nothing less than to take possession of that fertile land, occupied though it was by powerful tribes, in which their forefathers had dwelt as timid foreigners. And never before or since did a victorious nation march on, so visibly protected by heaven, as did that chosen people. God had already wrought in Egypt unheard of prodigies for Israel's deliverance, the miracle of each day being successively surpassed by that of the next, till at length He could say

to the obdurate monarch :—‘ Therefore, I upheld thee, that while showing thee My power, I might make My name known throughout the whole earth.’ The culmination of wonders was reached when Pharaoh and all his proud host perished, and the Israelites crossed over safely. Never before had God so shown His almighty power. In the history of such miracles there is nothing equal to that of the exodus. Yet new and still greater manifestations of power and of tenderest love were in store, nor did they cease till the Israelites entered into their inheritance, and God’s word was fulfilled to the letter. Hence He could say to Moses that He would presently reveal Himself as he had never done to the patriarchs.

When God says that He did not manifest Himself to the patriarchs as Jehova, we are not to take His words as if they meant that the patriarchs were unacquainted with the material name : the revelation signifies that they had not experience of its import such as fell to the lot of their descendants. This is shown by the parallelism that exists between the second part of the divine statement and the first, which regards the manifestation of Himself as El-Shaddai. In that one, as we have seen, there is reference not to mere verbal knowledge, but to an intimate, personal friendship with Him Whom it designated, so that the meaning of the word was to them a reality which profoundly influenced the whole course of their lives. It is the same here, there is question only of *real* knowledge. This is the interpretation given by Cajetan, Lyranus, Sixtus Senensis, Tostatus, Eugubinus, Vatable, Estius, Burgensis,<sup>m</sup> Sonciet, Calmet, Jahn, Allioli, Welte, Bergier, Dereser, Du Clot, Michaelis, Dathe, Rosenmüller, Häverník, Hengstenberg, and others, in Reinke’s *Beiträge*, iii., pages 116, etc., and Reinke himself is of the same view.

There is in Ezechiel a passage which contains a direct allusion to this verse. Almighty God explains to the prophet as clearly as language can convey it, the meaning of what He revealed to Moses. He says (Ezechiel xx. 5) : ‘ In the day when I chose Israel, and lifted up My hand for the race of Jacob, and appeared to them

in the land of Egypt, and lifted up My hand for them, saying: I am the Lord (*i.e.*, *Jehova*) your God. In that day I lifted up My hand for them, to bring them out of the land of Egypt, into a land flowing with milk and honey,' etc. The following points of resemblance should be noticed:—(1) In this chapter, from verse 5 to verse 28, God is speaking to Ezechiel about the exodus. Then for the first time did God call Israel, His firstborn.<sup>12</sup> Speaking now to Ezechiel God refers to His gracious adoption of Israel as His own; the verb *bahar* used here (in the day when *I chose*) is the very word used in Deuteronomy iv. 37, vii. 6, 7, x. 15, xiv. 2, etc.; the consecrated term to express that Israel was the chosen people. (2) 'To raise the hand' has, in almost every other one of the thirteen places where it occurs, the meaning of *to swear*, and according to Knabenbauer, Schmalzl, etc., it has that meaning here. But with all deference to these commentators it may be thought that another meaning which the same phrase has in Psalm x. 12, viz., *to exert one's power* (Vulg., *Exaltetur manus tua*) is more appropriate here. The deliverance from Egypt, etc., is styled *par excellence* the work of God's strong hand.<sup>13</sup> Whereas the oath to deliver, and to give the land of Chanaan, was taken not at the time of the exodus, but long before it, viz., to the patriarchs.<sup>14</sup> We do not remember that there is even one text to show that God took an oath about this matter to anybody else. And in this chapter of Ezechiel, where the phrase in question occurs seven times, it seems in verses 15, 23, to imply the exercise of power, on account of the antithesis between these verses and verse 22, in which there evidently is an allusion to the exodus. 'But I turned away my hand, and wrought for my name's sake, that it might not be violated before the nations, out of which I brought them forth in their sight.' (3) For the words, 'I appeared,' which occur in Ezechiel and in Exodus, the original texts have the

<sup>12</sup> See Exod. iv. 22, 23; Osee xi. 1; Ps. cxiii. 1, 2.

<sup>13</sup> Exod. iii. 19, xiii. 3, 9, 14, 16; Deut. v. 15, vi. 21, vii. 8, ix. 26, xxvi. 8; Dan. ix. 15.

<sup>14</sup> Exod. vi. 8 (where 'I raised my hand' occurs), xiii. 5; Deut. i. 8, vi. 10, vii. 13, xviii. 23, etc.

much more significant expression, *nodati*='I made Myself known.' This use of the reflexive or middle voice precludes the attempt to make the name JEHOVA<sup>15</sup> in the second half of the verse in Exodus, the object of the revelation. As Reinke well says :—

Hätte Jehova sagen wollen, dass er den Erzvätern seinen Namen nicht bekannt gemacht habe und denselben selbst dem Namen nach unbekannt gewesen sei, so hätte er nicht '*Ich bin nicht bekannt geworden*' in Niphal; sondern '*Ich habe nicht angezeigt, belehrt, bekannt gemacht,*' in Hiphil sagen müssen (page 117).

It is also worthy of notice that the Hebrew text of Exodus indicated besides, that God made Himself known as *El-Shaddai* (in *Deo omnipotente*, Vulgate). The use of the

<sup>15</sup> It was observed already (I. E. RECORD, March, 1903, p. 245) in the 'metaphysical interpretation' which we prefer, that the divine attribute connoted by the name 'Jehova' is that of necessary existence, or to use an expressive scholastic term 'aseitas.' 'Deus est ens a se.' By His own nature He exists, therefore He is One, Eternal, Immutable. As in Him essence and existence are identical, it follows that His 'existentia irrecepta,' to use another scholastic expression, is absolute and infinite perfection, or what is called 'actus purus.' The question in Scripture may well be asked :—'Domine Deus virtutum, quis similis tibi?' HE IS WHO IS: *creatures are what are not*. As St. Augustine says :—'Esse est nomen incommutabilitatis. Omnia enim quae mutantur, desinunt esse quod erant, et incipiunt esse quod non erant. Esse verum, esse sincerum, esse germanum non habet, nisi qui non mutatur. Ille habet esse, cui dicitur : "mutabis ea et mutabuntur, tu autem idem ipse es." Quid est "ego sum qui sum," nisi aeternus sum? Quid est "ego sum qui sum," nisi mutari non possum?'

The sublime revelation which He made respecting His unalterable nature in Exodus iii. 15 :—'I AM WHO AM (*Eljeh asher ejleh*);—thus shalt thou say to the children of Israel, HE WHO IS (Jehova) sent me to you,' is repeated in Malachi iii. 6, where He says. 'I am Jehova, I change not.' The Hebrew which is literally translated here, is even more concise and forcible than the Vulgate, 'Ego enim Dominus, et non mutor.' In the context preceding He had referred to His Incarnation ('Behold I send my angel before my face,' etc.), which was foretold of old by the prophets, and ardently desired now by the people, as most certainly to be accomplished in the near future. The pledge He gives of the fulfilment of His absolute promise is the immutability expressed by His name. He is *verax in dicendo*, because He is *verax in essendo*. There is a similar explanation of the name Jehova in Osee xii. 5. The words are—'Even Jehova-Elohim of Sabaoth, Jehova is His memorial' (*Vulg.* Dominus Deus exercituum, Dominus memoriale ejus.) Sept.

In the context the prophet has just referred to the wondrous promises made to the patriarch Jacob at Phanuel and at Bethel, and has ended the description with the remark (verse 4), 'and there He (*i.e.*, God) spoke to us.' Now he proceeds to show why the fulfilment of these divine promises was to be expected with absolute certainty by himself and his contemporaries. He appeals to the omnipotence of God ('Dominus Deus exercituum') in order to prove that He could keep His promises, and to the infinite fidelity of God consequent on His immutability ('Dominus memoriale ejus') in order to prove



Hebrew word for 'in' here corresponds precisely to an idiomatic use of 'en' in French ('agir en père,' 'penser en citoyen'), so the divine words could not be translated better than by, 'Je me fis connaître en Dieu Tout—puissant.' Obviously they mean not verbal, but real revelation, and so confirm the explanation already given.

Du Clot says well :—

Cela veut dire, que Dieu ne s'était pas manifesté à ces saints patriarches sous cette signification particulière ; qu'il ne s'était pas fait connaître jusqu'alors *comme fidèle à remplir ses promesses* : c'est à dire, je n'ai pas encore rempli la promesse que je leur avais faite de retirer de l'Egypte leur posterité, et de lui donner la terre de Chanaan ; c'est à dire ils ne m'ont regardé jusqu'à présent que comme capable, par non pouvoir, de remplir

that He would keep them. The *omnipotentia auxilians* or formal motive of the virtue of hope is thus mentioned : from the theological standpoint, the demonstration is complete and perfect, and it is no less so from the exegetical. Jehova means precisely what is here given as its explanation. The memorial, or characteristic name (*Heb.* יהוה, *Sept.* ὁ δὲ κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ *ἔσται μνημόσυνον αὐτοῦ*) Jehova, by which God was known to His people implied unchangeable veracity. Our readers need not to be reminded that Osee here refers to Exodus iii. 15 where God speaking of His own most sacred title, Jehova, says :—'This is my name for ever, and this my memorial (יהוה, *μνημόσυνον*) unto all generations.' God thus gives His incommunicable name as the guerdon or pledge of the performance of His word. As elsewhere He swears by Himself, so here He calls Himself, Jehova. Those to whom He has explained the import of the Name know what He means to convey by it, and it is His will that by it He should be remembered for ever. There is a beautiful passage in *Isaias* (xxvi. 8), where the pious say :—('Domine, sustinimus te') ; *nomen tuum et memoriale tuum in desiderio animae.* Ps. cxxxiv. 13 may also be quoted :—'Domine, *nomen tuum in eternum ; Domine, memoriale tuum in generationem et generationem.*' Both passages exhibit the same idea in connection with the name Jehova. The verse of the Psalm is especially relevant, because the verses that precede (8-12) describe the fulfilment of the promise made to the Patriarchs about the deliverance from Egypt and the taking possession of Palestine.

If we turn at last to the New Testament, we find that the same divine explanation is repeated in it. Of God, the apostle St. James emphatically says :—'παρ ὧν ἐν παραλλαγῇ ἡ τροπῆς ἀποσκίασμα.' We read also in Heb. xiii. 8, 'Jesus Christ, the same yesterday and to-day, and for ever.' This is equivalent to a declaration of His divinity or to a declaration that the name Jehova belongs to Him. The verse is admirably explained by Herveius : 'Ceterum divinitas ejus interminabilis plenitudinem totam comprehendit ac possidet, cui neque futuri quidquam absit nec preteriti fluxerit, quoniam esse ejus totum est et semper est, nescitque mutabilitatem.' And as is well known, the incommunicable name Jehova is part of the adorable name Jesus, the uncontracted form of which would be Jehova-Shua=Divine Saviour. This explanation was given by the angel to St. Joseph. 'Thou shalt call His name Jesus ; for He shall save His people from their sins.'

les promesses que je leur avais faites ; mais dans la suite je me ferai connaître à eux sous la relation de *Jehova*, ou comme exécutant ce que je leur avais promis. C'est ce qui est clairement expliqué dans les versets 4, 5, et 6 du chapitre iii. de l'Exode, où Dieu dit, entre autres choses, à Moïse: Dites aux enfans d'Israel: 'Je suis *Jehova*, c'est moi qui vous tirerai de la prison des Egyptiens,' etc., et au chapitre vii. 7. 'Les Egyptiens apprendront que je suis *Jehova*, après que j'aurai étendu ma main sur l'Egypte, et que j'aurai retiré les enfans d'Israel,' etc.

It may be added that the same expression, 'to make men know that I am *Jehova*,' is used similarly in vii. 17, viii. 22, x. 2, xiv. 4, 18. It is also found in Isaïas xlv. 3, xlix. 23, 26, etc., and in the Psalter, ix. 17, xlvii. 4, lxxv. 1.

It is surely not a question about mere acquaintance with a word of three syllables. To know the name '*Jehova*' does not mean ability to point it out in a spelling-book, nor the possession of information regarding it such as might be given in a foot-note. To imagine this would be absurd and irreverent. Almighty God was not a schoolmaster, nor were the three patriarchs children learning to read. Can any more futile objection be conceived than the one on which the rationalists rely? Their very notion of God's dealings with man implied by it betrays the shallowness and ignorance inseparable from higher criticism. There is more in Scripture than the critics dream of; those who find fault with it are punished by not being allowed to see its meaning even where it is clearest. The expression in question, as we saw above, means to have experimental knowledge of what is signified by a name: in other words, to have what Newman calls *real* apprehension, as distinct from *notional*. What would the rationalists make out of passages such as these: 'Let them trust in Thee who know Thy name; for Thou hast not forsaken them that seek thee, O, Lord;' <sup>16</sup> or, 'Because he hoped in Me I will deliver him; I will protect him, because he hath known My name.' <sup>17</sup>

The meaning cannot be what the critics maintain, unless there be a palpable contradiction between Genesis and Exodus. The one book repeatedly affirms (as we saw above)

<sup>16</sup> Ps. ix. 11.

<sup>17</sup> Ps. xc. 14.

and the other emphatically denies (as the critics say here) that Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob were acquainted with the name. Let it be observed that here we are not engaged in proving that there is no contradiction in Scripture, nor in showing that the explanation above given of the phrase 'to know the name' is the correct one; we abstract from both for the present. What we ask our readers to consider is this, is it not incredible that any man in his senses, any editor with a regard for his own reputation, should do what the critics say that the 'Redactor' of the Pentateuch did? Is it not impossible, that he first quoted alleged utterances of the patriarchs in which the name occurs, and then quoted a statement to the effect that they never heard it?

And their theory is as much at variance with Exodus as it is with Genesis. The narrative in Exodus<sup>18</sup> shows, we think, three things conclusively—viz., that the name Jehova was known to the Israelites before Moses received his mission to deliver them; secondly, that Moses was previously unacquainted with the name; thirdly, that the Israelites were certain that he was unacquainted with it. In support of the first statement, it would be sufficient to point out that the name of Moses' own mother was Jochabed.<sup>19</sup> It is, of course, the short form of Jehochabed or יהוכבי, and means 'Jehova is my glory.' As a matter of course, the higher critics are ready with a higher critical solution, Wellhausen and Co. deny that this was her name. It would upset their theory. In confirmation, however, of what has been said, we may add from other parts of Scripture that though while in Egypt the Israelites could not offer sacrifice to Jehova,<sup>20</sup> and even though they fell into the crime of worshipping the gods of the Egyptians,<sup>21</sup> nevertheless they retained the knowledge of the true God, for when the Egyptians persecuted them 'they cried unto Jehova.'<sup>22</sup>

With regard to the second statement, it must be admitted that we have not equally complete and categorical proofs, but the following few remarks may fairly claim to be an endeavour

<sup>18</sup> iii. 13, vi. 20.

<sup>19</sup> Exod. vi. 20.

<sup>20</sup> Exod. viii. 26.

<sup>21</sup> Josue xxiv. 14; Ezech. xx. 7.

<sup>22</sup> Deut. xxvi. 7; *cp.* Exod. iii. 7.

to show the true bearing of one thing on another, and thus to account for the facts narrated. We read in Exodus iii. 13 : 'Moses said to God: Lo, I shall go to the children of Israel, and say to them: The God (Elohim) of your fathers has sent me to you. If they should say to me: What is his name? What shall I say to them?' Moses evidently knew that God was speaking, if he knew also His proper and peculiar name he would not have asked it. The explanation appears to be this. Moses, brought up at Pharaoh's court, educated apart from his own kith and kin, was, indeed, instructed in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, but he had never heard the Hebrew people's most sacred word, Jehova. His Egyptian teachers could not have told it him, even though they read out the long catalogue of those deities whom their nation adored. And Pharaoh himself was presumably as well informed about the Israelite belief as his native subjects were, yet we find that when Moses came to him and delivered his message, Pharaoh said: 'Who is Jehova? I know not Jehova' (v. 2). He must have been aware that some at least of the Israelites sacrificed to his *gods*, but he was surprised at being told that they had a God of their own, whose name even he had never before heard. While, as we saw above, some at least of the chosen people remained faithful in praying to the one true God, they may very well have preserved a *disciplina arcani* relative to His name; in which case there was as little risk of Pharaoh's learning about Jehova, as there was long afterwards of a pagan Roman emperor's learning anything about the mysteries of Christianity. It does not affect the question, so far as Moses is concerned, even to say that his mother's name was Jochabed; to traverse the second statement by means of this objection it would be necessary to prove that Moses knew his mother's name and the meaning of it.

With reference to the third statement, it may be observed that in iii. 12, the verse immediately preceding the one quoted in the last paragraph, God spontaneously gave Moses a sign whereby he himself would know that the mission he had received was divine. 'I will be with thee, and this thou shalt have for a sign that I have sent thee: When thou shalt have brought My people out of Egypt, thou shalt sacrifice to

God upon this mountain.' But that was not enough. There was still an insuperable difficulty about the Hebrew people. How were they to be convinced that Moses, an Egyptian in everything save his parentage, was sent to them by God? A further sign, a sign to them, was indispensable. Moses ventured to suggest it. If God, who was speaking to him, and calling Himself 'Elohim'<sup>23</sup> (a name applicable even to the idols of Egypt), would only vouchsafe to manifest His incommunicable name, the name known to the Hebrews—and Moses felt that there must be some such title—that name would be the password. His knowledge of it would be an irresistible proof of his being the appointed deliverer, because a revelation must have been made to him of the name guarded so sacredly by the Israelite *disciplina arcani*. And God Himself admitted, so to speak, the reasonableness of the condition proposed, declared His own name, JEHOVA, and, moreover, explained its meaning. God did so by uttering the words, *Ehjah asher ehjah*, 'I AM WHO AM.' It was necessary to do so, for at the time of Moses the verb '*havah*,' from which Jahveh comes, had become obsolete, and the current form was '*hajah*.' '*Jahveh*' (which we mispronounce as Jehova, see I. E. RECORD) is the third person singular of the continuous tense; '*Ehjah*' is the first person singular of the same tense of '*hajah*.' Even though Moses knew what was then *modern* Hebrew, it is evident that before God taught him he did not understand the archaic form Havah. As we learn from Genesis iv. 26, the name Jahveh (Jehovah), which is derived from it, is as old as Adam's grandson, Enos.

This verbal explanation was necessary for Moses: whereas, on the contrary, there is nothing to indicate that when he delivered his message the people required to be told the signification of the word. If there was a catechism class, every child knew it. But to return to Moses, who had been taught in an Egyptian school. The sequel shows that God regarded the knowledge now imparted of His name as credentials sufficient for His envoy. In verse 16 He gives

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<sup>23</sup> See verse 6: 'I am the God (Elohim) of thy father, the God (Elohim) of Abraham, the God (Elohim) of Isaac, the God (Elohim) of Jacob.'

him this command :—‘Go, gather together the ancients of Israel, and say to them, the Lord God (Jehova Elohim) of your fathers has appeared to me.’ And then in verse 18 He says :—‘And they shall hear thy voice.’ From this it is certain that the people would accept Moses’ knowledge of the word Jehova, as an indubitable sign of a divine mission, which of course they would not do unless they were sure that he had not got his information from men. It is indeed true that Moses afterwards demurs ; and that God gives him two more signs and the promise of a third, but when notwithstanding all this confirmation Moses still attempts to shirk the task imposed, he does not plead that his knowledge of the name would not be deemed sufficient proof. He could not say that. In fact, as we learn from verse 30, the first proof which Aaron did give of his brother’s divine mission was the ‘words which Jehova had said ;’ then we read in verse 31, ‘And the people believed.’ Their doing so is a proof of their conviction that Moses was previously unacquainted with the name.

In conclusion, it may be said, that these proofs of the antiquity of the sacred name, and the explanation of these passages of Exodus (vi. 2, 3, etc.), are not affected even by the most recent development of higher criticism.

REGINALD WALSH, O.P.

# Notes and Queries

## THEOLOGY

### DUTY OF THE EXECUTOR OF A WILL IN REGARD TO A BEQUEST FOR MASSES

REV. DEAR SIR,—May I ask if the executor to a priest's will can give out of money bequeathed for Masses for testator's soul a higher honorarium than the fixed diocesan honorarium, having regard to the circumstances that (1) the testator did not mention the honorarium; (2) that the executor is in the habit of giving more than the diocesan honorarium himself; (3) that executor might not know how he could conveniently have the Masses celebrated at the diocesan honorarium?

QUERIST.

The reasons assigned do not justify an executor in exceeding the amount of the honorarium fixed by diocesan statute in respect of bequests for Masses. 'The testator did not mention the [amount of the] honorarium.' Quite so; and that is just the case, and the only case, meant to be covered by the diocesan law regarding bequests for Masses. Again, 'the executor is in the habit of giving more than the diocesan honorarium'; but, the generosity of the executor is no measure of the intention of the testator. Finally, the executor does not 'know how he could conveniently have the Masses celebrated at the diocesan honorarium.' It is scarcely conceivable that the 'diocesan honorarium,' fixed by a statute still operative, should stand at an impossible figure.

It would be more to the purpose, if it could be shown with certainty, that the testator intended—though he did not express that intention in his will—to allow a larger honorarium than that mentioned in the diocesan law. For, the object of the diocesan law is, not to override the known intention of the testator, but to provide for the case in which the testator's intention is unknown. The burden of proof, however, lies on the executor, who wishes to increase the honorarium. And in the present instance, the presumption against such an increase is particularly strong. For, the testator, being a priest, may be

assumed to have known the diocesan law. If he did know the law, his silence regarding the amount of the honorarium would seem to indicate a desire to avail himself of any advantage which that law conferred.

**MATRIMONIAL DISPENSATIONS: MAY THE BISHOP DISPENSE WHEN HE HIMSELF OR THE PERSON DISPENSED IS OUTSIDE THE DIOCESE?**

REV. DEAR SIR,—There are two points that I would wish to get answered in the I. E. RECORD.

The first point has reference to dispensations in the Impediments of Matrimony. If the Bishop and the persons who are about to get married happen to be out of the diocese when the Bishop grants the dispensation, is the dispensation valid? What if the sponsors or sponsa alone is absent? . . . . .

VICARIUS.

When a bishop dispenses, whether by ordinary or delegated jurisdiction, in a matrimonial impediment, it is not *per se* necessary that either the bishop dispensing, or his subject receiving the dispensation, should be within the confines of the bishop's diocese. In delegating faculties, however, the Holy See sometimes inserts a provision, that the faculties granted cannot be exercised by a bishop, outside his diocese—'*nec illis uti possit extra fines suae dioecesis.*' This restriction is expressly attached to the faculties granted to the Irish Bishops in the *Formula VI*. But it should be noted that delegated jurisdiction in regard to matrimonial impediments is not always subject to this limitation. It has been expressly decided, that the faculty to dispense is not to be deemed subject to this local restriction, '*nisi [clausula restrictiva] fuerit expressa vel aliter constet de mente summi Pontificis, vel nisi subjecta materia eam requirat.*'<sup>1</sup> The only case, therefore, in which a bishop granting a matrimonial dispensation is subject to a local restriction in the exercise of his power over his subjects is when 1° he dispenses in virtue of delegated jurisdiction; and when, 2°, it is further required, expressly or impliedly, that the jurisdiction be exercised *intra fines dioecesis*.

Let us take some examples of episcopal dispensations. The following dispensations granted by a bishop will be valid, even though both the bishop and the person dispensed be outside

<sup>1</sup> S. Officii, 22 Nov., 1865.



the diocese : a dispensation in an episcopal prohibition (*ecclesiae vetitum*) against a particular marriage ; in unreserved vows, *e.g.*, a vow not to marry, a vow to enter a religious congregation ; in the proclamation of banns ; a dispensation *ad restituendum jus amissum petendi debitum* ; in case of a doubtful impediment ; a dispensation granted *in articulo mortis* in virtue of the faculties granted in 1888 to all bishops to dispense persons who have contracted a civil marriage, or are living in concubinage ; a dispensation in an occult impediment *extra articulum mortis*, but in urgent necessity. In these cases, the bishop dispenses *jure ordinario vel quasi-ordinario* ; or if he dispenses *jure delegato* the exercise of his faculty is not restricted to his own diocese.

On the other hand, a dispensation granted by a bishop outside his diocese is invalid, if the use of his faculty to dispense be restricted to his own diocese. But what precisely is meant by saying that delegated faculties to dispense cannot be exercised by the bishop outside his diocese, '*nec eis uti possit extra fines dioecesis.*' It implies two things, 1°, that the person dispensed must be, for the purpose of marriage, a subject of the bishop, *i.e.*, the person must have a domicile or a quasi-domicile in his diocese, or else the person must be a vagus ; 2°, the person dispensed must be actually in the diocese at the moment the dispensation is granted.<sup>2</sup> It is not necessary that the bishop should be in his diocese when he grants the dispensation. Nor, is it necessary that the marriage should be contracted in the diocese ; once the dispensation is validly granted the marriage may be validly contracted anywhere.

When, therefore, a bishop dispenses, in virtue of faculties derived from the Formula VI., in the impediment of consanguinity, affinity, public propriety, crime, or spiritual relationship, it is necessary and sufficient for validity, as far as the point under consideration is concerned, that the person dispensed is a subject of the bishop who dispenses, and is within the confines of that bishop's diocese at the time the dispensation is granted. It is neither necessary nor sufficient that the bishop himself should be in his diocese when he grants the dispensation.

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<sup>2</sup> Vide, *Collectanea P. Fide*, n. 1432.

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**DE FOETIBUS BAPTIZANDIS: DUTIES OF PRIESTS, THE  
PHYSICIANS, ETC.**

The same correspondent writes:—

The second point has reference to the baptism of a foetus. What is considered the best method of baptizing in such a case at the present day? O'Kane, *On the Rubrics*, gives one way; Lehmkuhl, without mentioning others, gives another. How is a P.P. to instruct his parishioners in this difficult matter, and under what obligation? What about his C.C.?—Yours, etc.,

VICARIUS.

Taking our correspondent's two main questions in his own order, we shall say something first as to the method recommended for administering baptism in the cases to which he refers, and then we shall add a few words as to the way in which priests can best fulfil their obligation of imparting instruction to those who need it.

As Lehmkuhl points out in treating of this matter,<sup>1</sup> no great difficulty is likely to be experienced regarding the baptism of an immature foetus ejected during the later months of gestation,

Foetus abortivos [he writes]<sup>2</sup> qui post quantum mensem a conceptione eduntur baptizandos esse, non facile ignoratur; at etiam relate ad eos monendae omnino sunt matres alique, ad quos cura spectat, ne propter aliqua signa, quæ mortem foetus indicare videantur, baptismus conditionatus omitatur. Nam vix aliud signum *certum* mortis habetur, nisi *ipsa putrefactio*: neque putrefactionem *tantum incipientem* pro certae mortis indicio haberi posse, viri periti testantur.

The practical rule in such a case, therefore, for anyone who cannot claim to have the skill of an experienced physician is, without a moment's delay, to baptise the foetus, unless it already shows evident signs of decomposition. The foetus may die at any moment and reverence for the sacrament does not impose an obligation of making an investigation likely to be fruitless in any case, but certainly perilous to the spiritual life of the foetus. Of course, the baptism will be administered

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<sup>1</sup> *Theol. Mor.*, ii., n. 74.

<sup>2</sup> *Loc. cit.*

absolutely or conditionally, according as there is certainty or only a probability that the foetus is living.

Greater difficulty regarding baptism is to be expected in the earlier months of gestation.

Foetus abortivi [continues the same author] qui prioribus temporibus, maxime in primis ipsis hebdomadis forte editur, baptismus ut male negligatur, facile accidere potest. Hac in re etiam matres moneri debent.

In the first place, it will not be always evident whether one has got to deal with a real foetus. In this connection, Marc<sup>3</sup> says:—

Nequaquam baptizare debet mola carnea seu falsum germen. Fetus homo discernitur a mola in eo quod fetus apparet membrana circumdatus, quae est subalbi coloris, similis intestinis, figurae ovalis, et quae digito tacta mollescit et cedit: mola vero apparet caro informis, sanguinei vel varii coloris, ad tactum dura.

Here again, it is well to say, that in case of doubt ('utrum sit foetus aut mola carnea') baptism should be conferred, but, of course, conditionally.

But it is asked: 'What is the best method of baptizing in such a case?' In these earlier months of gestation, the ejected foetus will, in many cases, be found still completely enveloped in a membrane, and it was freely disputed among the theologians whether it is sufficient for a valid baptism that the water flow upon this membrane, or whether it is necessary that the membrane should be removed, in order that the water should touch the foetus enclosed. Many held it is sufficient, or probably sufficient, that the water should flow upon the membrane: and, further, they recommended that baptism should, in the first instance, be administered conditionally, without opening the membrane, lest the foetus might die the moment it was exposed to the air and before it could be re-baptised conditionally. Fr. O'Kane,<sup>4</sup> with many others, adopted this view. Among more recent writers, Marc<sup>5</sup> and Eschbach<sup>6</sup> favour the same method. With such

<sup>3</sup> *Institutiones Morales*, tom. ii., n. 1469, edit. octavo 1896.

<sup>4</sup> *Notes on the Rubrics*, n. 212.

<sup>5</sup> *Instit. Theol.*, ii., n. 1469.

<sup>6</sup> *Disputationes Physiologico-Theologicae*, 2 edit. 1901, p. 320.

reputable authority against him no one will venture to assert that a baptism conferred in this manner is certainly invalid, and that, therefore, the method suggested should never be followed. At the same time, there would seem to be no real ground for regarding this membrane as a part of the foetus, and if that be so, there can scarcely be a shadow of probability that the baptism would be valid.

Not without reason, therefore, many recent writers omit all reference to the conditional baptism of the foetus while still enclosed in the membrane. To secure a valid baptism without hastening the death of the foetus, they suggest the following method. They recommend, 1°. that tepid water be used, *i.e.*, if it be at hand; 2°. that the membrane enclosing the foetus be wholly immersed in the water by the person baptising; 3°. that the membrane, while in the water, be cautiously torn, so that the liquid contained in the membrane may pass off, and that the whole foetus itself may be in contact with the water;<sup>7</sup> 4°. Lehmkuhl and others add 'ut securius agas, dicens formam foetum *et* immerge in aquam *et* ex ea extrahe.'

This method is recommended by Capellman,<sup>8</sup> Lehmkuhl,<sup>9</sup> Genicot,<sup>10</sup> Noldin,<sup>11</sup> and other recent writers, and it seems, from every point of view, satisfactory.

If the foetus is not found enveloped in the membrane, there should be no difficulty in administering baptism in the ordinary way, using tepid water, however, if it be available.

So much for the method of administering baptism. But, as a rule, no priest will be present in these emergencies, and the sacrament must be conferred by a lay person, often by the doctor or nurse in attendance.

The parish priest and the curates who share with him the *cura animarum* in the parish are certainly bound, under pain of grave sin, to see that those whose duty it may be to baptise in these critical cases know, when and how this sacrament

<sup>7</sup> 'Quod si ita fiat etiam vitabitur accedentis aeris appulsus embryonem quem nonnulli adeo timent.'—Capellman, *Medecina Pastoralis*, p. 115, note.

<sup>8</sup> *Medecina Pastoralis*, edit. latina tertia, p. 115.

<sup>9</sup> *Theologia Moralis*, ii., n. 74, note.

<sup>10</sup> *Theologia Moralis*, ii., n. 141.

<sup>11</sup> *De Sacramentis*, n. 67, d. 1901.

should be conferred. If there be any room for thinking—and there often will be—that nurses or doctors do not realise their obligations, or do not know how to fulfil them, it will be the priest's duty to find an opportunity of giving them the requisite instructions. With Catholic nurses and doctors in this country, the case should be extremely rare in which a priest cannot succeed in doing this part of his duty. Even non-Catholics can often be approached on this subject with profit. All persons concerned should, therefore, be made to understand clearly that a foetus should be baptised—no matter how short the period of gestation—unless it is beyond all doubt that life is extinct. Nurses should be specially warned against too readily assuming that the foetus is not living. Finally, doctors and nurses alike might require instruction as to the best manner of securing a valid baptism.

It is, of course, very desirable that mothers themselves also should be instructed in these matters. But, a priest will have no opportunity of directly conveying instruction to them, unless, perhaps, they expressly ask for guidance *in tribunale*. As a rule, the necessary instructions must reach the mother through the nurse and the doctor. Needless to say a priest cannot refer to this question, unless in the most general terms, in his sermons or instructions to the faithful generally,

D. MANNIX.

## LITURGY

### OFFICE FOR THE DEAD

REV. DEAR SIR,—I shall feel obliged for a reply to the following question :—

A man died on Good Friday after an ordinary illness. There was no danger of contagion connected with the case. He was buried on Easter Sunday. Could the office, etc., be held on Easter Monday in these circumstances?

PRESBYTER.

The Office and Mass cannot be held on Easter Monday in the hypothesis contemplated. Here is the Decree bearing on the subject :—

Quod si ex civili vetito aut morbo contagioso aut alia gravi

*causa*, cadaver in Ecclesia praesens esse nequeat imo etsi terrae jam mandatum fuerit, praefata missa celebrari quoque poterit in altero ex duobus ab obitu diebus immediate sequentibus, eodem prorsus modo ac si cadaver esset praesens.<sup>1</sup>

Now, Easter Monday is the *third* day from the death, and besides the absence of the remains from the church is not due to any of the causes contemplated in the Decree—causes which would be regarded as sufficient to constitute the remains as present *fictione juris*, though actually absent. But perhaps, in virtue of the privileges enjoyed by the *third* day after death or interment the Mass may be said on Easter Monday? It cannot, because the day in question, being a double of the second class and within a privileged octave, is one of those on which the solemn Requiem Mass granted in favour of the third, seventh, and thirtieth days, is forbidden.

#### PERMISSION TO ERECT STATIONS OF THE CROSS

REV. DEAR SIR,—Would you kindly give your opinion on a very practical question connected with the excellent and fruitful devotion of the Stations of the Cross?

It is generally agreed—in fact, certain—that the ‘permission’ to erect the Stations of the Cross must be given *in writing*.

Must the ‘asking’ for permission—the *supplicatio*—be also *in writing*, or will it do *viva voce*? Lambing seems to say that it should be in writing, but I find that Putzer distinctly states that it may be *viva voce* (page 362).

Also I have heard it discussed and doubted whether a proper attestation in writing *after* the erection is necessary, or otherwise, for the validity of the erection. The words of Lambing would seem, likewise, to require this; but Putzer is decidedly of opinion that such attestation is necessary only as proof of the erection, and not for the validity. (See page 363, *statim, non de valore, sed ne dubium postea oriatur, etc., etc.*)

Furthermore, even admitting that Putzer’s opinion is only probable on these points, and that there is also a probable opinion for the contrary view, would a priest who acted on Putzer’s opinion have secured a valid erection?

Though I consider he would, as the requirement is only of *ecclesiastical law*, still I should wish to have your decision on it for the guidance of myself and others.

<sup>1</sup> Dec. Cong. Sac. Rit., Dec. Gen., 2 Dec., 1891.

2°. The making of the sign of the Cross over beads, etc., etc., by a priest empowered with faculties is *sufficient* to impart to them the Apostolic indulgences. Is the forming of the sign of the Cross *necessary*? Or would any other sign or action, at the will of the priest, be *sufficient*? I have heard the latter view maintained.

A SUBSCRIBER.

I. The permission to erect the Stations of the Cross must be granted in writing under pain of nullity, but there is no solid reason for thinking that the same remark applies to the application, or to the subsequent attestation or *proces-verbal* as it is called. We have not seen Lambing, who maintains the contrary opinion, but we regard Putzer as a higher authority. This opinion, put forward by Putzer, is supported by Maurel,<sup>2</sup> who quotes in favour of the first part a decree of the Congregation of Indulgences, dated January 27th, 1838:—‘*Quamquam in scriptis, ac de consensu ordinarii, et loci patroni optanda sit petitio, tamen si oretenus, sub poena nullitatis negative.*’ Similarly, Beringer<sup>3</sup> seems to hold the same view. He does not state it so explicitly, but while he carefully mentions all the formalities that are to be *in writing* under pain of nullity, he says nothing in this connection about the asking for permission, so that we may regard his silence on this point as a proof that he did not believe the condition of a written application to be essential for validity. Then there are reasons why there should be an authentic record of the authorization to erect the Stations which do not apply to the petition, and the existence of this document would afford proof in itself, if such proof were needed, that the request was formally made. As to the *proces-verbal*, its formal execution in writing after the erection does not appear to be necessary for the validity. In the first place it need not be formulated at once,<sup>4</sup> so that the Stations will remain validly erected for some time in the beginning at any rate. And, moreover, the object of this attestation is to afford evidence, in case of doubts that may afterwards arise, that the erection was carried out with due regard to all the necessary formalities.

<sup>2</sup> *Indulgences*, p. 151.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. i.

<sup>4</sup> Dec. Auth. Sac. Cong. Ind., 10th Feb., 1844.

Assuming that the opinion we advocate is *merely probable*, we do not think that a priest who acted on it would have secured a valid erection. The requirement, indeed, of which there is question is a detail of ecclesiastical law, but then it concerns the validity or non-validity of a certain action, and there is no guarantee that the Church will make good the defect of a condition that is essential, if it be really wanting, even though authors hold it is not necessary. On the contrary the exact fulfilment of all the substantial requirements is rigidly insisted on, and the omission of any one of them, from any cause whatever, is generally held to invalidate the indulgence. We feel that Putzer's opinion is not merely probable, but practically certain. At the same time, to make assurance doubly sure, when there is question of the validity of an act on which so much depends, we would recommend our correspondent to follow the 'opinio tutissima,' and have all the details, which are even doubtfully requisite, fulfilled to the letter.

II. In imparting the Apostolic Indulgences to beads, crosses, etc., the priest may bless them simply by making the sign of the Cross, without using any form of words. In every blessing there are two things, the intention of doing something sacred, and the external act expressive of the internal. For this reason the sign of the Cross, or an attempt at making it, seems necessary. The same appears to be the view of Beringer,<sup>5</sup> where he says:—

S'il s'agit d'appliquer á des objets de piété les *Indulgences Apostoliques* . . . il suffit qu'on fasse de la main un signe de croix sur les objets á indulgencer, et qu'on ait l'intention de les benir et de leur appliquer les Indulgences.

P. MORRISROE.

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<sup>5</sup> *Les Indulgences*, vol. i., p. 329.



## CORRESPONDENCE

## 'THE NEBULAR THEORY AND DIVINE REVELATION'

REV. DEAR SIR,—Too often when a letter opens with a compliment a fear is engendered that there will lurk *a sting in the tail*. Happily, as this does not characterise Father Nicholas Murphy's letter dealing with my recent article on the Nebular Hypothesis, and as also, between the head and the tail, it seems singularly free from any captious spirit or from that too common weakness of acrimoniously *going for* a writer, it affords me pleasure to notice the *various* points raised by your able and estimable correspondent. I say various, because, short as his welcome letter is, no fewer than four points are brought under the notice of your readers.

For, after hailing my contribution in kind and gracious terms, the worthy P.P. of Kilmanagh says:—

1°. That 'he does not understand how the term *revolving* can, in any sense, help to define the nature of a planet';

2°. That as many dark bodies . . . are supposed to be extinct suns . . . 'may our sun then be described as a planet?'

3°. That, as great astronomers admit that 'final proof' can never be more than a speculation, and cannot be proved by calculation . . . the 'votaries' of Astronomy 'should not run away with their theories so much'; and

4°. That, 'if mistakes may be made about stars, how can we make sure of the nature and genesis of the Nebulæ?'

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In reply to the first objection, I do not hesitate to acknowledge that I am a staunch believer, along with *all* modern astronomers, in the heliocentric system; the system which was first mooted by Pythagoras (B.C. 500), supported by Aristarchus (B.C. 150), reaffirmed and propounded by Copernicus (A.D. 1500), to be confirmed soon after by Galileo, proved by Sir Isaac Newton in 1642, and set forth in my article, 'Is Our Earth Alone Inhabited?' (I. E. RECORD, Nov., 1902, pages 437 and 438.)

Neither does this scientific truth in any way militate against the other truth that the sun and all his planets have *conjointly* a

**PROPER** motion towards a certain point ; but not, as your very reverend correspondent affects, and Sir W. Herschel held, towards the star Lambda in Hercules. (See *Ibid*, page 427, with its foot-note 22, and page 428.)

2°. In reply to No. 2. What will be the circumstances of our sun when he has become extinct and ceased to be a self-luminous and heat radiating star I have not ventured to conjecture in any of my articles ; and I am not aware that I even attempted to enter such a vicious circle as to inculcate that nebulae produce stars, stars produce planets, and cold planets by collision become nebulae again. I neither challenge this opinion, nor champion it.

3°. Under the third point we have a glimmering of censure. However, I am glad to be able to say *concedo totum* ; and, in support of this rejoinder, I can refer Father Murphy to my article in question, where, in the concluding paragraph of the first part, I quoted more fully than he does the words of the great French astronomer, ' It can never be more than a *speculation* ; it cannot be established by *observation* ; nor can it be proved by *calculation*. It is merely conjecture, more or less plausible.' (I. E. RECORD, April, 1903, page 349.) To give this opinion the greater strength I even italicised the pregnant words. I am sure Father Murphy will not require, either in astronomical or theological opinions, theories or hypotheses, *decisive* proofs or *certitude*. A theory, however sound, is but a theory still.

4°. To No. 4, I can again say, *concedo totum*.<sup>1</sup> Mistakes will ever happen, even in matters much more important than stars ; and without much call upon humility, I will ask the reverend pastor of Kilmanagh to believe that no one could deem himself more fallible than

Your obedient servant in Christ,

E. A. SELLEY, O.S.A.

Dublin, May 7, 1903.

#### DR. RICHARD O'CONNELL, BISHOP OF KERRY

REV. DEAR SIR,—In Father Denis O'Connor's interesting article on the Life and Labours of Bishop O'Connell, of Ardfert and Aghadoe, it is stated definitely that the great Kerry prelate

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<sup>1</sup> If the term Nebulae here signifies the theory which Laplace built upon them.

was educated in Spain, and returned home in 1603. Surely, it must have escaped the writer's notice that Dr. O'Connell also studied at Bordeaux—a fact which is amply proved by the Carew manuscripts. The future Bishop was certainly at Bordeaux in 1602, when he was given a viaticum to go on the Irish Mission, his name appearing as 'P. Richard O'Connel, prestre theologien, Ardferten.' His contemporary, Father Maurice O'Connell, o.s.A., was also at Bordeaux.

Incidentally, it is mentioned that Father Thaddeus Moriarty, o.p., was martyred in 1652. This event happened on October 15th, 1653. Father O'Connor gives 'Fair Hill,' Killarney, as the *locale* of his execution. Cardinal Moran, quoting from the Rinuccini MSS., gives the place name as 'Sheep-Hill,' the translated form of 'colliculo ovium.'

Finally, as against the tradition quoted by Archdeacon Lynch, and given as authentic by Father O'Connor, that Bishop O'Connell was interred in 'the old Cathedral Church at Aghadoe,' the Rinuccini papers state that the saintly Bishop was buried in the Franciscan Churchyard of Loch Lein. Another source gives a different version, and it is added that the Bishop was interred in the same grave as Father Francis O'Sullivan, Provincial of the Franciscans (who was martyred on June 23rd, 1653), in the little-known cemetery on Scariff Island, not far from Derrynane.—Yours very faithfully,

WM. H. GRATTAN FLOOD.

May 11th, 1903.

## DOCUMENT

### CONFRATERNITY OF THE GIRDLE OF OUR LADY OF CONSOLATION

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE INDULGENTIARUM  
SUMMARIUM INDULGENTIARUM ARCHICONFRATERNITATI CINCTURAE  
B. M. V. MATRIS CONSOLATIONIS S. AUGUSTINI ET S. MONICAE  
CONCESSARUM.

#### I.

#### *Indulgentiae Plenariae.*

Omnibus utriusque sexus Christifidelibus vere poenitentibus,  
confessis ac Synaxi reffectis :

1. Die quo nomen dederint Archiconfraternitati. Omnibus  
sodalibus :

2. In festo Nativitatis

3. Epiphaniae

4. Paschatis

5. Adscensionis

6. In solemnitate Corporis Christi.

7. In festo Pentecostes.

8. In festo Nativitatis

9. Annuntiationis

10. Purificationis

11. Assumptionis

12. Immaculatae Conceptionis

13. In festo B. M. V. Matris Consolationis.

14. S. Michaëlis Archangeli.

15. S. Ioannis Baptistae.

16. S. Ioseph Sponsi B. M. V.

17. SS. Apostolorum Petri et Pauli.

18. S. Augustini Ep. et Doct.

19. S. Monicæ Vid.

20. Omnium Sanctorum.

21. In Commemoratione fidelium defunctorum Ordinis S.  
Augustini et Confraternitatis, iis tantum applicabilis.

22. Dominica 1<sup>a</sup>. Adventus.

23. Dominica 1<sup>a</sup>. Quadragesimæ.

24. Dominica 4<sup>a</sup>. Quadragesimæ.

25. Feria V. Majoris Hebdomadae, dummodo præfatis die-  
bus vere poenitentes, confessi, ac S. Synaxi reffecti ad mentem  
Summi Pontificis oraverint.

26. Dominica quarta uniuscujusque mensis, si uti supra dispositi devote interfuerint processioni quae dicta Dominica in Ecclesiis Ordinis seu Confraternitatis fieri solet.

Sodales, quoties uti supra item dispositi a primis Vesperis usque ad occasum solis sequentium dierum idest :

27. Diei festi Nativitatis B. M. V. et

28. Dominicae festum S. Nicolai a Tolentino immediate sequentis, Altare vel Cappellam Archiconfraternitatis, visitaverint et ad mentem Summi Pontificis oraverint, toties plenariam Indulgentiam lucrabuntur.

29. Tandem in mortis articulo item plenaria, si uti supra dispositi vel saltem contriti SSmum Iesu Nomen ore si potuerint, sin minus corde invocaverint.

## II.

### *Indulgentiae stationales.*

Sodales, singulis diebus in Missali Romano descriptis, si Ecclesiam Ordinis S. Augustini vel Altare Confraternitatis visitaverint, omnes Indulgentias consequuntur, quas lucrarentur si Ecclesias Urbis pro dictis stationibus designatas, iisdem diebus visitarent, dummodo cetera, quae ad has indulgentias lucrandas iniuncta sunt pietatis opera, rite praestiterint.

## III.

### *Indulgentiae VII Ecclesiarum.*

Sodales qui septem Altaria in Ecclesiis Ordinis S. Augustini ad hoc designata visitaverint, easdem Indulgentias lucrantur, quas consequerentur visitando septem Ecclesias intra vel extra Urbem.

## IV.

### *Indulgentiae partiales.*

#### *A. Decem annorum totidemque quadragenarum :*

1. In omnibus festis D. N. Jesu Christi, quae per totam Ecclesiam celebrantur, et eorum octavis ;
2. In omnibus festis Sanctae Dei Genitricis, quae in tota Ecclesia pariter celebrantur ; et eorum octavis ;
3. In omnibus festis SS. Apostolorum et Evangelistarum ;
4. In festo S. Ioannis Baptistae ;
5. In festo S. Iosephi Sponsi B. M. V. ;
6. In solemnitate omnium sanctorum ;

Dummodo dictis diebus corde saltem contrito ac devote Ecclesiam Ordinis seu Altare Confraternitatis visitaverint et aliquo temporis spatio oraverint.

*B. Septem annorum totidemque quadragenarum :*

1. In festo S. Augustini Ep. Doct. ;
2. In festo S. Monicae Vid. ; si eadem pia opera praestiterint.

3. Item sodalibus qui assistunt orationi serotinae, quae quotidie fit in Ordinis Ecclesiis ; aut seorsim orationem seu collectam pro Ecclesia et pro Papa, aut etiam *Salve Regina* recitabunt.

*C. Bis centum dierum :*

Quoties sodales divinis interveniunt servitiis, quae in Oratorio vel Cappella Confraternitatis ordinarie fiunt ; aut adsunt congregationibus et orationibus quae inibi fieri consueverunt.

*D. Centum dierum :*

Quoties sodales aliquod opus pietatis vel caritatis exercuerint.

## v.

*Indulgentiae pro recitatione**Coronulae B. M. V. de Consolatione.*

1. Sodales quoties integram coronulam corde saltem contrito ac devote recitaverint, lucentur indulgentiam

*Centum dierum*

pro qualibet oratione dominica et angelica salutatione.

2. Quoties vero eadem coronula recitetur :

(a) in Ecclesiis ubi Confraternitas canonice erecta reperitur ;  
 (b) in festo B. M. V. Matris Consolationis, aut in singulis diebus octavae eiusdem festi, sodales lucentur pariter pro qualibet *Pater noster* vel qualibet *Ave Maria* Indulgentiam

*Bis centum dierum.*

3. Sodales qui coronulam quater in hebdomada recitare solent, *plenariam indulgentiam* semel in anno, die eorum arbitrio eligendo, lucrari valent, dummodo vere poenitentes et confessi S. Synaxin sumpserint atque eandem coronulam recitaverint.

4. Item *plenariam* lucentur sodales qui per integrum mensem quotidie praedictam coronam recitaverint, simulque infra eundem mensem, die, cuiusque arbitrio eligenda, vere poenitentes, confessi ac S. Mensa refecti ad mentem Summi Pontificis oraverint.

Omnes et singulae indulgentiae in praesenti elencho recensitae, excepta tamen plenaria in mortis articulo lucranda, animabus quoque in purgatorio degentibus sunt applicabiles.

## VI.

*Privilegium et Indulta.*

1. Missae omnes in quocumque altari pro defunctis sodalibus celebratae, privilegio gaudent perinde ac si in altari privilegiato celebratae fuissent.

2. Sodales qui degunt in locis ubi Ecclesia Ordinis S. Augustini desit, omnes indulgentias lucrari valent quas consequerentur dictam ecclesiam visitando, si, ceteris operibus iniunctis positis, Altare Confraternitatis, vel, hoc etiam deficiente, Parochialem suam Ecclesiam visitaverint.

3. Sodales qui in Collegiis, Seminariis aliisque Communitatibus degunt, lucrari valent indulgentias Sodalitati proprias privatum respectivae Domus Sacellum loco Ecclesiae Ordinis vel Confraternitatis visitando, ceteris adimpletis conditionibus.

## DECRETUM.

Quum Prior Generalis Ordinis Eremitarum S. Augustini, ad omne dubium e medio tollendum de indulgentiis olim concessis Sodalibus Archiconfraternitatis Cincturae B. M. V. Matris Consolationis, S. Augustini et S. Monicae, novum earundem indulgentiarum indicem huic S. Congni. Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae approbandum subiecerit: eadem S. Congregatio quibusdam ex suis Consultoribus illum examinandum dedit. Ii vero eiusdem accurato peracto examine, quum in eo nonnullas indulgentias delendas, alias addendas, aliasque iuxta hodiernam praxim moderandas es se duxerint, novum indicem, qui superius prostat, proposuerunt. Sacra vero Congregatio, vigore facultatum a SS. Dno. Nro. Leone Pp. XIII sibi specialiter tributarum, ex indulgentiis insuperiore indice insertis, alias denuo confirmare, alias vero benigne concedere dignata est; simulque edixit, ut, quibuscumque aliis Indulgentiis abrogatis seu revocatis, praefata Archisodalitas in posterum iis tantummodo perfrui valeat, quae in memorato indice recensentur. Contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus.

Datum Romae ex Secria. eiusdem Sacrae Congnis. die 17 Decembris 1902.

SERAPHINUS Card. CRETONI, *Praef.*

L. ✠ S.

FRANCISCUS SOGARO, Archiep. Amiden., *Secrius.*

## NOTICES OF BOOKS

PSYCHOLOGY, EMPIRICAL AND RATIONAL. By Michael Maher, S.J., D.Lit., M.A., Lond. Fifth Edition, London: Longmans, Green, and Co. Price 6s. 6d.

'THE fourth edition of the present work, containing 3,000 copies, having been exhausted in two years, the fifth edition, which has been carefully revised, is now issued. Sundry verbal changes and corrections have been introduced, and the section on the muscular sense has been re-written, but the chief addition is a supplement containing a reply to Mr. Mallock's criticism.'

With this short preface, the fifth edition of Father Maher's *Psychology* is introduced to us. We heartily welcome its appearance, and congratulate its gifted author on the well-deserved popularity his book has won even from general and non-Catholic readers. There is no need to praise or recommend Father Maher's *Psychology*. Its excellence is already well known; and the author's controversy with Mr. Mallock in the pages of the *Fortnightly* has enhanced and will, we trust, enhance still further that excellence. This result Father Maher has so far achieved by merely vindicating his work from the misinterpretations and misrepresentations indulged in by Mr. Mallock in the articles referred to. Those articles on science and religion hardly need a direct refutation. With all their superfine reasoning and overstrained logic they refute themselves. The book in which they are collected and published—*Religion a Credible Doctrine*—is a sufficiently sad monument to its author's philosophical suicide.

P. C.

PUBLIC LIBRARIES FOR IRELAND. By M. J. Gill, B.A., and W. J. Johnston, M.A., B.L., LL.D. Dublin: Gill and Son. 1903.

THIS is a valuable pamphlet, and one which we hope will be widely read. In view of the facilities given to public bodies, mainly through the intervention of Mr. John Dillon, M.P., we may expect at least a gradual and considerable extension of the system of public libraries that already obtains in Dublin and in



some of our larger cities and towns. There seems scarcely any other practical means available of bringing within reach of the people the progressive knowledge that is needed to equip them for the struggle of life.

It is quite certain that in most places the priests who take an interest in this work can give valuable help to the people, and can exercise a decisive influence in excluding from these libraries works that are in any way injurious to Catholic interests. In the management of the public libraries of America the Catholic clergy are usually represented, and their objections are nearly always listened to with respect by the members of the Library Committee. We should say that in Ireland this would be the case in all but a few localities. The advantage of these libraries are admirably explained by Mr. Gill, and the legal steps necessary for their establishment most lucidly set forth by his collaborator, Mr. Johnson, B.L. Dr. Clancy's letter to the Mayor of Sligo, which is inserted in the Appendix, will help to encourage and stimulate those who are thinking of availing themselves of the recent legislation.

J. F. H.

POLITICAL AND MORAL ESSAYS. By Rev. Joseph Rickaby, S.J., B.Sc., Oxon. Benziger Brothers. 6s. net.

THE first of these essays, *A Dissertation on the Origin and Extent of Civil Authority*, was written for the Degree of B.Sc. of Oxford, and appears now for the first time. The essays on 'Savages,' 'Casuistry,' 'Lying and Equivocation,' 'Socialism and Religious Orders,' have appeared in *The Month*. Those, with two essays on 'Morality Without Free Will' and 'The Value of Sentiment in Ethics,' and, finally, a few 'Occasional Notes,' make up a very interesting volume: interesting, and instructive, too, both for the student and for the general reader.

The *Dissertation* takes two-thirds of the whole volume. It furnishes the English-speaking statesman or political philosopher with a wholesome antidote against the delusions of socialism in an era of social unrest. It covers a great deal of difficult ground, necessarily passing over much detail, but giving a clear and convincing exposition of the Catholic point of view, together with an equally searching criticism of the principles of Hobbes, Rousseau, and some modern, but much saner writers.

The essay on 'Savages' is very attractive, and throws

additional light on an obscure department in the subject of the *Dissertation*. 'Morality Without Free Will'—nowadays masquerading in some 'Philosophical' schools as an *ens reale*—is here successfully relegated to the home of the *entia rationis*.

All the essays make a useful volume, and will be found to be a valuable supplement to the author's well-known *Moral Philosophy* of the Stonyhurst series.

P. C.

[We have received from Father Sydney Smith, S.J., a short note in reply to Father Gibbons; but as it reached us too late for publication, we are compelled to hold it over to next month.—ED. I. E. RECORD,]







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